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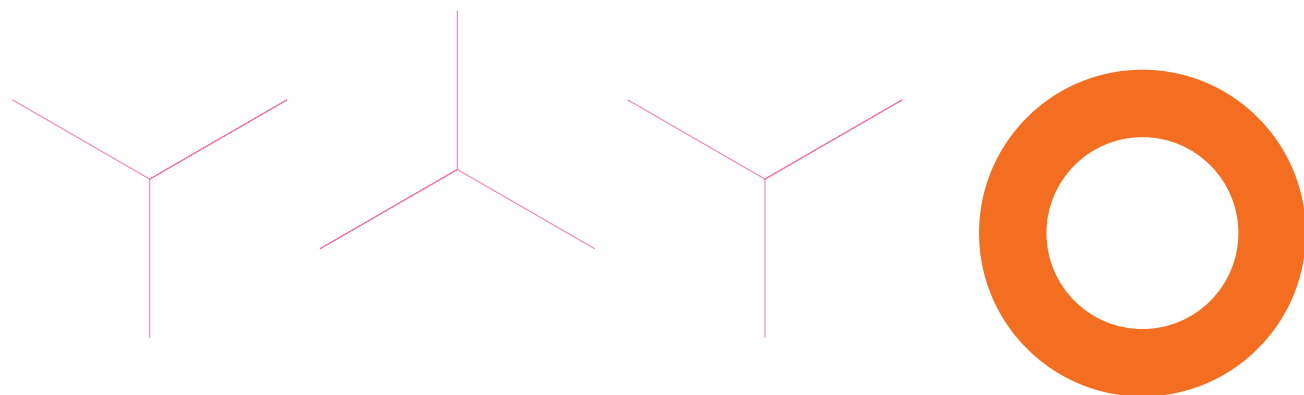
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It is impossible to tell the story about the modernization of everyday life without television that was and still is a window to the world and an indispensable part of our day-to-day routine, setting its rhythm. We remember the TV series that we loved, because of which we hurried home and those that we did not like. Our childhood was marked by Branko Kockica, cartoons broadcast at 7:15 pm and the Winter Cinema selection of films shown during winter holidays. All that invaluable material is still available today, thanks to the Television Belgrade Programme Archive, a specialized service founded as early as 1958, at the same time when the broadcasting of the TV programme began. The Programme Archive collects, keeps records of, selects, analyses, classifies, evaluates, applies technical conservation-oriented measures, stores and safeguards audio-visual material created as part of the TV production process. Thus, a unique, even museum-like collection of moving pictures has been built. It contains archive material of immense value, not only for the national television as an institution, but also for the public at large.

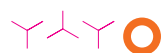
We would like to thank Mileta Kečina, head of the archive and his team, for making it possible for us, as always, to make pictures come alive at the exhibition and provide the visitors with an audio-visual experience of the recent past. <http://tvarhiv.rts.rs/>

# They Never Had It Better?

MODERNIZATION  
OF EVERYDAY LIFE  
IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA



# CONTENTS




(7)	<b>INTRODUCTION</b> Ana Panić
(11)	<b>“They Never Had It Better?”</b> Igor Duda
(13)	<b>YUGOSLAVIA IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT</b> Igor Duda

---

## (16) **THE RHYTHM OF LIFE**

---

	<b>(20) THE BIG EDUCATION REFORM</b> Ivana Dobrivojević
(22)	Literacy
(23)	The Spread of Primary Education
(24)	Secondary Education
(25)	Higher Education

---

## (26) **THE UPBRINGING OF THE NEW, SOCIALIST MAN**

---

(28)	Pioneer Organization <b>Igor Duda</b>
(30)	Youth Organization <b>Ivana Dobrivojević</b>
(31)	Informal Education in YNA <b>Ivana Dobrivojević</b>

---

## (32) **AT THE WORKPLACE** Ivana Dobrivojević

---

(34)	Industrialization
(36)	The Cult of Work
(37)	Self-Management
(38)	Half-Peasants – Half-Workers
(38)	Working Conditions
(41)	Workers' Adult Education
(41)	Unemployment
(42)	Guest Workers (Gastarbeiter)

---

## (44) **A ROOF OVER ONE'S HEAD**

---

(46)	Housing Construction <b>Ivana Dobrivojević</b>
(46)	External and Internal Construction <b>Ivana Dobrivojević</b>
(48)	Interior Design <b>Igor Duda</b>
(48)	Rural Houses <b>Ivana Dobrivojević</b>

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**(50) HOLIDAY FOR ALL**  
Igor Duda

- (52) Tourism and Holidays
- (54) Weekend
- (56) Transportation



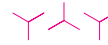
**(58) CONSUMERISM IN SOCIALISM**

- (60) Consumer Culture  
**Igor Duda**
- (62) Shopping in Trieste  
**Igor Duda**
- (64) Dressing in the Latest Fashion: Clothing Between Ideology and Consumerism  
**Ana Panić**
- (66) Motorization and Automobile Culture  
**Igor Duda**
- (68) Television and the Modernisation of Everyday Life  
**Sabina Mihelj**
- (70) Cultural Climate  
**Ivana Dobrivojević and Ana Panić**



**(72) SOCIAL RIGHTS**  
Ivana Dobrivojević

- (74) Health
- (75) Social Insurance



**(76) RHYTHM OF THE YEAR**  
Igor Duda



**(80) New Year (January 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>)**



**(84) Women's Day (March 8<sup>th</sup>)**



**(88) May Day (May 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>)**



**(92) Youth Day (May 25<sup>th</sup>)**



**(96) Veterans Day (July 4<sup>th</sup>)**



**(100) Republic Day (November 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>)**



**(104) A SIDE LOOK**  
Igor Duda



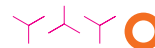
**(106) NEW WORLD VIEWS**  
Igor Duda



**(108) ABOUT THE AUTHORS**  
(110) Recommended reading for those who would like to know more



**(112) CURATOR STATEMENTS**



**(114) APPENDIX**



# INTRODUCTION

Ana Panić

Although the history of everyday life has flourished globally in recent decades, attracting increasing research interest of local historians, still, topics related to everyday life in socialist Yugoslavia have not been explored as part of investigative, scientifically grounded exhibitions. The exhibition *They Never Had It Better? Modernization of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* aims to highlight the leap towards modernization after World War II and showcase the changes in the quality of life that occurred in Yugoslav socialist society. A complex evaluation of the remarkably successful exhibition *Yugoslavia: from the Beginning to the End*<sup>1</sup> (held from December 1<sup>st</sup> 2012 to March 17<sup>th</sup>, 2013) (visitor questionnaire survey, focus group debates and public discussions, comments left in the guest book and on custom-made notice boards, conversations that the authors of the exhibition had with their colleagues and visitors) has shown that what was missing from the exhibition was precisely everyday life. We reached a conclusion that general experience should be individualized, the audience offered an insight, not only into events but also into experiences, an explanation provided as to how macrostructures influenced everyday life and “common”, “little” people introduced into the political framework already set up for the original exhibition. It is a long-known fact in museological practice that the role of museums is not exclusively educational and that museums, although established with the aim of representing something, must also examine memories and feelings, be places of encounters and exchange, rather than simply providing a one-way representation of historical facts, for “museums are not neutral spaces that speak with one institutional, authoritative voice. Museums are about individuals making subjective choices” (Marstine 2013: 13). Just like visitors bring their personal memories, so do curators and other museum staff members. Memories, incorporated into the already established historical framework, based on relevant scientific research, jointly paint a balanced picture of Yugoslavia. Thus, the exhibition which traces the phenomenon of modernization of everyday life in socialist Yugoslavia, its practice and symbols is a continuation of sorts of the international project *New Old Museum*, the regional exhibition *Yugoslavia: from the Beginning*

*to the End*, as well as of the continuous work on the development of the future permanent exhibition at the Museum of Yugoslav History, which will include the material collected for the purpose of being displayed at this exhibition and the results of other research and projects to be conducted at the Museum of Yugoslav History in the forthcoming period.<sup>2</sup>

Even today, Yugoslavia is for many people much more than a geographical notion and historical fact, it is an idea (albeit a utopian one), a concept, space for contemplating a new and different world, while the country’s legacy still exerts a powerful influence on the lives of people in the region. As Predrag Matvejević puts it: “Yugoslavism exists in a form that does not have to involve statehood or nationality, it does not forget or erase the common part of the past and history, during which generations shared ideas and ideals, hopes and illusions, enthusiasm and disappointments”. (*Pobijeda (Victory)*, January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

It is a fact that, two decades after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, judging certain aspects of everyday social and cultural life in the former country as positive still receives a negative label in the public discourse. Denying Yugoslav and socialist experience means renouncing the emancipatory achievements and all of the country’s undisputable successes like modernization, industrialization and urbanization. This does not imply a nostalgic, unproblematic portrayal of socialist society, since an emphasis on positive values does not deny the coexistence of negative aspects. In the case of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), the end of socialism coincided with the collapse of the country we shared. The post-socialist nostalgia is therefore inseparable from the nostalgia for the destroyed country and the completely shattered, or at least drastically changed, way of life that affected everyone. The results of a research have shown that no less than 82% of citizens of Serbia believe that life in socialist Yugoslavia was better than it is today and that almost 70% of people regret the disintegration of Yugoslavia.<sup>3</sup> Although their opinions are indicative much more of the current state of the society than the circumstances in socialist Yugoslavia, a more stable welfare state, the possibility of getting free education and better

working conditions are some of the main arguments contributing to the idealization of life in socialist Yugoslavia.

People have the right to their memories, romanticised as they may be, and perhaps politically unsuitable in today’s circumstances. We have noticed that personal memories are permeated not only with cheerfulness, beauty, youth, freedom, carefree spirit and a general impression that life was good, but also with universal values, such as social justice, solidarity, citizenship of an internationally recognized country of global importance, seen as positive sides of the socialist system, and very importantly, a narrative consisting of perceiving oneself as an active participant in the life of the society (Petrović 2012: 162). Very emotional statements of car factory workers, born in the 1950s, who considered themselves to have been an important factor of development, construction and modernization of the country, taken from the film *Yugo, kratka autobiografija (Yugo, a Short Autobiography)* directed by Mina Đukić (2010) are a testimony to that:

“My husband, my son-in-law, we all work at the car factory and travel 15 km away from the city. We truly would eagerly come to work.” (Slavoljubka Slavković, 23 years of service in the car factory in Kragujevac)

“As a young man, I started a family and two children were born into it; I was building a house, so life was on the upswing for me, up until the early 1990s.” (Mladen Sredojević, 35 years of service in the car factory in Kragujevac)

“The physical effort it required was huge, but we had the will and the desire to make it, to have our own car. There was no end to our happiness when we did it and when the production of Yugo began.” (Živan Obradović, 35 years of service in the car factory in Kragujevac)

From the perspective of someone who had access to free education, found employment afterwards, got a flat from the state, had free health care and could go on holiday every year, without sacrificing too much, Yugoslavia was an ideal country or, at least, better than any of the post-Yugoslav states. It is only natural that someone like that should be prone to mythologizing the entire system, not wanting to face the problems that self-management brought with it. An underdeveloped agrarian country,

1 The exhibition *Yugoslavia: from the Beginning to the End* won the Mihailo Valtrović prize, awarded by the Museum Association of Serbia, to the best exhibition in 2012.

2 The exhibition and research project *The Great Illusion*, as a basis for further study of the history of film in Yugoslavia; the Yugoslav Guest Workers research project re-examining the importance of the heritage of Yugoslav workers abroad; the research project and exhibition *Graphic Design in SFRY*, as a field of political and autonomous artistic activity in Yugoslavia; the research project *Mass Media – Mass Culture in Yugoslavia*; the research and exhibition on the Sokol Association of Yugoslavia and its role in promoting integral Yugoslavism, *the Dissonant Heritage* project, etc.

3 A survey of the citizens of Serbia was conducted by the Belgrade Centre for Human Rights from March 19<sup>th</sup> to March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2010, based on a representative sample of 1086 people over 18. It was aimed at examining historical awareness in Serbia. The results of the survey were published in Dimitrijević, Vojin (ed.) 2010: *Novosti iz prošlosti*. Beograd: Beogradski centar za ljudska prava.

with huge regional differences, was supposed to produce a modern working class, educated enough to be ready to make decisions, conscientious enough not to spend all revenue on wages, but to invest in firms, so that they do not crumble and all that in a country that had no tradition of political culture, modelled on Western European democracies.

With this exhibition, we wish to encourage former citizens of Yugoslavia to think carefully about the potential of the Yugoslav experience they had in their lives, as well as about the ways in which, by turning to the already adopted universal values, the past can be incorporated into the foundation of a demand for a “normal” future (a better tomorrow based on a better yesterday), since Yugonostalgia can be a productive analytical category and an important way of mobilizing the legacy of socialism in political negotiations about the present and the future (Petrović 2012: 191).

The narratives about universal prosperity, workers’ rights and a self-managed “democracy”, just like the narratives utterly denying the existence and achievements of socialist modernization, despite the numerous historiography works, often epitomize the two fundamental coordinates between which oscillate all “knowledge” and “memories” the citizens of former Yugoslavia have of their socialist past. As usual, the truth is somewhere between the fact that it was a one-party system and the fact that direct democracy existed in the decision making process at the grassroots level, because everyone participated in reaching decisions. But democracy was scarce at higher levels, since everything was controlled by the Party, just like the economy functioned between the centrally planned system, modelled on the Soviet pattern and market economy that took the Western system as a model to be followed (Kuljić 2011: 103).

We find younger people, who do not learn enough at school about the socialist era, to be especially important. They perceive the socialist past much more through the stories they hear in their families and the portrayal of the recent past in the media, films, literature, computer games and social media. (“Everything I heard, I heard from my family, while at school, the lessons on the subject were always the last to be covered and we never got to them”, responded A. A. born in 1990, in a conversation conducted on March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014, when asked about what she heard about the Yugoslav / socialist legacy at school and at home. P. K. born in 1996 replied to the same question in the following way, in a conversation conducted on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014: “I’ve heard nothing but the best, but it is because of that [past] that the whole of Serbia now lives in poverty.”). When mediated by the environment and everyday life, the past remains part of people’s personalities much longer

than when they learn about it at school. We wish for young people who lack the Yugoslav experience to recognize universal values in the socialist past and develop a mature attitude towards the past and the place of the Yugoslav / socialist legacy in the process of shaping the post-Yugoslav societies. An obsession with history is a peculiarity of the Balkans, as was frequently remarked by foreign reporters during the wars in the 1990s. The reporter with the *New York Times* daily newspaper, Chris Hedges, observed that because people in the region live in families made up of several generations of members, history is not simply history for them, it is life itself. It is just as alive as the people they share their kitchens, living rooms and neighbourhoods with – the people who remember. Maybe that is the reason why members of the generations born or growing up in the post-Yugoslav societies, during the wars and the disintegration of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - the country that they came to know only through the stories of their elders – say they fell nostalgic when they see things dating back to the time of socialist Yugoslavia, despite the fact that in reality something like that is impossible. A. K. born in 1996, says she feels “nostalgia for the beautiful days and happy life”, while the same question prompted the following response from A. A. born in 1990: “I’d like to have lived in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, if only for a couple of years and seen everything myself, with my own eyes. I feel nostalgia, but the reason for that is only because my grandmother and my grandfather keep telling me how things were back then and how people lived their lives, and so with the help of things, I feel as if I were there”.

The past exists only as a function of the manner in which we remember and interpret it from today’s perspective; it is a subjective and emotional individual experience for each of us. This issue is discussed by Roch Sulima, anthropologist of everyday life: “Everyday life is lived and needs no definition. There is no return to quotidian existence... it instantly ‘dissolves’ and ‘solidifies’ in myth, in that which is ‘inexpressible’. It is only in the things and words that surround us that certain everyday stories “shimmer’... In the life of a generation, the world of things changes at least twice in certain domains (cars, furniture, TV sets, phones)”. (Sulima 2005: 5-12). In that sense, everyone is an anthropologist of everyday life and an important resource. Everyone has their own personal museum and a personal library of memories in which they live, making new catalogue cards and inventory files every day or dusting off old ones. We are witnessing the rapid pace of changes in the material world, brought about by the development of technology. We have changed countless phones and computers throughout our lives, but on the other hand, we are still surrou-

nded by numerous objects originating from Yugoslavia. It is maybe precisely because of that overload of information and new things that we feel an ever increasing desire for stability and timelessness, which manifests itself in (real or virtual) collection, restoration and finding new ways of placing artefacts from socialist Yugoslavia in the public eye.

The last few years have seen the emergence of initiatives and projects that offer a one-sided view of the period in question, reducing it to Yugonostalgia only, by featuring sets of objects that evoke nostalgic memories of the “good old times”, where nostalgia is primarily used as an efficient marketing tool. To counter trivialization and reducing everyday life in Yugoslavia to entertainment and popular culture, we endeavoured to discuss some aspects and achievements of socialist modernization that we believe to be significant. Through this exhibition that focuses on everyday life, as a topic that most often inspires the feeling of nostalgia, we aim to highlight the need for a critical review of our joint past and raising awareness of the positive and negative facets of the common heritage and its influence on the contemporary identities of the new states and communities, which is why the research and the exhibition have been implemented as a regional project, while fully respecting the views of all sides.

In line with the new museum theory, by inviting people to bring their own items, belonging to the period of socialist Yugoslavia, which act as memory triggers, we are abandoning our own position of power and share it with others, whereby, as part of decolonizing the museum, it transfers the control over heritage to those who are featured in it and to whom that heritage belongs. We would like other museums too, where the exhibition will be shown after premiering in Belgrade, to take an active part in creating its content by adding items and material from their own collections, the idea being that the predefined framework should be enriched with the local context of everyday life in different parts of Yugoslavia.

At the exhibition in Belgrade, to be followed by the exhibitions in Pula, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Ljubljana, conversations in the audio format with witnesses of the era – interested residents of Belgrade, Pula, Zagreb, Sarajevo and Ljubljana – will be included. These conversations with visitors will be recorded by each partner museum. Documenting individual testimonies of people of different professions, belonging to different social and ethnic groups provides a unique complement to the written and material sources and reflects our desire to enter into a dialogue with the audience and develop a pluralistic model of interpretation of the legacy of socialist Yugoslavia, based on multiple perspectives and allowing a variety of voices to be heard.

1. The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (1957–1963), 1960. Museum of Yugoslav History

2. Kata Rasnek, skilled sewer of upper parts of shoes working in the Borovo factory in Vukovar. Trade union bulletin *Radničke novine (Workers' Paper)*, 1984/85



# “They Never Had It Better?”

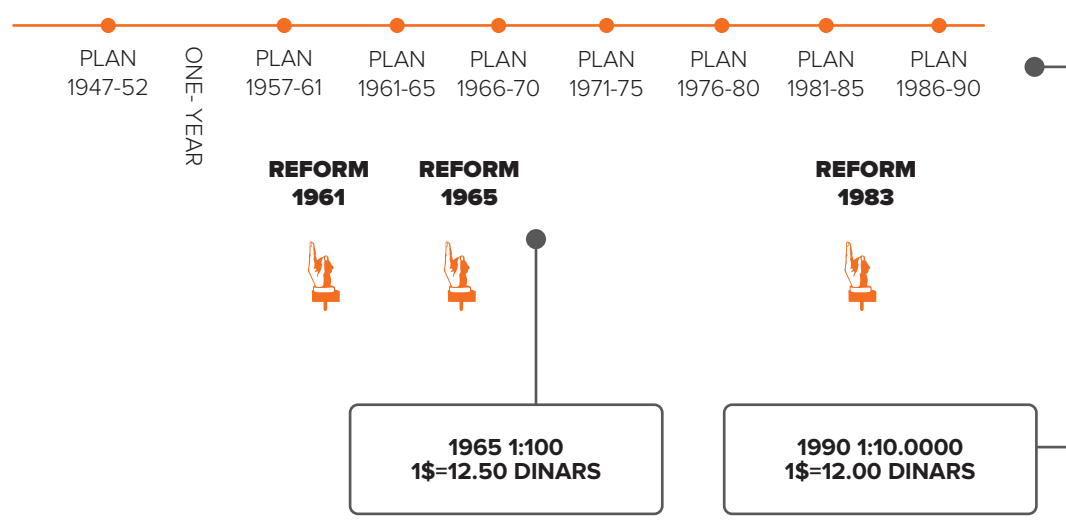
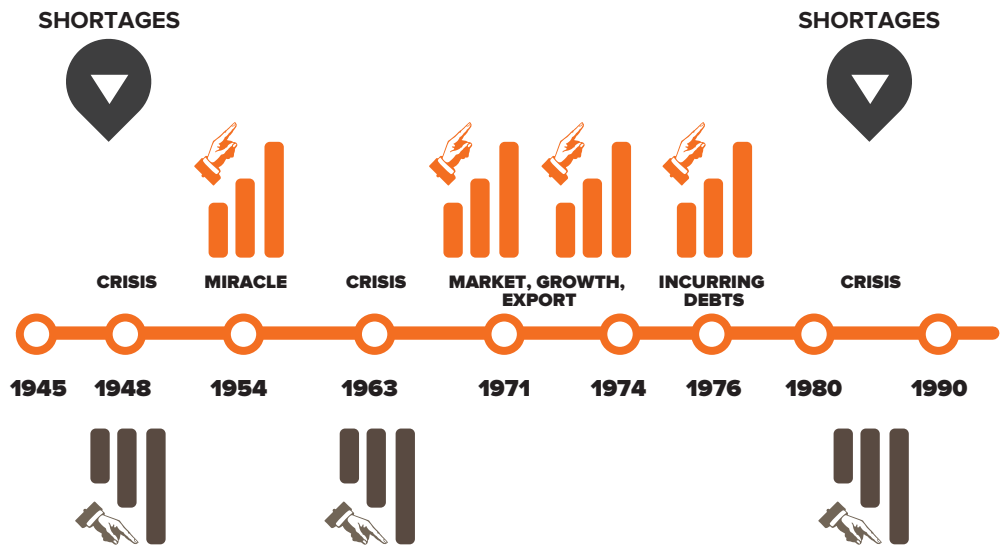
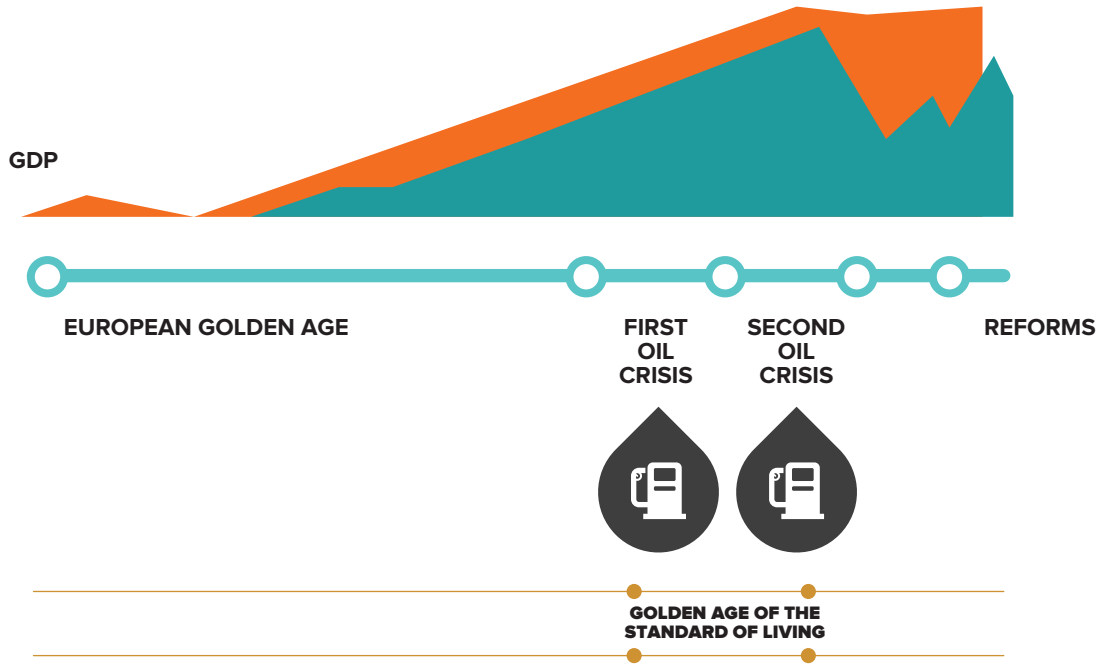
Igor Duda

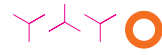
At the height of the European golden age, the British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan in his 1957 speech concluded, referring to the majority of the British people that “...most of our people have never had it so good.”. Two years later, he was elected Prime Minister again, thus it really seems he was right and this remark, remembered in the form of the statement “*You’ve never had it so good*” – became one of the symbols of the economic growth and improvement of the standard of living in the early second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Many years later, in the winter of 1984/85, in Yugoslavia, the worker Kata Rasnek said in a statement published in the trade union bulletin *Radničke novine (Workers’ Paper)* “I have never had it better”. Kata was a skilled sewer of upper parts of shoes working in the Borovo factory in Vukovar. She came to Croatia, from Bosanska Posavina, back when she was a girl. She lived in a ten-storey building, in a three-bedroom flat, with her three children, her husband Pavo, his mother, who held the right to occupy the flat, and his grandmother. They were crammed in the flat, but at that moment that was the best solution for them. “Mum got the flat back when she was working in Borovo in Tvornica gumenotehničke robe (Rubber Equipment Factory). Neither Pavo, nor I looked for a flat ourselves. We had just a few years of service and the time spent on the waiting list before getting a flat is fifteen or sixteen years on the average [...]. I grew up in poverty; in Rogozan, we all used to sleep together on straw mattresses. Now, we have a flat, a car and a vineyard. All of the most important things that we needed, we bought before stabilization...” It was precisely in the years of stabilization, at the time marked by shortages of meat and other products, that people were coping thanks to a network of friends. “When it comes to food, we manage to get by just like the others, thanks to our friends and our marriage witnesses. They have a house near Borovo, where they can keep pigs and poultry. Together with their family members, they feed chickens and pigs for us. We split all the expenses. Maybe, this way, meat is not cheaper, after all, but at least we do not pay in full and we know that the meat is healthy. We have a freezer and there is always meat in it... But the fact that we are helping each other out is more important. It is the most valuable thing of all. One is lost without friends and spending time with them.” Just before the visit of the journalists, Kata and Pavo had to repair their car, but not even with their two salaries combined, amounting to around 45 thousand dinars, could they do it without taking a loan: “We have a car, a nine-year-old ‘Stojadin’. It is as old as Melita. Not long ago, we had to have its bumpers replaced and that cost 60 thousand, six million in old money! Our salaries could not cover it, so Pavo got a cash loan with a bank. Now five thousand dinars per month gets deducted from his salary.”

The statements of the British Prime Minister and the Yugoslav worker link the European and Yugoslav history of modernization of everyday life, they connect top-level politics and a personal opinion regarding the quality of life. Although an objective statistical measurement of the standard of living would surely indicate that the housing circumstances of Kata Rasnek were not satisfactory, her subjective impression about her own standard of living signalled that she had it better than ever before. Such impressions - recorded in the past or today during the preparations for the exhibition – can cause more complex paradigms too to be brought up in the discussion, including social origins at the time before the statement was given and the horizon of expectations at the moment of giving the statement, as well as the current position, if the statement refers to a time in the past. Only such a complex equation, coupled with objective statistical indicators could provide an answer to the question as to the extent to which someone had it good at a given time. However, having in mind the social structure of the population of Yugoslavia right after World War II, it is easy to conclude, even without resorting to complex scientific defence mechanisms that the largest part of the population found that life was getting more and more comfortable. Within a generation, many people witnessed both electrification and motorization, bought their first TV set and travelled on a holiday for the first time. Such advancements leave a mark on memories that can be as alive half a century later as they were back then. The memories of the late 1970s, as the time when the standard of living was the highest and the memories of a series of episodes from someone’s youth can be positive, just like other periods and events can provoke opposite emotions.

That is precisely why in the title of the exhibition the visitors are offered in advance a question that cannot be evaded, a question that they will be asking themselves too, the one that they could ask the authors of the exhibition and which is omnipresent in the media, whenever today’s standard of living in the successor countries is compared to the one in the Yugoslav period. That question is both superficial and essential at the same time, therefore it should not be shunned; instead possible readings and answers should be offered by means of interpreting historical sources. “They”, namely, the subject of the question are the then citizens of Yugoslavia and the pronoun could remind historians at least of the distance to be kept, which makes it possible to put socialist Yugoslavia, written and material remnants of its past and the memories of older people into their historical context, without needless identification with the present.





# **YUGOSLAVIA IN THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT**

Igor Duda

The first objective of the almost thirty-year-long post-war European golden age was post-war reconstruction and reaching the pre-war level of production. Then post-war shortages and spending limitations had to be put to an end and instruments of the welfare state, such as health and pension insurance had to be fully introduced, along with achieving a high rate of employment, with an increased mobility of the work force, whose members and their small families found their home in new housing estates, in new towns. These and other measures were meant to have a joint effect of improving the standard of living and the quality of life and ultimately result in the creation of welfare state. Mass belief in a better future and the post-war collective spirit facilitated mobilizing the masses to fulfil the specified aims. Taking advantage of the new work force: rural population, women and people living in underdeveloped areas also contributed to that. The available resources were used well, having in mind the fact that in the period from 1947 to 1975 the European per capita income increased by as much as 250%, which was more than in the previous 150 years combined.

Almost all European countries experienced an “economic miracle” in the 1950s and 1960s to a larger or smaller extent. The speed of progress depended on the pre-war level of development, the damage caused by the war and on post-war economic policies. Capitalist Western Europe continued its industrial development and by conforming to the laws of the free market and with the help of the Marshall Plan achieved high productivity; its countries joined forces in the process of economic integration, both salaries and consumption were rising rapidly. Socialist Eastern Europe adopted the Soviet model of planned economy, developing heavy industry, while an emphasis on production of consumer goods was placed only later, which resulted in frequent shortages and a slower rise of consumption and salaries. Besides, the personal standard of living lagged behind and nature of this lag was such that investment in improving the standard of living in the society as a whole could not fully fill the gap. However, the insistence on rapid industrialization meant that throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Eastern

Europe saw its GDP grow at an annual rate of 7 percent on the average, while in the western part of the continent growth reached 4.6 percent.

During that period, the Yugoslav GDP grew at an average rate of 6.2 percent and in the second half of the 1950s, with the annual growth rate of no less than 13 percent, the country experienced its own “economic miracle” that was based on increased investment in light industry and financial and technology support of the West. Nevertheless, the miracle grinded to a halt and the first economic reform in 1961 and especially the second one in 1965, introduced the rule of maximizing income, reduced the role of the state in the economy and brought the country closer to international trade and customs associations. This “market-oriented socialism” differed significantly from the system on which the first post-war five-year plan was based, since it consistently followed the Soviet model, putting the centralized economy fully under the control of the state. From the 1960s onwards, there were no more “miracles” and the growth of the GDP averaged at an annual rate of 6 percent until the 1980s when it plummeted. Namely, the 1970s were the years of big investment, but also the time when foreign debt reached around twenty billion US dollars. The loans had to be paid back and towards the end of the decade the situation was further complicated by the second oil crisis and rising costs of new loans. It was then that Yugoslavia entered a period of crises that was only partially resolved by the 1983 Long-Term Economic Stabilization Programme. In that decade, the purchasing power dropped by one-third and hyperinflation brought an additional element of uncertainty into the economic and political system. Although the new dinar – whose rate of exchange was set at a hundred old dinars per one new dinar – had been introduced as far back as the second economic reform – old dinars were not replaced in everyday speech in the twenty odd years that followed. The exchange rate was changed to 10,000:1 in 1990, due to hyperinflation, and convertible dinar was introduced. Still, despite all the reforms, in the years following the 1960s, the economy in all

socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, did not manage to make the transition from extensive to intensive growth and was thus losing the race with the West, which after the first oil crisis in 1974 and the end of the golden age, underwent reforms that often went in the direction of withdrawal of the state and leaving the economy to fend for itself in the world of liberal capitalism.

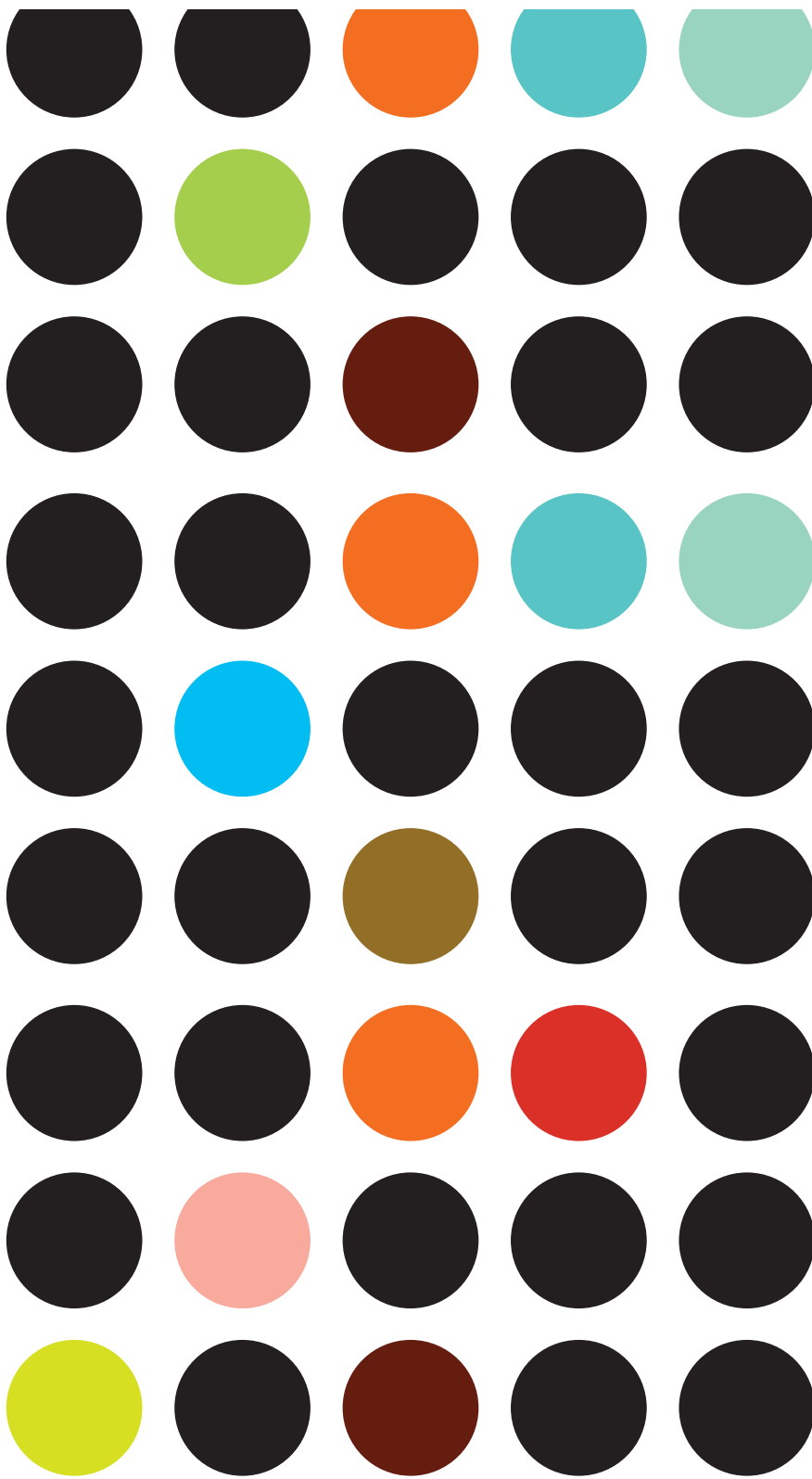
The post-war changes, aimed at modernization, resulted in the emergence of new European societies marked by social mobility and the lessening of class differences, deagrarianization and urbanization, the development of industry and the subsequent turning to the tertiary sector, better educational attainment and an increasing proportion of the population receiving higher education, more or less pronounced consumer revolution, open or covert and postponed Americanisation, spontaneous or encouraged secularization, the flourishing of popular culture and youth culture.

Modernization was the trump card of the Programme of the Communist League of Yugoslavia too, adopted in 1958 at the 6<sup>th</sup> Congress, which was never replaced by some other programmatic act. The communists concluded that “Man’s personal happiness is the highest aim of socialism” – because socialism “is not built with some abstract aims in mind, but rather for real, living and breathing people”. Therefore, one of their basic tasks they set themselves was “continuous improvement of material and cultural living and working conditions for the working people, namely, “fulfilling personal and collective needs the fullest extent”. The rise in production and consumption was supposed to contribute to that, as well the acceptance of private ownership “of different kinds of goods that are consumed or utilized, on which a more and more diverse and comfortable life depends”. Thus, “a better supply of the population with material goods” would lead to a better standard of living, but “the general standard of technology and culture” also had to be raised, “networks of institutions aimed at improving culture and education level of the widest possible population” developed, such as printing, publishing, radio, television, film, theatre, public libraries,

cinemas, cultural centres, adult education centres cultural and educational and other organizations”, the conditions for a “wider and more comprehensive use of technological and cultural resources” created, sporting activities developed and opportunities for pursuing leisure interests, as well as for quality rest on a daily and weekly basis, including annual holidays created. In 1958, the faith of communists in the possibility of creation of a new and better world knew no bounds: “We are living in the most momentous and the most magnificent time in the recorded history of mankind. The contemporary feats of the human mind and human hands surpass even the boldest visions of dreamers; Man is conquering space; he is virtually becoming the master of undreamed-of sources of energy, sufficient to free the entire humankind from all humiliations, shortages and poverty, all previous material and technical limitations.”

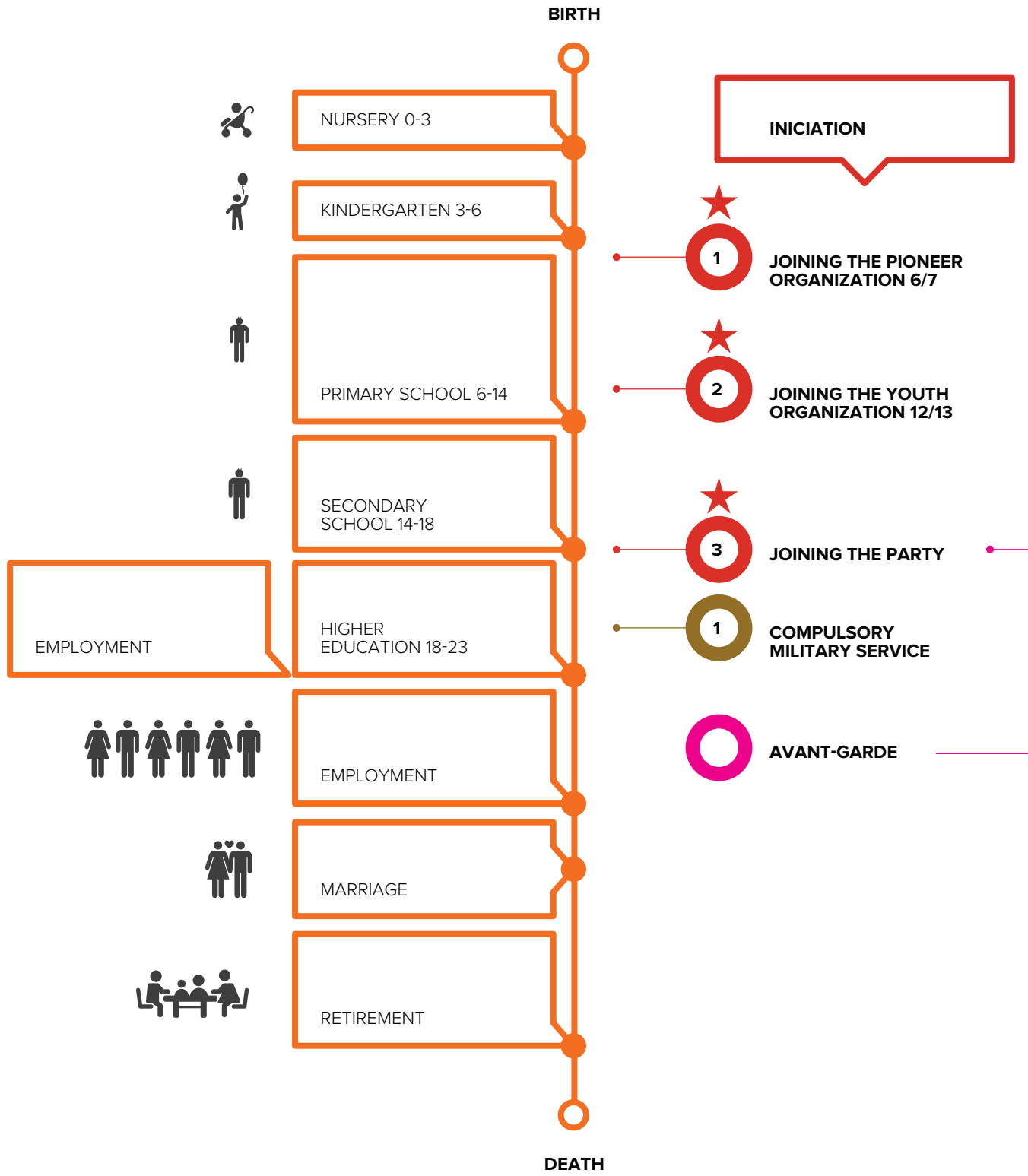
The modernization of everyday life in Yugoslavia unfolded by implementing the socialist concept of modernization, as well as by accepting general European or Western European influences. Both processes combined led to changing old and shaping new forms of everyday practice and ran independently from the obvious internal deficiencies of the political system, as far as democracy was concerned. On the one hand, every individual was exposed to the ideological and emancipatory impulses intended to curb everything that was considered to be retrograde, while on the other, a direct contact with the West was established through radio and television programmes, foreign tourists visiting the country, tourist trips abroad and local people leaving to go to work in the most developed European countries. That was a unique combination of the Marxist theory and a complex, hybrid practice, where a conclusion could be drawn at every moment that life was better than in the state socialism in Eastern Europe and that capitalism in the West went too far in many respects anyway. However, a critical remark could also be made to the effect that the standard of living was not so good that it could not be better.

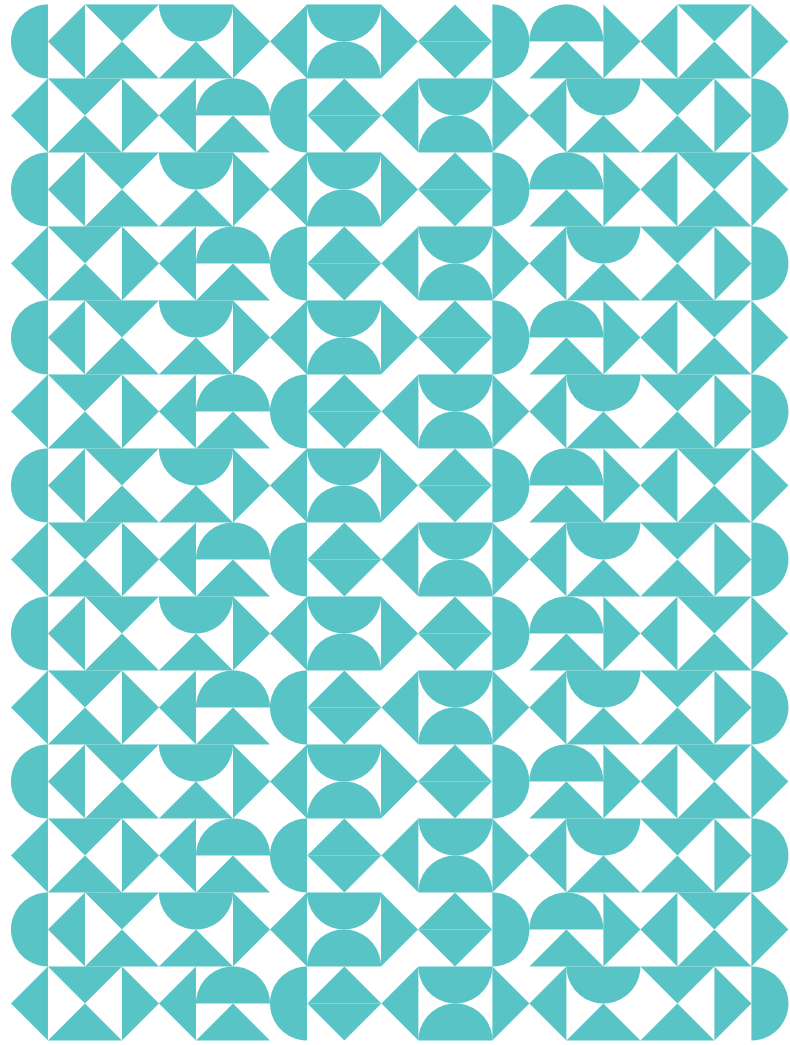


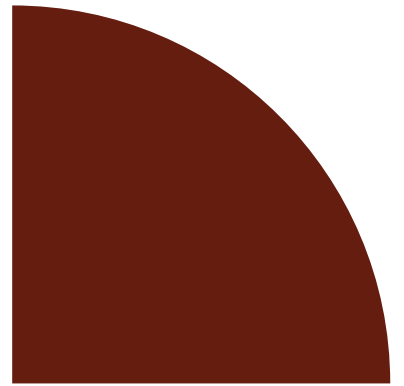


# The Rhythm of Life









# The Big Education Reform

Ivana Dobrivojević



# Literacy

In socialist Yugoslavia, the number of illiterate people was gradually reduced, but general literacy has never been achieved.<sup>1</sup> There were incomparably more illiterate people among women than among men (according to *Statistički godišnjak Jugoslavije (Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia)*, abbreviated as SGJ). Illiteracy varied from republic to republic. While, in Slovenia illiteracy was almost non-existent, there were villages in Kosovo and Metohija without a single literate inhabitant to make a list of the illiterate. Because of high rates of illiteracy, the authorities drew up the first instructions on curbing illiteracy, as early as several weeks before war operations had ended. The plan was for the illiterate to learn to read and write by taking courses that were to be offered everywhere – “in towns, villages, hamlets, firms” where at least five illiterate people, aged from 14 to 50, lived or worked. The Guidelines of the Federal Ministry of Education specified that beginners’ courses for the illiterate lasting at least 30 working days should allow the participants to master the basics of literacy and sums, while more advanced, fifteen-day courses were to focus on “fine reading and writing” and also provide an introduction to the system of government, production and the heritage of past battles fought by partisans. “It is a known fact that an illiterate person remains out of touch with politics and consequently, out of touch

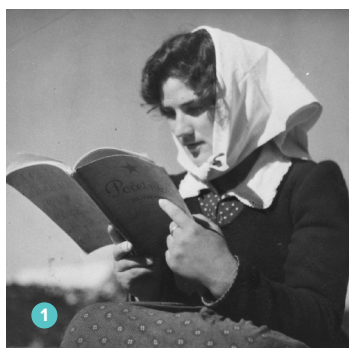
with the process of building the new society”, warned the high-ranking party official, Veljko Vlahović. Introducing literacy was, thus, in the eyes of the authorities, a much more complex process than the first attempts at spelling and unskilled reading. However, resistance to the educational efforts of the authorities was considerable and it was not at all easy to talk country people into participating in the courses. That is why local activists formed “persuasion teams” tasked, with patrolling villages and winning illiterate people over to start learning. A mass literacy campaign was launched immediately after liberation. Even according to the official statistics as little as 68% of illiterate participants passed the final exam and a large number of them were barely capable of reading or writing something on their own. Moreover, as a matter of fact, some people had been attending different courses for the illiterate for several years and still could not read or write! Not even the easily awarded course certificates could be a guarantee of actual literacy. In the Dragačevo region, there was a case of a young man who owned no less than three certificates, confirming that he had completed the course successfully, and yet he was still illiterate. Scant knowledge and poor application of what had been learned were the factors contributing to the situation where after just a couple of months or a year, a large number of the “newly literate” forgot the letters of the alphabet. The number of courses held, as well as the number of people who, at least on paper, acquired reading and writing skills was rising year after year, until the autumn of 1948, when the number of

courses was suddenly halved, probably mostly due to complications in the field of foreign policy. In the 1950s, the extracurricular efforts to curb illiteracy all but died out.

The campaign aimed at popularizing education included opening public libraries in towns, which made books, magazines and daily newspapers accessible to people across social strata. The libraries had branches in town boroughs and specialized children’s departments in local communities. Membership in libraries, together with borrowing books on a regular basis was promoted as part of extracurricular activities. The most prominent figures of the Yugoslav children’s literature were Branko Ćopić, Mira Alečković, Desanka Maksimović, Ljubivoje Ršumović, Duško Radović, Arsen Diklić, Danko Oblak, Hrvoje Hitrec, Mato Lovrak, Tone Seliskar, Milivoj Matošec, France Bevk and others. In the late 1950s, children’s books by foreign authors were gaining popularity, like the illustrated stories about Paddington Bear. The books about Pippi Longstocking, Heidi, Alice in Wonderland, the Paul Street boys, the Little Prince, Moby Dick, Robin Hood and the compelling adventures of Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn were widely read.

The stabilization of the circumstances in the domain of education, reconstruction and opening new schools and rapid modernization, especially from the 1960s onwards, led to a decrease in the number of illiterate people. Nevertheless, in terms of education, the society in Yugoslavia very much lagged behind, not only western European countries, but Eastern Europe too.

<sup>1</sup> In 1948, 25% of the population in Yugoslavia was illiterate; in 1961 that percentage dropped to 21%, in 1971 it was 15%, while in 1981, the number of illiterate members of the population fell to 9.5%.



1. Marija Dević after completing a literacy course, Benkovac, 1947
2. Literacy course on the Šamac-Sarajevo railway, 1947
3. Poster: BY HELPING EDUCATE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, WE ARE HELPING REBUILD THE COUNTRY, Belgrade, around 1945  
Author: Mate Zlamalik
4. Literacy course
5. Woman in Battle, issue no. 23, 1946

Museum of Yugoslav History



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1. Trade school students' dormitory, 1947
2. From old to new school, Ljubljana, February 1954. Photo: Svetozar Busić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
3. Youth Day celebration in the Arena, Pula, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1982. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

4. First day at school, September 1954. Photo: Marjan Ciglić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
5. Children are off to get milk, Jesenice, April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1947. Photo: Vlastja Simončič, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

## The Spread of Primary Education

Right after liberation, the authorities were faced with serious problems in the domain of primary education. Despite all the efforts put in enlightening the population, raising its education level proved to be a painstaking process. For example, in 1968, as few as 51 percent of children completed all eight years of primary school, while the rest dropped out. The school network, insufficiently developed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia too, was badly damaged in the operations throughout the war. Thus, the 1949 reports showed that only 53 percent of children in Bosnia and Herzegovina attended classes. According to the minutes of the conference held in 1949, hosted by the Economic Council, it was assessed that the main reason for such a situation was “primarily lack of schools, especially in the areas ravaged by war, where almost all schools were destroyed, as well as the shortage of teaching staff”. Although compulsory eight-year primary education was introduced in the school year 1952/1953, conservatism, ignorance and poverty resulted in new illiterates among children of school age, mostly girls, who did not attend (compulsory) classes because of the opposition of their parents. In rural areas, pupils often missed school, mostly because people had to work in the fields or had some other “more important” obligations. Some People’s Committees and political organizations remained quite indifferent and silent in the face of the fact that children did not attend school at all or did not go to classes regularly. Even the sanctions provided by law were not enforced,

and even when negligent parents were made to answer for their actions, the penalties were merely symbolic – warnings, rebukes and a fine now and then. The modernization of society, large-scale migration to towns, as well as raising awareness of the need for getting an education were instrumental in getting more and more children every year to attend primary school (95% in 1985, according to SGJ). New schools were being opened, the professional skills and education of teaching staff improved, modern teaching aids were provided and libraries were becoming well-stocked. In many schools, primarily in urban areas, there were subject-specific laboratories. However, the curricula, especially in the case of subjects belonging to social sciences were ideologically biased. School trips, the favourite school-related activities were becoming more frequent in the 1950s. They were organized under the slogan: “Get to know your country in order to love it more” and included visits to towns in other republics and autonomous provinces and the sites of the National Liberation War. In the 1980s, school trips abroad became popular.

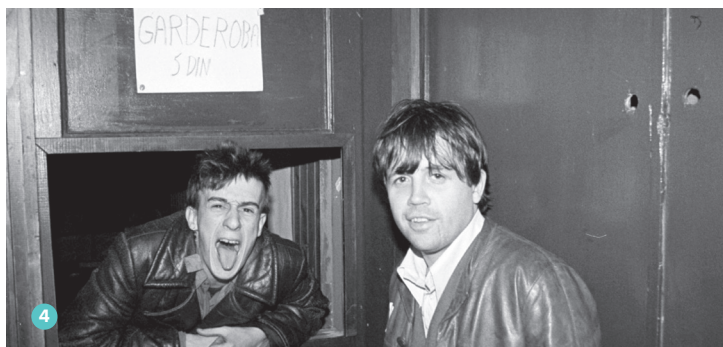
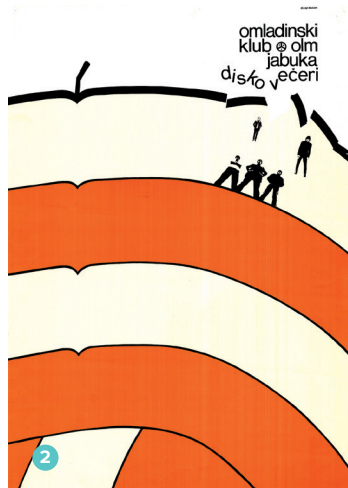
The ways in which children spent their free time after school depended both on their parents and their environment, but some games and habits were what many children had in common. In the first years after the war, football was played with rag balls, made of old rags and worn out socks. A terribly noisy “means of transport” made of a piece of wooden board to which ball bearings (usually taken off some old washing machine) were mounted was used by

children to slide down the steep streets in which traffic had not yet become heavy at the time. Sleighs were used in winter, when safety nets were put up at the bottom of these streets. The children played cowboys and Indians, partisans and Germans and playing elastics was an ever-present pastime among girls (and some boys), while one of their most popular hobbies was collecting things. All sorts of things were collected and children made their collections of marbles, dolls, stamps, pins, napkins, cans, posters, records, cassettes and must-read comics that were for many people a significant feature of growing up in Yugoslavia. The liberalization in the early 1950s, marked the comeback of animated characters that remained present throughout the life of Yugoslavia. Thus, generations of young people grew up with Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, Asterix and Obelix, Lucky Luke, Mister No, Zagor Te-Nay, Dillan Dog, Modesty Blaze and Alan Ford comics that had a cult following in Yugoslavia. Sticker albums featuring football players, Tarzan, Smurfs, Sarah Kay and other comic book and real-life heroes were incredibly popular with children. From the 1980s onwards, scrapbooks with personal questions have entered the lives of children, replacing autograph books of the past. “Who is your favourite actor/actress?” “What is your favourite book?” “Are you in love?” “What is the thing you like the most about the person you fancy?” These are only some of the questions that the respondents were required to answer, thus expressing their opinions, views and a rebellious attitude.

# Secondary Education

In the first decade after the war, in Yugoslavia, there were (four-year) upper grammar schools, (four-year) trade schools, (two- or three-year) vocational and schools offering manufacturing-oriented courses. After completing grammar school, students could enrol at any two-year degree college or university, while trade school graduates were eligible only for certain two-year degree colleges and faculties. The work on the education reform began as early as 1953. In 1958, the General Law on Education, introducing a unified school system in Yugoslavia was passed. Secondary schools were divided into grammar schools and trade schools (schools offering skilled worker, highly skilled worker and technician certificates). The process of reform of secondary education began in 1975/1976. Its purpose was to ensure more comprehensive ties between firms and secondary schools. Namely, educational qualifications were developed so as to suit the needs of firms. On the other hand, secondary schools providing qualifications unrelated to manufacturing and production had to introduce students to production processes, while future workers were to be given an opportunity to get a broader education, so that later on they could continue studying if they wanted to. The reform abolished grammar schools, as they were considered to be a remnant of the bourgeois education. However, it did not start simultaneously in all republics and autonomous provinces and so until 1984/85 in Yugoslavia, there were secondary schools that were covered by the (oriented education) reform and those that were not. Moreover, the reform was not carried out in the same way in all the republics, so there existed secondary education divided in stages (stage one – the common core curriculum in the first and second year and stage two – the final phase, in the third and fourth year, consisting of courses related strictly to the chosen profession) and its counterpart that functioned without the division into stages.

Secondary school students most often spent their free time outside, since in the flats there was not enough space for them to gather together. So, the main pastime of young people in the first years after the war were taking a stroll down the promenade and going to the cinema, which offered a little bit of intimacy, a chance for holding hands and an embrace in the dark. The advent of rock and roll in the 1960s brought about big changes in the lives of young people. Yugoslav pop culture was born, many bands were formed and people listened to Radio Luxemburg and Radio Beirut, discovered songs there and went dancing. The hottest hot shot among one's friends was the person who had a record player and a good collection of the latest records that were hard to come by and people most often brought them themselves or had them ordered from abroad. In the 1970s, dances were replaced by discos and the 1980s launched the New Wave, punk music, clubs and the alternative scene. Rock music in Yugoslavia is linked to modernization to which it contributed itself by breaking taboos, changing perceptions, the way people dressed and their attitude towards sexuality.



1. Typewriting class, Pula, around 1975. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
2. Poster OLM JABUKA (APPLE) YOUTH CLUB DISCO EVENINGS, Zagreb, 1969. Author: Boris Bučan, Silk-screen print, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
3. Študent Disco, a club that achieved cult status and a place where young people wishing to hear a different kind of music gathered. It was one of the rare places that was home to the alternative scene in Ljubljana in the 1980s, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1982. Photo: Janez Bogataj, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

4. Peter Lovšin, member of the band Pankrti and a cloakroom attendant in the punk disco club in Ljubljana, 1983. Photo: Miško Kranjec, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
5. In the physical education class, 1960. From a photo album of the Ivo Lola Ribar grammar school in Belgrade, Museum of Yugoslav History
6. The interior of a student room in the secondary school students' dormitory, Pula, around 1978. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

1. "Young people today aspire to newer and newer, more advanced and modern forms of life", 1960. From a photo album of the youth of Montenegro, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Poster WHAT STUDENTS SAY, Zagreb 1970-1975. Author: Zoran Pavlović, Silk-screen print, 100.5 x 71 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
3. Poster UNIVERSIADE '87, Zagreb, Croatia, around 1972. Author: N. Dragić, 100 x 70 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
4. Student demonstrations, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, June, 5<sup>th</sup> 1968, Museum of Yugoslav History
5. Student demonstrations – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering students, Belgrade, June, 5<sup>th</sup> 1968, Museum of Yugoslav History
6. Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb, Museum of Yugoslav History
7. Student dormitory in Skopje, Museum of Yugoslav History
8. The first Yugoslav punk rock band Pankrti in concert in the student halls of residence canteen, Ljubljana, April, 18<sup>th</sup> 1980



THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD FOR A WORLD OF PEACE  
**UNIVERSIADE '87**  
8-19 7 1987 ZAGREB  
YUGOSLAVIA



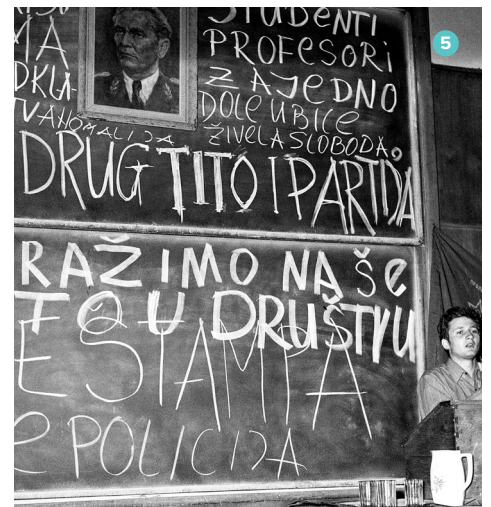
THE GREATEST WORLD SPORTS EVENT IN 1987



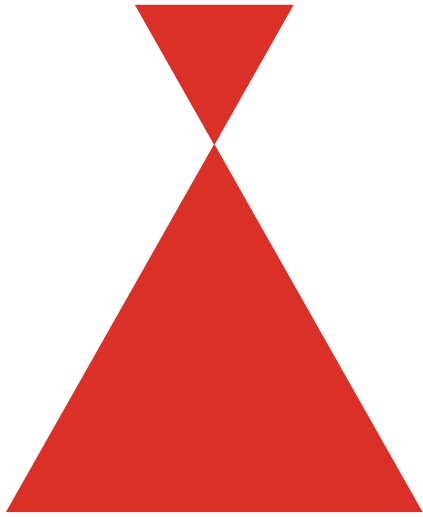
## Higher Education

The democratization of education in the 1950s made higher education increasingly accessible. Two-year degree colleges and university faculties were being opened often elsewhere, not just in the towns that were the centres of republics and autonomous provinces. The number of university students, especially female ones was rising steadily. Thus, in 1946, 39,239 students attended 40 university faculties and two-year degree colleges. In 1987, that number rose to 346,787 students (attending 322 university faculties and two-year degree colleges). Since 1960, the capitals of the republics had become university centres, still Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana remained the strongest. In the same year, part time i.e. work-study and multiple-degree study options were introduced. In the 1970s and 1980s, the network of universities was expanded to include other larger towns. Despite the fact that higher education was clearly being promoted, the number of university graduates in Yugoslavia never rose over 6 percent of the total population.

Students were often worried about their standard of living (food, accommodation, scholarships), they contemplated the state of the society and the political situation in the country, which was visible in the student involvement in the events in 1968 (in Belgrade Zagreb and Ljubljana) and in 1971 (in Zagreb).







# The Upbringing of the New, Socialist Man

1. Pioneer Biserka Jurečić as the Pioneers representative at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, November 1952, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. "Two thousand Čukarica pioneers see us off with flowers on the first kilometres of the journey", 1957. From a photo album of the pioneers of the People's Republic of Serbia, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. Poster THE FIRST PIONEER WINTER GAMES, Kranjska Gora, January 1950. Author: Rudolf Gorjup, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
4. Josip Broz Tito visiting Maribor, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1969. Photo: Jože Kološa, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
5. Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), with the pioneers, DDR Museum, Berlin
6. Unveiling of the monument dedicated to the pioneers fallen in the National Liberation War, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 1962. From a photo album of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Pioneer Organization in Slovenia, Museum of Yugoslav History
7. Pioneers from other republics visiting their friends from Ljubljana, 1962. From a photo album of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Pioneer Organization in Slovenia, Museum of Yugoslav History
8. A pioneer-designer with his robot, 1962. From a photo album of the pioneers from the municipality of Svetozarevo, 1962, Museum of Yugoslav History
9. Young Technicians Club. From a photo album of the pioneers from the municipality of Osijek, Museum of Yugoslav History

# Pioneer Organization

Igor Duda

In socialist Yugoslavia, a part of childhood, more precisely the primary school period and its curricular and extracurricular activities, was marked by compulsory membership in the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia. It was one of the mass social organizations, at first a part of the youth branch of the People's Front, but later a part of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and its branch the Alliance of Organizations for Upbringing and Children Care. It was not the only organization associated with children, given that various organizations such as e.g. the Scouts Union, the Red Cross, People's Technology, the Alliance of Youth Tourism and the Physical Education Alliance, also targeted children of school age.

The Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia was founded in Bihać on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1942, at the First Congress of the United Alliance of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia, with an aim to rally youth behind the National Liberation Movement. Already during the war, a lot of children became distinguished as messengers and fighters were subsequently celebrated as heroes and role models until the end of socialist times. To commemorate them, monuments were erected, memorials were held, bonfires and competitions took place and feature films were made such as the one about Boško Buha, a people's hero born near Virovitica in Croatia who died near Prijepolje in Serbia. The Union of Pioneers was established and was modeled upon a similar Soviet organization and shared some of the characteristics of various children's organizations that existed in many totalitarian, authoritarian and democratic societies during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After 1950, during the period of de-Sovietization and important social and political changes, upon the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Union of Pioneers underwent reform the goal of which was to liberate the organization from excessive political and military rigidity and to bring it closer to children through

games and entertaining content. The leadership of the organization was taken over by the Councils of the Alliances of Pioneers at the local, republic and federal level, which operated within social organizations for children care, consisting mostly of teachers and education specialists. Sometimes seriously and sometimes through games and fun, the basic mission of the organization was advanced: contribution to socialist upbringing of children, whereby continuity of revolution among children was meant to be preserved.

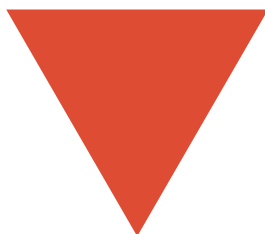
The children became pioneers in the first grade of primary school, aged 6 or 7 and remained pioneers until the seventh grade when, aged 13 or 14, they could be admitted into the youth organization. The induction ceremony for pioneers was usually held in schools or other public venues in late November as a part of the Republic Day celebrations. The children, dressed in white shirts and blue trousers or skirts received Pioneer membership cards, a red scarf and in most cases a navy blue cap called Titovka bearing a red star and a pioneer badge with a pioneer motto "For the Homeland with Tito - Advance!". Every pioneer was expected to be honest, sincere, courageous, progressive, persistent and diligent and pioneer pledge contained numerous other pledges. The text of the pledge has been changing over time, but the content in the early 1980s was:

Today, as I become a Pioneer,  
I give my Pioneer's word of honour -  
That I shall study and work diligently,  
Respect parents and my seniors,  
And be a loyal and honest friend  
Who keeps his word;  
That I shall follow the path of the best pioneers,  
Respecting the glorious fight of the Partisans  
And all progressive people of the world  
Who want freedom and peace;  
That I shall love our homeland, self-managed  
Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,

That I shall spread brotherhood and unity  
And build a new life full of happiness and joy.

By the act of giving the pioneer's pledge, pupils would become members of the Pioneer division of their school, but they would appear in uniform only a few times a year, during state holidays and school celebrations. The association of the induction into the Pioneer organization with the birthday of the Republic was a sign of initiation of children into political life and the beginning of shaping them as self-conscious socialist citizens. However, school curricula themselves have also had an important role to play in that regard.

Patriotism and preservation of basic values of socialist Yugoslavia, such as the National Liberation War, brotherhood and unity, as well as the personality of Josip Broz Tito, constituted the content of many activities organized for pioneers, but ideology was not always crucial. In the work with children, general humanistic values were promoted and many local communities, especially in early socialism, were able to offer to children for the first time precisely through the Union of Pioneers some additional content as well as extracurricular cultural and entertainment activities, which clearly produced a modernization effect. These activities were not evenly organized in all federal republics, but various programs in many local communities were organized already during the 1950s and some of them kept being organized until the 1980s, namely promotion of natural and technical sciences, opening of pioneer bookshops and theatres, organization of pioneer bonfires and camping, pioneer holiday homes and sports competitions, pioneer relay, printing of magazines, manuals and other publications, development of international cooperation and carrying out of numerous activities taking place in pioneer homes and pioneer residential complexes.



1. Poster SAVA '71 VOLUNTARY YOUTH LABOUR CAMPAIGN, Zagreb, 1971. Author: Mladen Galić, Silk-screen print, 99.5 x 60 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
2. People's Youth of Yugoslavia, Propaganda poster by A. Jov, Belgrade, 1948. Illustrated colour poster, 23.6 x 34.1 cm, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. Cheerful group of young people, Pula, around 1975. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

# The Youth Organization

Ivana Dobrivojević

In the first post-war years in Yugoslavia, there were two organizations which rallied youth – People's Youth of Yugoslavia (until 1946 the United Alliance of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian abbreviation: USAOJ) and the Youth Communist League of Yugoslavia (Serbo-Croatian abbreviation: SKOJ). These two organizations merged in 1948 into NOJ (as of 1963 the League of Yugoslav Youth and as of 1974 the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia). The youth organization rallied the young aged 14 to 25. Although the Party wanted all young people to become members of the youth organization, the youth in rural, but also in city areas, often desisted membership. The youth organization acquainted the young with the social and political progress of the country and provided ideological guidance. Given that already after the country's liberation the youth was expected to take part in reconstruction and industrialization of the country, numerous youth mass labour campaigns were organized (1946-1952 and after 1958). The symbolic date of May 1st 1946 was the date of the onset of the first major voluntary youth labour campaign, namely the building of the railway between Brčko and the coal mine in Banovići (Bosnia and Herzegovina), while the following year a voluntary youth labour campaign was organized to build the railway connecting Šamac and Sarajevo and already in December the same year, the Central Council of the People's Youth decided to organize "one voluntary youth labour campaign in every federal republic" to engage the youth from that republic, but also from other republics "in order to provide assistance, facilitate forging of youth friendships and exchange experiences." Party activists soon realized the multiple benefits of voluntary youth labour campaigns – incessant work, youth from different parts of the country getting to know one another and intermingle, numerous cultural and educational activities were organized on construction sites bearing strong dogmatic undercurrent message and mass labour campaigns were an ideal place for recruiting the

workforce of which there was a constant shortage in Yugoslav developing economy. Mass labour campaigns followed one another and in the period until 1952, when actions of this kind stopped at both republic and federal level, as much as 70 facilities envisaged by the Five-Year Plan were built. According to official data, for seven years slightly over a million young people were engaged on construction sites throughout Yugoslavia, who worked two and a half months on average. However, many young attended the mass labour campaigns neither gladly nor voluntarily. The conscription of members of voluntary youth labour campaigns ran most smoothly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while there were many problems in Serbia and Croatia, where involuntary conscription was conducted through appeals made by local authorities. However, the mass labour campaigns and pompously advertised party goals of general progress and social transformation aroused hope and enthusiasm among certain number of youth. Much later, musician Krsta Popović, in an interview with journalist Petar Luković, remembered: "Enthusiasm of masses of youth was unbelievable - nobody asked about special conditions of accommodation or food, work was conducted with such a tempo as if communism was arriving tomorrow! The shock worker badge contained 60 dots and 30 sufficed to buy a new, brand new suit, while Borovo sneakers cost 15 and enabled the owner a full social glory! One couldn't attend parties wearing hard working shoes, while white sneakers sprinkled with Zinkweiss were the pass for the dance party having a wider social significance!"

When a voluntary youth labour campaign was organized after a couple of years of pause in 1958 for the purpose of building the highway "Brotherhood and Unity," social circumstances were significantly different. Partial liberalization led to loosening of party discipline and weakening of repression. Practically there were no longer open pressures on the young to take part in mass labour. However, even though economists already in the early 1950s

warned that youth labour costs more than it's worth (youth was less trained and less productive than professional workers) in order to spread brotherhood and unity, that is, in order to facilitate mutual acquaintance and intermingling of youth, the actions were still organized. The young attended them gladly – due to enthusiasm, the desire to make friends or the possibility to complete a training course during the working action and get an industrial job. Trainings of housewives were organized in order to acquaint women from rural parts of the country with electric household appliances and many were trained during working actions to ride a motorbike, a car or a tractor, to use the camera or to become radio amateurs. The actions were particularly popular in the 1960s and the 1970s when youth was engaged to build the Brotherhood and Unity highway (the section in Macedonia), to work on reconstruction of Skopje which was severely damaged in the 1963 earthquake, to build the Adriatic Highway and the railway track between Belgrade and Bar.

The working actions have thus contributed to emancipation of the young and they owe their popularity to the fact that they were often the only way for the young to separate from their parents and travel on their own for several days. In the 1960s living conditions and hygiene in youth camps were significantly improved. In addition to educational content, they also offered cultural programs with decreasingly ideological and increasingly entertaining content.



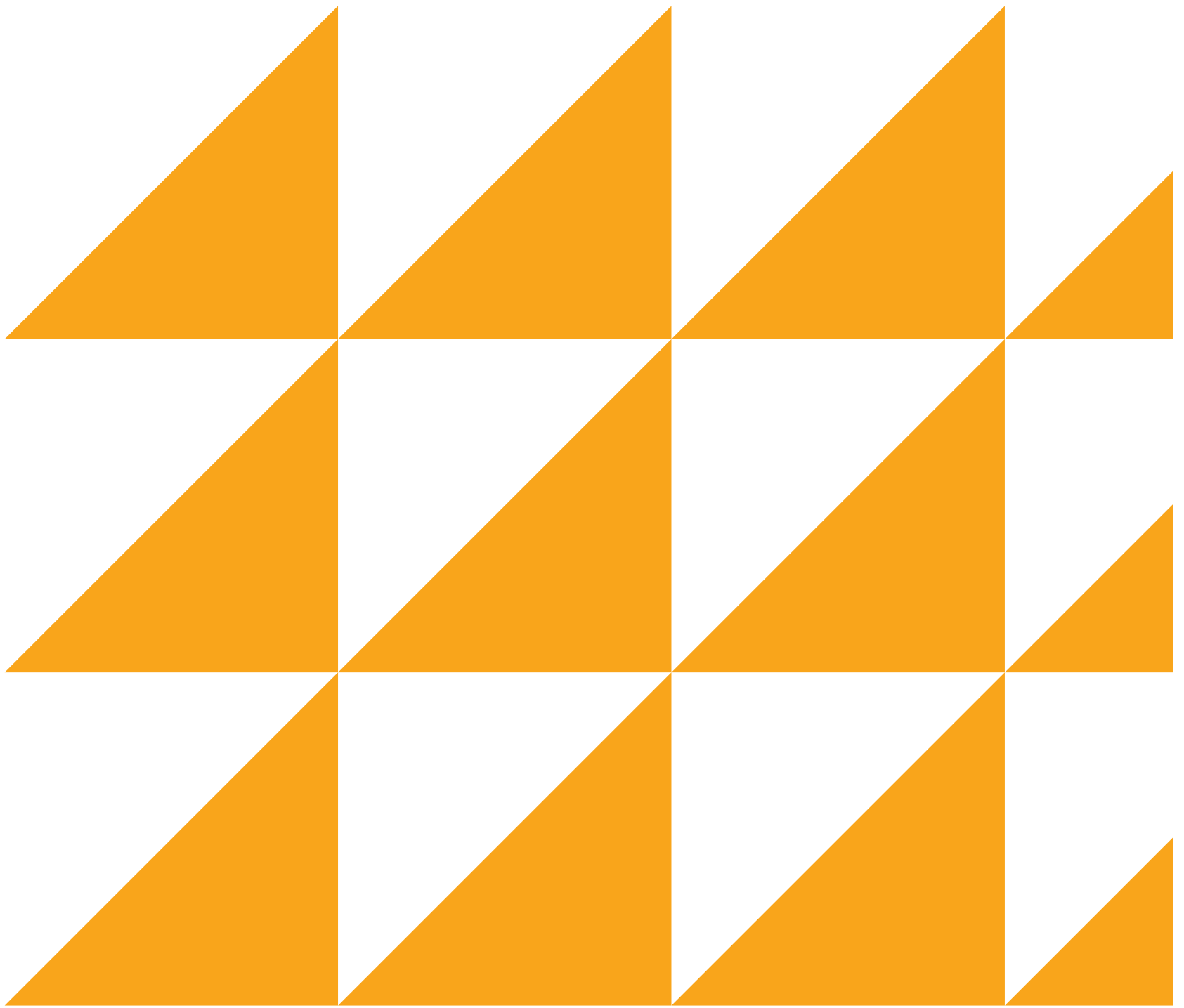
# Informal Education in YNA

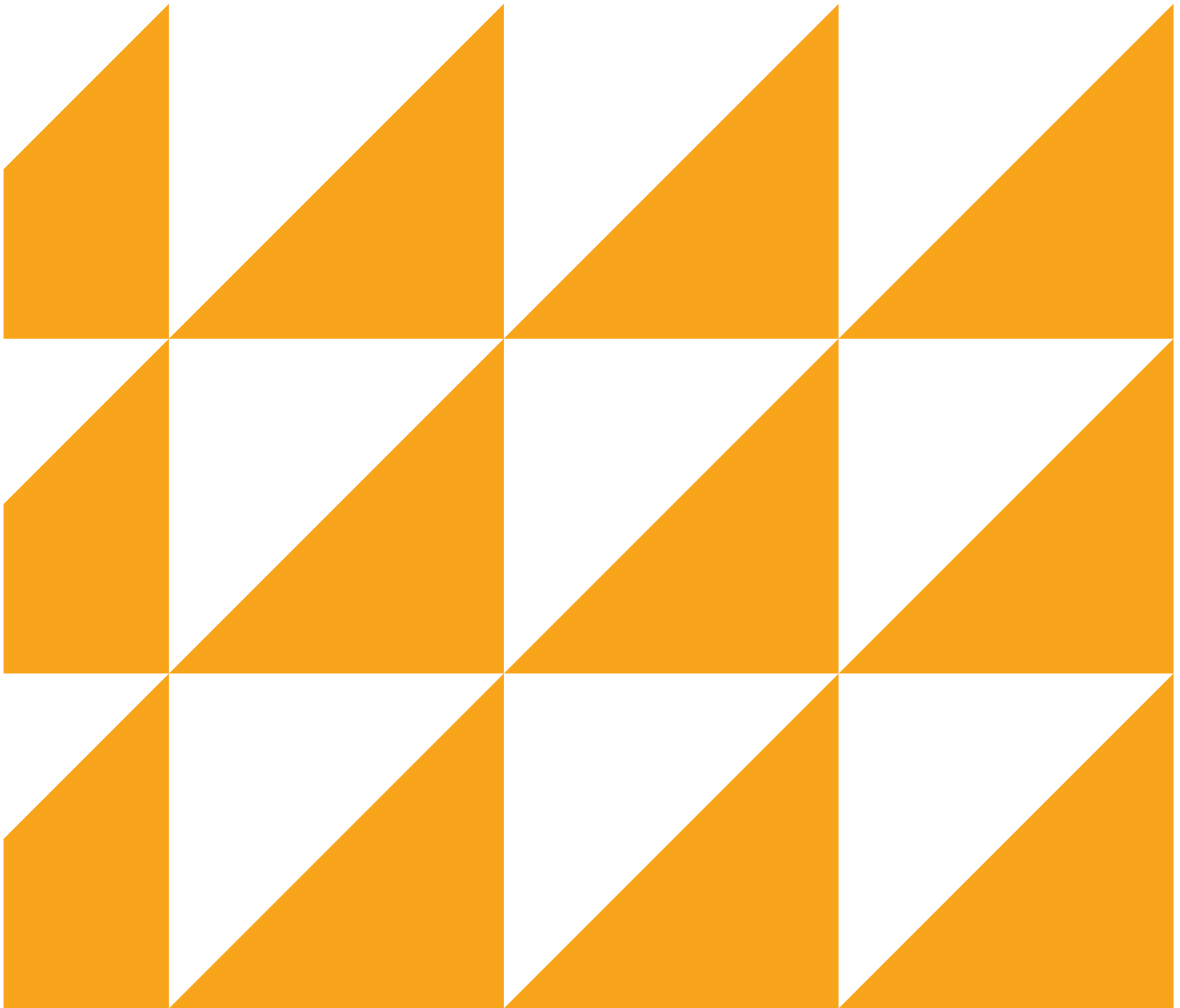
Ivana Dobrivojević

Tens of thousands of young boys were sent every year to serve the compulsory military service in the Yugoslav National Army (YNA). Given the population structure, most of these young boys were of rural origin and from poorer parts of the country, so serving the army represented an ideal chance for their enlightenment as well as for ideological instruction. Until the end of the 1950s, the emphasis was placed on acquiring literacy, given that a large number of new recruits were illiterate. The reports show there were many who before serving the army had not known how to use a watch to tell the time or who had never before watched a movie. Thus the army organized adult literacy courses as well as film screenings, theatre shows and concerts. The raising of educational level of the population has led to partial change of educational priorities of the army and greater attention was paid to cultural content and to acquainting the recruits with topical (foreign)-policy situation and basics of the political order.

1. YNA soldiers, Split, around 1978. From a private photo collection
2. Sailors go on an outing, Pula, around 1975. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
3. The solemn oath, Skopje, 1969. From a photo album of the Third Army, Museum of Yugoslav History
4. Political education class. From a photo album of the Third Army, Museum of Yugoslav History
5. Youth Relay, Pula, May 1964. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria



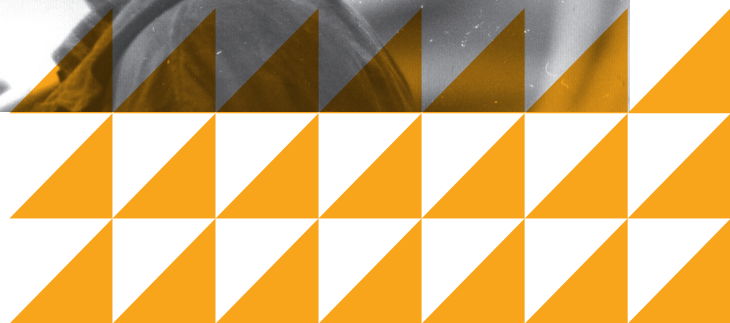
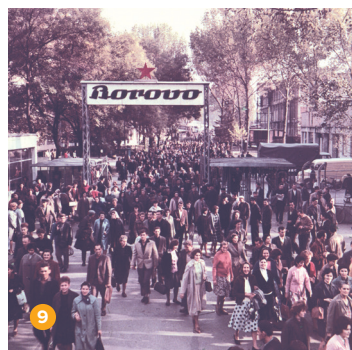
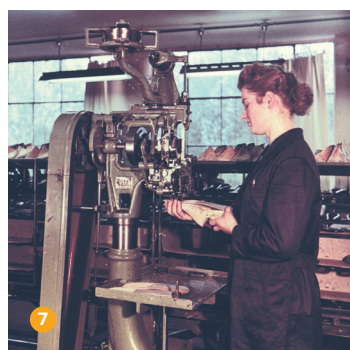
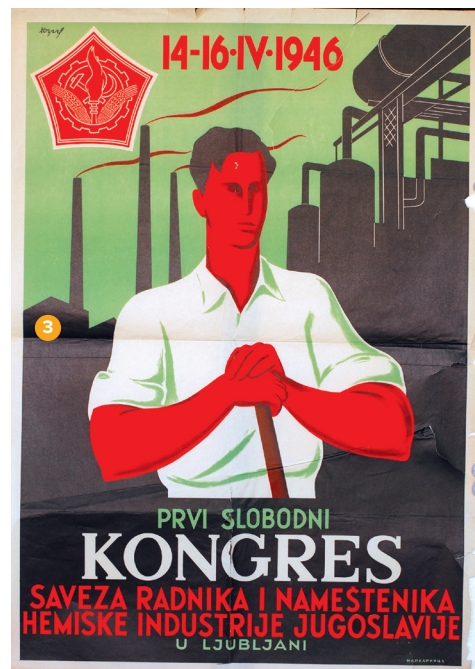




# At the Workplace

Ivana Dobrivojević







# Industrialization

Once it assumed power, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia started speedy industrialization of the country. Within a very short time, all private companies have been nationalized. The government looked up to the Soviet economic model; thus, the First Five-Year Plan (1947) envisaged major investments in electrification, construction of hydro-electric power plants, building of factories of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, construction of machine plants and chemical industry factories, opening of new mining pits, mechanization of mining production and construction of transportation infrastructure. The vivid testimony about the discrepancy between industrialization wishes and plans on the one hand and financial possibilities of a poor country on the other is borne by the fact which was presented at the meeting of the Federal Executive Council (the federal government) in the winter of 1955. Namely, in no more than five years, Yugoslav budget received half a billion dollars of economic aid and 800 million dollars of short-term and mid-term loans, but this was still insufficient to complete all initiated objects. Eventually it turned out that loans which the government, pursuing the policy of industrialization at all costs, has been relentlessly taking since 1949, disregarding unfavourable interest rates and payment due dates, were precisely one of the main problems of Yugoslav economy. The light-mindedness with which the government had taken loans came to have a high price; thus in 1953 one third of Yugoslav exports was spent on paying due instalments on loans.

By the summer of 1955, the main turning points in economic policy have been delineated. The economic transformation was undertaken under Tito's motto that "the present generation has invested a lot of effort in the country's construction" and that "it deserves to live better now, so some tasks can also be

left to future generations." The abandoning of unsustainable industrial model, greater investment in light industry, development of the tertiary sector, greater investment in real estate building and utility infrastructure have all led to an increase of the living standard, especially in the 1960s. Even though economic reforms (1961, 1965) reduced state intervention in the economy, liberalized the economy and allowed private entrepreneurship, it turned out that structural imbalances was impossible to remedy. Long-term neglect of agriculture, low price of agricultural products, growing dependence on foreign loans as well as structural discrimination of poorer parts of Yugoslavia which were producing nothing but raw material have started to take their toll. Self-management has brought financial benefits to employees, but it has paved the way to bureaucratization and failed investment, which negatively reflected on the unity of Yugoslav economic space.

The dizzying increase of the oil prices (1973) upset the balance of Yugoslavia and other countries which didn't have their own supplies of this energy source. The government was not prepared to take austerity measures and lower the living standard. Taking Western loans, Yugoslavia enabled certain industrial branches to adapt to new prices of raw materials. The money from foreign loans temporarily stabilized the situation. Moreover, instead of structural reforms and construction of an industry with greater degree of productivity, unprofitable industrial facilities like steelworks in Smederevo were built or assembly lines were doubled for political reasons, namely to keep various federal republics, which insisted on this kind of investment, happy. Even though Yugoslavia managed to develop its industry and modernize production, the deepening of the economic crisis in the mid-1960s additionally widened the gap among the republics.

The pricing politics pursued to the benefit of industry benefited richer republics. Unequal regional development fanned the flames of political tension, given that the poor and the rich constantly accused one another - the former complained of exploitation and the latter complained of bad economic management. The establishment of the Federal Fund for Economically Underdeveloped Areas has not managed to significantly balance regional development; thus, after the economic downturn in the 1970s, Yugoslav economy experienced severe crisis in the 1980s. The technologically outdated industry has become increasingly non-competitive, there have been increasing trade imbalances with foreign countries and economic growth turned into a recession in 1983. Due to the economic crisis, Yugoslavia dramatically lagged behind Western European countries. In 1985, Yugoslav per capita income was 1850 dollars – the same as in Poland and Hungary, while USSR with 4300 dollars and GDR with 5400 did incomparably better. The ruling elite did not have a solution needed to overcome deep economic and political crisis. The ubiquitous austerity measures, drastic reduction of import, freezing of prices and salaries failed to produce long-term results and in the mid-1980s Yugoslavia had 18% unemployment, high foreign debt and the largest inflation rate in Europe. Trying to find an answer to the all-pervasive state and social crisis, the Parliament in 1988 adopted 39 constitutional amendments that were supposed to create conditions for new reforms and lead to economic revival. In March 1989, Ante Marković was appointed the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia. His reform program came too late given that the boiling national passions and constant conflicts among federal republics led to Yugoslavia's disintegration in 1991.

1. Foundation congress of the Trade Union of Workers and Administrative Employees in the Metalworking Industry in Yugoslavia, Belgrade, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 1950, 49,5x70,5 cm, Museum of Yugoslav History

2. The First Free Congress of the Union of Workers and Administrative Employees in the Wood Processing Industry in Yugoslavia, April 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup>, 1946 Author: Mate Zlamalik, offset printing, 70.5 x 100 cm, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. The First Free Congress of the Union of Workers and Administrative Employees in the Chemical Industry in Yugoslavia, Ljubljana, April 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup>, 1946. Offset printing, 71.7 x 101.7 cm, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. Štore ironworks workers, Slovenia, May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1950, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. *Iskra* (Spark) factory workers going home, Kranj, Slovenia, 1962. Photo: Zdenko Deniša, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

6. From a photo album of the enamelware factory Celje, Slovenia, 1966, Museum of Yugoslav History

7. From a photo album of the Borovo rubber and footwear factory, Croatia, Museum of Yugoslav History

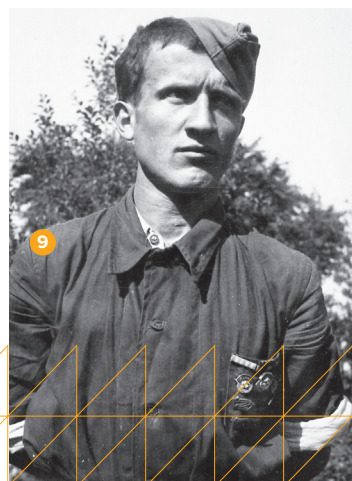
8. Miners are shoring the pit up to prevent rockslide. Raša mine, Istria, Croatia, July 1952, Museum of Yugoslav History

9. From a photo album of the Borovo rubber and footwear factory, Croatia, Museum of Yugoslav History

10. *Iskra* (Spark) factory, Kranj, Slovenia, 1974. From a photo album of the *Iskra* (Spark) factory, Museum of Yugoslav History

11. *Metalski zavod "TITO"* (Tito Metalworks) Skopje, June 1953, Museum of Yugoslav History

12. A worker at the ironworks in Sisak, March 1945, Museum of Yugoslav History



1. Alija Sirotonović at Breza mine workers' celebration, February 20<sup>th</sup>, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History

2. Slovenia-based Trbovlje mine shock brigade striving for high labour productivity, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. A worker from Litostroj Titovi zavodi (Titos's Litostroj Factory), Ljubljana, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. Miners-shock workers Alija Sirotonović and Nikola Škobić in the company of opera singers Aleksandar Marinković and Žarko Cvejić on holiday in Opatija, Croatia, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. Sonja Erbežnik, the first woman in the Federal Peoples Republic of Yugoslavia who carried out the Five-Year Plan in 2 years, 8 months and 21 days, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History

6. A review of the implementation of the plan of some of the sectors in the Varteks factory, Varaždin, Croatia, November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History

7. Delivery of the pennant to the best Dunav (Danube) brick plant worker at the workers' conference, Zemun, 1947, Museum of Yugoslav History

8. Selim Sejdić from Mionica, a twenty-time shock worker, who took part in voluntary youth labour campaigns from 1945 to 1951, Museum of Yugoslav History

9. Bogdan Kantarević, a five-time shock worker of the construction of the Bratstvo – Jedinstvo (Brotherhood – Unity) highway Zagreb-Belgrade. Photo taken on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History

## The Cult of Work

In the first years after liberation, in accordance with the Soviet model, manual labour was exalted as the basic social value and the main "measure" of patriotism. Nobody could afford to be excluded from the building of socialism – neither farmers who were taken away from their fields in the midst of seasonal works and sent to factories nor office clerks or educational workers. The leaders of the People's Committee in Požarevac brought a decision in late November 1948 to close schools for two days and send teachers, regardless of the fact that these were mostly elderly men and women, to Novi Kostalac to dig coal. Appreciation of school and education was not much greater in other parts of Serbia either. Thus teachers from Sombor had to help construct buildings to house agricultural co-operatives in nearby villages, teachers from Kraljevo were sent to cut wood, while authori-

ties in Valjevo decided to engage teachers in all kinds of manual labour. During the time of accelerated industrialization, medals were profusely awarded to shock workers. Even though it was envisaged that shock workers, as the most deserving members of society, should be entitled to special privileges, it was essentially only an empty form. A large number of regional and city people's committees failed to ensure the supplies to which shock workers were entitled in accordance with regulations on additional supplies. Moreover, it seems that shock workers were not particularly appreciated by local party officials, given that they believed that "shock workers make an effort only because they need money and other entitlements". Unlike Soviet industrial and rural Stakhanovite, local shock workers were not awarded with anything else but a medal, respect they

enjoyed in society and mass media coverage of shock workers as morally superior heroes of work. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, movies were made about the life of shock workers and Socialist competition for higher work productivity was promoted as the role model for building a better society. The loosening of rigid party discipline, economic reforms and relative liberalization of the system have led to weakening of the cult of work. Even though party leaders continued to glorify manual work, greatest number of Yugoslavs strove towards clerical professions. The nature of work, better salaries, as well as better social standing provided an incentive even to qualified workers to attend evening schools and courses in order to become trained for clerical jobs.



1. Poster Worker-Managers' Day '74. Author: Milan Stanković, 69 x 100 cm, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Memorial plaque commemorating the handing over of the factory to the workers, Frank factory, 1950, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. Workers' meeting at Vareš Ironworks, Museum of Yugoslav History
4. Workers' council elections at the Moša Pijade cable factory, Svetozarevo (now Jagodina), 1962, Museum of Yugoslav History

## Self-Management

The conflict with the Soviet Union in the summer of 1948 has gradually produced distancing of the Yugoslav party leadership not only from the first socialist country and Stalin, but also from Lenin. Searching for a socialist model which is truest to theoretical foundations of Marxism, the authorities brought the decision in December 1949 to begin setting up workers' councils on the basis of the Marxist principle that "the means of production should really be in the hands of those who work with them." Half a year later, the thesis about the withering away of the state formally obtained its legal framework. The Constitutional Law on Enterprise Management formally transferred management of enterprises to workers' councils and management boards. Even though the Law has significantly reduced state intervention in the economy, unchecked power and competences of general managers have somewhat compromised the incessantly reiterated formula „factories to the workers.“ There were plenty of examples of misunderstanding of new regulations or their deliberate disregard; thus it happened that certain managers tried to lower the standing of workers' councils relegating them to mere "management advisory bodies" or assign to them a role of "a trade union branch." However, self-management has also stumbled across unlawful constraints imposed by the party. It did not rule out party intervention in the economy and imposition of party interests. Thus in his address to the Sixth Party Congress (1952) Aleksandar Ranković attacked "incorrect understanding" of socialist democracy, reproaching "certain party organizations" that they had been „passive with regard to election of candidates to workers' councils.“ Even though 1953 Constitutional Law envisaged that all power should belong to "the working people," centralism has largely compromised and occasionally

rendered meaningless self-management and competences invested in workers' councils. The intervention of party leadership in the work of workers' councils was justified by adverting higher priority interests. Thus at the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Alliance of Communists of Serbia, held in November 1955, the following could be heard: "Today we increasingly encounter and have to oppose many decisions brought by the workers' councils and management bodies in enterprises which are based on laws and legal regulations, but which do not essentially correspond to the interests of our development, our Partisan struggle." Even though in the early 1960s self-management was faced with numerous challenges, primarily due to etatism of economy management, a marginal economic reform (1961) and especially the new Constitution (1963) additionally affirmed the role and importance of the self-management system. Under this highest legal act, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) has been defined as a federal state "of voluntarily united and equal peoples and socialist democratic communities based on self-management" (Dimić 2001: 376). Self-management in the area of industrial relations and other areas has been proclaimed to be "inalienable right enshrined by the Constitution" and labour was declared to be the only source of financial and social standing of a man. However, real power and influence of "the working people" on management of enterprises was far removed from the legislative ideal. The deep economic and political crisis, rising nationalism and dismissal of reform-oriented political leaderships which espoused economic and political decentralization of Yugoslavia in the early 1970s brought discontinuance of democratization of society. Political purges and inauguration of the new,

more rigid Party politics reflected on the economy. Tito accused the liberals that "they had ceded to the techno-managerial elite to manage the economy and the large part of the political system, especially at the level of the republics." Therefore, according to Tito and Kardelj, what needed to be done is to dismiss techno-managers and reinforce the role of worker-managers in the economy. The new Constitution (1974) and especially the Law on Associated Labour (1976) once again affirmed self-management. The basic organization of associated labour (Serbo-Croatian abbreviation: OOUR) became the basic economic unit and companies were fragmented into smaller parts. The new system had unfathomable ramifications – bureaucracy was incessantly growing, many experienced managers were dismissed and unnecessary negotiations and discussions within enterprises were taking place, wasting too much time. Moreover, this reform did not propel the workers to the helm of enterprises. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia controlled the selection of candidates for workers' councils and deepening political and economic crisis rendered impossible any constructive discussion about the economy, which often turned into a fiery nationalistic debate. Unaware of the depth of the economic pitfall of the 1980s, worker-managers throughout Yugoslavia have mostly decided to spend the profits to increase salaries rather than productivity. In cases when downsizing was necessary, workers' councils rather dismissed experts and engineers than unqualified workers.

## Half-Peasants – –Half-Workers

The accelerated post-war industrialization was accompanied by employment of hybrids – unqualified half peasants - half workers to work in factories and enterprises. The change of the population social structure supported by the Party boiled down on the practical level to inclusion of peasants in the economy without changing their place of residence into urban areas. Apart from patriarchal attachment to land and agriculture, another important fact had an impact on their decision to stay in villages. The number of apartments in towns was insufficient, city infrastructure was overburdened and life was far more expensive in towns than in villages. The mentality of new workers–peasants could not be changed so easily, especially because many were ready to linger in this kind of the “transition state“ throughout their life. Frequent sick leaves, low productivity and weak utilization of working hours, absences due to family saint’s days, holidays, weddings and other festivities, especially in the midst of the farming season, were illustrative of the relationship which the hybrids had towards the industry. They primarily viewed themselves as peasants and it was difficult to fight the notion that after working in an enterprise, they shouldn’t also work in their vineyards or fields. The majority hurried to get home as soon as possible and do work on their small family farms. An example of a farmer-worker employed in the cement factory in Rajka (Serbia) who during the harvest worked in the factory during the night but harvested wheat on his farm during the day and was so exhausted and hungry that he lost consciousness and ended up in a hospital was typical.

The state authorities viewed and analyzed all social phenomena through party-ideological prism, including the steep rise of the number of mixed households in villages. The Party was much more concerned about their exclusion from the work of social organizations and workers’ councils than about the quality, expertise and commitment of half-workers – half-peasants during their working hours. The undeveloped urban infrastructure made impossible larger migrations towards urban areas so the phenomenon of half-peasants half-workers became one of the hallmarks of Yugoslav socialist economy. Just like in other segments of life, socialist modernization has stopped half-way, creating a constant feeling of tentativeness and temporariness. The economic currents in society were such that what used to be “temporary“ inclusion of certain people in industry turned out to be permanent. The mixed households in villages existed for decades. Thus in 1960 over 40% of all employees worked in towns but lived in villages. However, in circumstances of increased social mobility, unqualified workers from villages have become carriers of urbanization in their village environments. The greatest changes were therefore visible in the homes of these hybrids, half-peasants half-workers, who speedily abandoned their traditional notions, advanced their hygiene habits, brought new culture to villages and abandoned their previous eating styles.

1. From a photo album of the Borovo rubber and footwear factory, Croatia, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Sports field, part of the Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) factory complex, Pirot, 1979. From a photo album of Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) Pirot clothes factory, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. Dining room at the Tito automobile and motorcycle factory, Sarajevo. From a photo album documenting the production process, working conditions and life in the workers’ housing estate, Museum of Yugoslav History
4. Rest during a break in the factory park, Pirot, 1979. From a photo album of Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) Pirot clothes factory, Museum of Yugoslav History
5. Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) factory library, Pirot, 1979. From a photo album of Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) Pirot clothes factory, Museum of Yugoslav History
6. From a photo album of the Borovo rubber and footwear factory, Croatia, Museum of Yugoslav History

## Working Conditions

The conditions of work in the first post-war decade were difficult. The motto of “the concern for the people“ frequently emphasized in party speeches of senior officials, has been constantly refuted by the workers’ grim everyday life. The enterprises did not make even the least effort to provide to workers decent housing conditions, so in tentative worker barracks envisaged to accommodate 25 to 30 people as much as 90 workers were accommodated. The conditions at the workplace for Yugoslavs working in industry were not better than their housing conditions. The conditions in factories were harsh – the production process was primitive and accidents were frequent. Dirty, stuffy and narrow factory halls, without necessary light and ventilation, smashed windows, lack of adequate flooring, bathrooms, toilets, showers or sinks were part of the gloomy mundane existence of Yugoslav workers. The enterprises were set up abruptly, often in venues not envisaged for that purpose. The lack of maintenance, backwardness and ignorance were taking their toll – injuries, diseases and accidents were practically an everyday occurrence. The smelters were working without goggles, workers coming in touch with acids without gloves and rubber boots, tuberculosis patients worked together with healthy workers and there were cases that due to spilling over of sewages in toilets, entire factory halls were flooded. The authorities were thrifty when it came to provision of adequate hygiene and adequate measures of technical protection and employees themselves were also irresponsible – in Trepča employees refused to use protective goggles, in Bor mining complex they refused to wear masks, while workers in Niš print works extracted paint using their bare hands because they were disinclined to wear protective gloves! Especially vulnerable were female workers who, until Yugoslavia’s disintegration, have remained mostly less qualified, less paid and

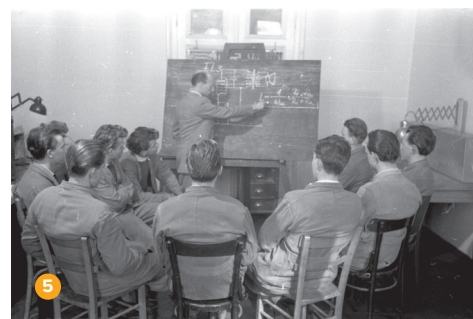
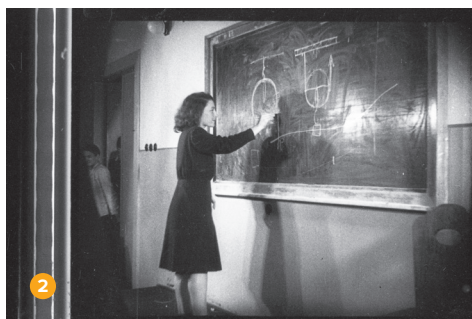
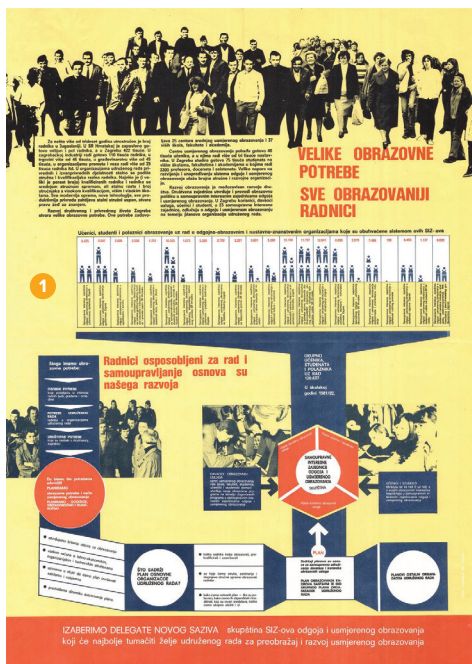


less appreciated workforce. Mass employment of women, which the state popularized after the war as a part of its official program, was supposed to be one of the essential attestations to the realized emancipation of women. The division into male and female jobs was disappearing and women would do even hard manual labour. The existing social notions according to which the most important role of a woman in the family was to take care of upbringing of children was difficult to change as well as the deeply entrenched practice that all chores connected with children were performed by women, even if they worked outside their home full working hours. The legally envisaged "care about mothers and children" could barely be felt in real life. The Belgrade enterprise "October Freedom" transferred female workers who were late for work because of their children to less paid and more difficult jobs with an "explanation" that they "should sort out things with their children." Despite the campaign to open children's day care centres even in villages, factory workers had to make do in whatever way they could – they would take their children to work and close them in one room or leave them to neighbours or to younger children to take care of them. By establi-

shing appropriate facilities, the state tried to provide assistance to employed women who are mothers to take care, raise and bring up their children and ameliorate contradictory position in which they found themselves torn between the traditional family role and the new social role of an employee. The regulation about provision of infant nurseries and day care centres for children of female workers, in case there were over twenty such children needing the facilities, was brought in 1948. The next year the Regulation on Protection of Pregnant Women and Breastfeeding Mothers was passed, guaranteeing 90 days of paid leave to women, interruption of work every three hours to allow for breastfeeding of children up to 6 months, as well as the possibility of short-time working hours. Until the Regulation to Provide Children's Facilities was enacted, the capacity of day care centres was insufficient, but as of 1951, due to reduction of social benefits and transference of financing of children's stay in day cares to parents, their number began to drop sharply. Thus during the working hours very small children were often left without any supervision, they were on their own or on the street. Moreover, dismissal policy was such that enterprises would cut women's jobs rather than man's. Thus

in the period from 1949 to 1952, the number of employed women decreased by 29% and the number of employed men decreased by only 9%. The dismissals were frequent even in those branches which were usually regarded as "female" professions. Thus only in Belgrade in the first three months of 1952, tourist and trade branches sacked 60% more women than men.

Modernization of production, increase of the number of qualified workers and greater investments in hygiene and technical protection, especially in the 1960s and the 1970s, have largely contributed to improvement of working conditions of Yugoslavs. The modern factory halls were built, improvised workers' row houses disappeared and enterprises were increasingly concerned about health and recreation of their employees. Women became more qualified and emancipated and comprehensive modernization of society contributed to partial change of traditional opinion about quality and productiveness of female workforce. However, from a longer-term point of view, employment of unqualified workers in socialist industry had a huge cost for the state budget. Relatively low productivity, frequent accidents at work and permanent sick leaves additionally increased costs of production.



1. Poster GREAT EDUCATIONAL NEEDS - MORE AND MORE EDUCATED WORKERS, Zagreb, Croatia, 1981, 100 x 70 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb

2. Moravia knitting factory three-time shock worker and the Order of Labour recipient, Matilda Baruh at the additional training school, 1947, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. From the classes at the two-year degree home economics college, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. Adult education centre, Belgrade, 1955, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. Radio amateur training, 1952. Photo: Vlastja Simončič, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

6. Moša Pijade Adult Education Centre, Zagreb, 1964, Museum of Yugoslav History

7. "In the magazines and press reading-room...", Zagreb, 1962. From a photo album of the Zagreb Adult Education Centre, Museum of Yugoslav History

8. "For our workers - who are eager to learn - learning is a pleasure", Zagreb, 1962. From a photo album of the Zagreb Adult Education Centre, Museum of Yugoslav History



## Workers' Adult Education

Low educational level of the population and a large number of unqualified workers who arrived from villages heavily burdened Yugoslav industry, making it less productive and weakly competitive. Due to economic, political but also ideological reasons, the authorities were trying to raise educational and qualification structure of the adult population by providing short-term additional educational courses. These courses were organized everywhere – in enterprises, in adult education centers, during compulsory military service, during mass labour etc. In the first years after liberation, village youth was particularly attracted by tractor driving and machine operating courses, while unqualified workers in factories mostly opted to be trained to operate machines they were already operating. The differences in salaries between unqualified and qualified workers have become significant by the late

1950s so financial incentives rather than the thirst for knowledge motivated many workers to undertake training programs. The programs most often lasted three to four months, which was insufficient for any serious learning of the craft. The qualifications acquired in this way could not significantly improve productivity of work. Growing social inequalities, better social position and greater reputation of clerks as well as financial favouring of clerical professions (even in cases when they actually had the same qualifications as workers) represented an incentive for increasing number of village youths as well as qualified workers to opt for typing, bookkeeping and similar training programs in the hope that they would be able to get better salaries and acquire social privileges (e.g. better apartments). Even though trainings were the fastest and the easiest way to acquire qualifications, Yugoslavia also

had adult education institutions, namely schools for general education of workers lasting two or three years and attended by all those who had failed to complete primary education, adult high schools (lasting two years), as well as schools for village youths (where teaching would take place two years during the winter period). The additional trainings were also made possible in adult education centers as well as in centres providing courses aimed at increasing productivity. Moreover, all schools and faculties, if necessary, had to organize separate adult education classes and seminars, consultations and exams. Even though the range and the quality of knowledge acquired through extracurricular teaching was far from ideal, additional trainings enabled many Yugoslavs to relatively quickly upgrade their financial and ultimately also their social status.

## Unemployment

In late 1951 and early 1952, there were first indications of the growing unemployment, primarily in cities. Unemployed were mostly young as well as unqualified workers. However, "hidden surpluses of workforce" existed in many enterprises and their dismissal was delayed "upon intervention of people's committees, trade unions and other social organizations". Even though situation was far from dramatic, the authorities tried to take certain measures in order to alleviate unemployment. Financial provision which guaranteed half of the last monthly salary to the unemployed covered a minimal number of workers and Josip Broz Tito explained that unemployment was intolerable, but that nevertheless the country needs to have "some spare workforce which will be entitled to a living allowance, but which will take the

job the minute there is possibility to offer employment. We give the pay to these people. For me it wouldn't be any problem if we had as much as 50,000 spare workforce receiving this pay." In October 1956, cautiously and timidly, the Federal Executive Council (the federal government) considered the possibilities of "exporting" surplus workers abroad, given that French and Luxembourgian officials appealed to Yugoslav authorities looking for cheap and mostly unqualified workforce. The political reasons and concern for the reputation of a socialist country prolonged the making of the decision to solve accumulated economic and social problems by allowing unqualified village workforce to go West up until 1963. The accumulated economic problems and growing unemployment could not be solved

by the economic reform which was undertaken in 1965. The abandonment of the centralist model of economy management, drastic reduction of state role in investing, rationalizing of foreign trade and increase of economic entrepreneurship did not make Yugoslav economy more profitable and competitive. Bad working conditions, inflation, dismissals and a large number of the unemployed represented an incentive for the young to leave the country and go to Western Europe, but it also contributed to deepening of political instability in the country. The wobbling of the Yugoslav economy was accompanied by constant increase of unemployment and thus in 1985 over a million Yugoslavs were registered at the National Employment Bureau (Krempton 2003: 204).



# Guest Workers (Gastarbeiter)

The relative agricultural over-population, poverty, industrial underdevelopment and sometimes the wish for adventure were the main reasons why Yugoslav territory even before World War II was the territory from which people frequently and gladly emigrated. War and rigid emulation of Soviet industrialization model have temporarily terminated migratory movements. Relative liberalization of the system which took place in the mid-1950s, migration of large number of unqualified workers from rural to urban areas, economic crisis and growing unemployment as well as low living standards and shortage of apartments were only some elements which influenced the decision of Yugoslavs to emigrate to countries of Western Europe looking for jobs and better life: mostly to Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, France and Switzerland. The authorities assumed a light-hearted relationship towards these migratory processes; until 1963 there were no organized dispatches to work abroad nor inter-state agreements which regulated the issue. Yugoslavs emigrated to the West spontaneously, at the recommendation of friends and cousins, often without travel documents. "The aspiration to make the largest possible salary and acquire a car, a TV and other things makes our people seek employment abroad regardless of difficulties," the authorities concluded. People emigrated with the help of various intermediaries who provided letters of guarantee to obtain residence or working permits, which could be bought at the black market for around 70 dollars. Foreign companies openly looked for cheap labour force in Yugoslavia and would often place job adverts in local newspapers or even advertisement boards of some embassies. Given that increasing number of Yugoslavs decided to seek employment abroad, either temporary or permanent, the government as of 1963 tried to direct and control migratory processes in accordance with economic needs of the country. The drain of unqualified workers into Western countries was considered desi-

erable given that Yugoslav economy simply could not absorb the pressure of such a number of uneducated workers coming from villages. On the other hand, the authorities hoped that these workers obtaining employment in Western Europe would acquire knowledge and skills and be able to become included in the economy upon their possible return to the country.

The year 1973 set an absolute record: namely, as much as 1,100,000 Yugoslavs worked abroad. The state benefited a lot from Gastarbeiter, given that the migrants were sending one third of their gross salaries or two thirds of their savings to their homeland. The foreign-currency remittances represented the most visible, but not the only economic benefit. During the holidays in the fatherland, guest workers exchanged foreign currency into dinars, bought goods and often invested in building of utility and infrastructural facilities in their local communities. The state perceived Gastarbeiter as the main buyers of technical goods and cars which were otherwise non-competitive in the Western markets. Consequently, protective customs tariffs and favourable exchange rate of dinar against foreign currency ensured a disincentive for guest workers to buy appliances abroad, given that for the same amount of money they could buy them in their own country. An article in magazine *Svet* jokingly testifies about how massive emigration of Yugoslavs abroad has been: "Were Yugoslavs to agree among themselves to stop playing, there would be no-one to make Germans merry, because over one half of musical bands of Western Germany consist of our countrymen, including 40 distinguished symphony musicians. They play on radio and TV, in famous hotels and in small venues in suburbia of Munich, Stuttgart, Cologne". The reality of an émigré was far from rosy – they didn't speak the language, they had to adapt to different behavioural patterns and they possessed a relatively low cultural level, which made it more difficult for them to integrate in

the new community. The biggest problem was collective accommodation of workers in wooden barracks of what used to be concentration camps, often fenced in with a barb wire and earmarked for accommodation of foreign workers, which isolated them. The everyday life boiled down to work and meeting of basic needs. The insufficient number of Yugoslav clubs and entertainment content has made railway stations the meeting places where Yugoslav workers would go on weekends only in order to hear their own language, buy newspapers from their country and alleviate nostalgia. At the meetings they exchanged news from the homeland, sent letters and money, but also bought smuggled cigarettes. Since the 1970s in Germany and Austria a huge number of Yugoslav restaurants opened and people would go there on Saturdays to listen to folk music, eat Yugoslav food and forge new friendships.

Since economies of more developed Western European countries absorbed the desired number of foreign workers by the mid-1970s, foreign companies began to slowly become closed for (unqualified) workforce from Yugoslavia and other countries. The economic crisis due to the rise of oil prices in 1973 and tightening of regulations on position of foreign workers provided an incentive for a large number of Yugoslavs to return to the country. However, a large number of migrants took permanent residence in countries of Western Europe, especially if they managed to move their whole family to these countries, one of the conditions for which was that they had adequate housing conditions. However, the greatest number wished to return to their country one day and so they invested their hard-earned money into dysfunctional and unnecessarily big houses in their native villages in the hope that one day they would live in them, as well as competing with their neighbours and showing off how successful they are.

1. "Like suitcases around the world...", 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

2. "Trains to homeland", 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. "How Yugoslav Viennese have fun", 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. Workers from Yugoslavia in Austria, 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. "Workers are left to their own devices", 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

6. "Yugoslavs abroad! Buy duty-free - fast - cheap!" *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1965

7. "Yugoslavs abroad! Buy fast, cheap and duty-free!" *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1965

8. "We expect your foreign exchange payments" *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1971



**„Kao koferi po svijetu“**

**CARINSKI UVJETI**

Moramo li se vratiti samo s koferom

1

**SMANJITE CARINU I - ETO NAS**

**VOZOVJ ZA ZAVIČAJ**

2

Po svaku cenu kući!

**TAMO-AMO PO BEČU (SUBOTOM UVEČE - NEDELJOM UJUTRU ILI - KAKO SE PROVODE JUGOSLOVENSKE BEČLIJE)**

**JUGOSLOVENI**

**VESELA NOĆ**

**OMLADINCI RADNICI U EVROPI**

3

**RAZONODA I ZABAVA**

**JUGOSLOVENSKO KINO**

**Radnici iz Jugoslavije**

4

**STRANI RADNICI UNAPREĐUJU RAZVOJ Austrije**

Otima „Gastarbajtera“

Koliko radnik daje, a šta dobija?

5

**RADNICI SU PREPUŠTENI SAMI SEBI**

Sigurno se u domaćinstvima naših „gostinaca“ nalaze koferi... Sve ono što je potrebno za život, za rad, za odmor... Sve ono što je potrebno za život, za rad, za odmor... Sve ono što je potrebno za život, za rad, za odmor...

**JUGOSLAVENI U INOZEMSTVU!**

**KUPUJTE bez carine—brzo—jeftino**

6

**Garancija za katodne cijevi 24 mjeseca**

**Uplatiti iz inozemstva izvršite poštanskom uplatnicom na adresu: BRODOKOMERC, Rijeka, Beogradski trg 3. Imajući efektivnih stranih sredstava plaćanja u zemlji mogu bez posebnih formalnosti izvršiti uplatu u gotovom, odnosno traveler ili bankarskim čekovima kod Brodokomerc, Rijeka, Beogradski trg 3 ili Brodokomerc, Filijala Zagreb, Jurističeva 14 i Brodokomerc, Split, Titaova 2.**

**7**

**JUGOSLAVENI U INOZEMSTVU! KUPUJTE BRZO, JEFTINO I BEZ CARINE!**

**RIZ**

**RADIOAPARATI**

**TELEVIZORI**

**GRAMOFONI**

**GRAMOFONI**

**MAGNETOFONI**

**GRAMOFOTECIJALA**

**UPLATU IZ INOZEMSTVA IZVRŠITE POŠTANSKOM UPATNICOM NA ADRESU: BRODOKOMERC - RIJEKA, BEOGRADSKI TRG 3, ILI ZAGREB, SUBIŠIĆEVA 14, ILI MERKANTILE, ZAGREB, PRASKA 2, ILI NAMA, ZAGREB, ILICA 4 - 6, ILI JUGO-EXPORT, BEOGRAD, KOLARČEVA 1, ILI ZAGREB, PALMOTIČEVA 5, ILI VRACAR, BEOGRAD, ČIKA LUBINA 9, ILI MINETA, DUBROVNIK, GRUŠKA OBALA 37, ILI DALMAKOMERC, SPLIT, TOLSTOJEVA 12, ILI ELEKTROTEHNA, ZAGREB, ILICA 10, ILI RADIOTON, BEOGRAD, FRIZ MIHAILOVA 11-15, ILI RAZITAK, METKOVIĆ, VLAŠNICI, GOTOVINEŠKI STRANIKI, SREBRTA PLACANJA U ZEMLJI MOGU BEZ POSEBNIH FORMALNOSTI IZVRŠITI U GOTOVOM, ODNOSNO TRAVELER ILI BANKARSKIM ČEKOVIMA KOD NAVEDENIH PODUZETA**

**Garancija za katodne cijevi 24 mjeseca**

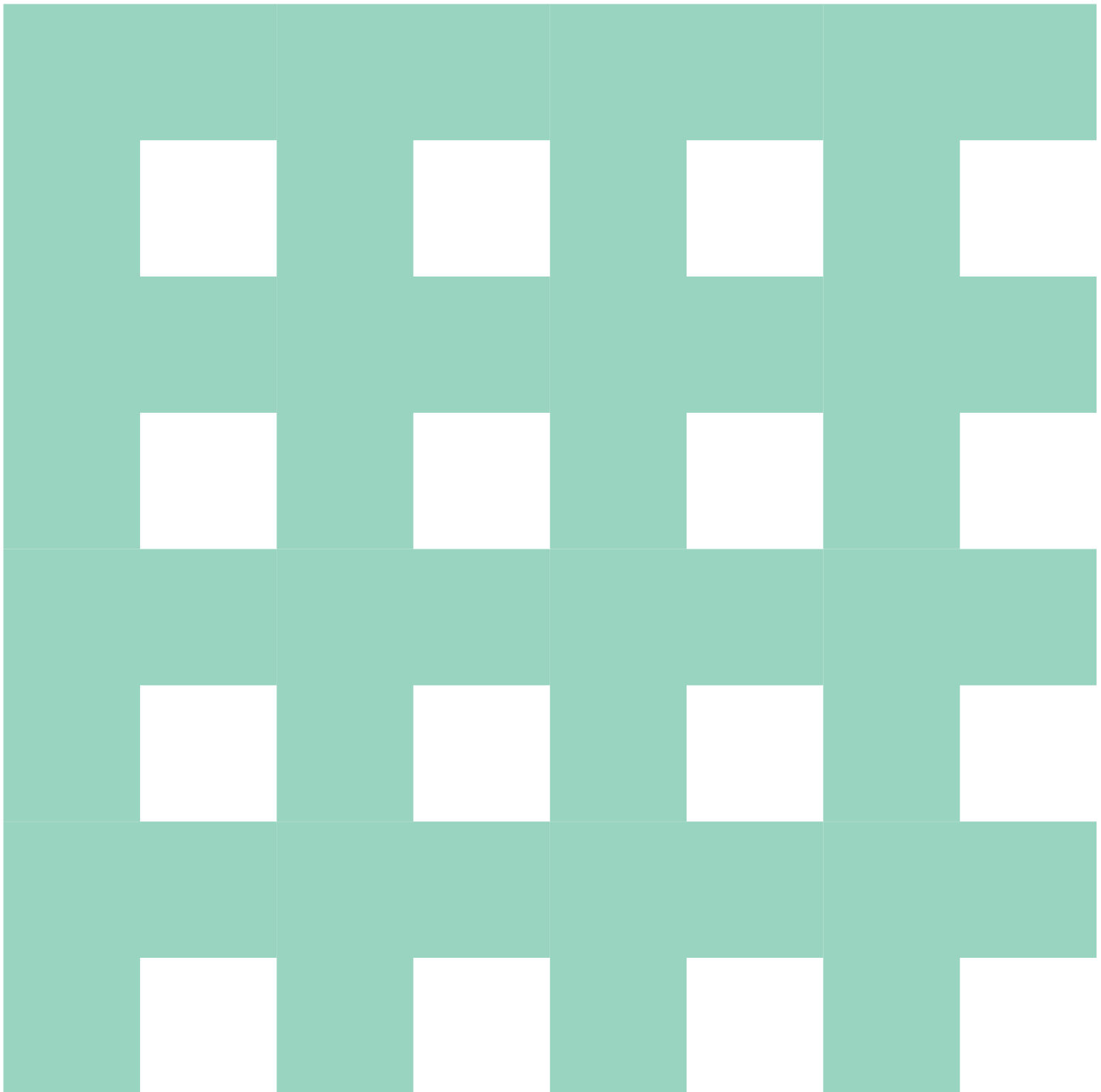
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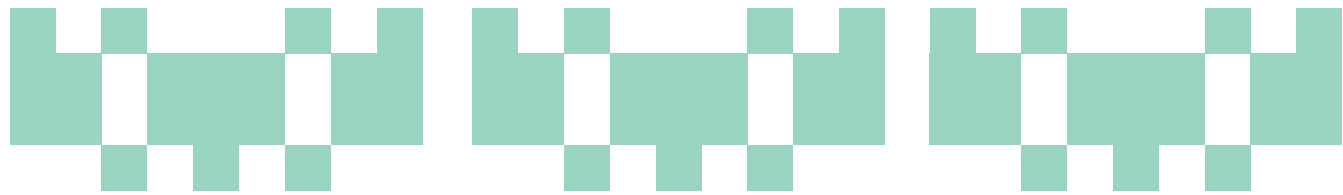
**očekujemo vaše devizne uplate**

**UNIS**

**UDRUŽENA METALNA INDUSTRIJA SARAJEVO**

**UNIS**





# A Roof over One's Head

# Housing Construction

Ivana Dobrivojević

War destruction and constant inflow of the population into urban areas placed a heavy burden on housing authorities. Housing poverty increased year after year given that dynamics of construction was insufficient even to maintain the existing housing standard. One inhabitant of Belgrade in 1953 had at her disposal 9.9 square meters of housing space, which was far below European standards which were between 15 and 23 square meters, but also below the standards in Ljubljana (14.4), Zagreb (12.4) or Sarajevo (10.7). The partial abandonment of industrialization at all costs, the change of investment priorities and greater investments in the living standard have encouraged residential construction. In late 1955 a tax of 10% was imposed for housing construction and was levied from „economic enterprises, institutions, state bodies, social and cooperative organizations as well as other persons employing workforce“. The money served for construction of council flats which were given to employees for permanent use and could be inherited in the form of tenant rights. The symbolic rent that was charged was not enough either for maintenance or amortization of the housing fund. Despite significant investments in housing construction, comparative international data encompassing 14 European states show that Yugoslavia was the third worst on the list of countries in terms of the number of constructed apartments per 1,000 inhabitants in 1961. In the period from 1962 to 1964 it was the second worst and in 1965 and 1966 became the third worst once again. Given that housing construction could not keep pace with migrations, especially migrations towards major cities, housing poverty was manifest. According to the 1969 data, there were 12 square meters of housing space per inhabitant in Belgrade, which was still quite insufficient. Despite state efforts to overcome the housing crisis, it was still acute. According to 1984 assessments, there was a chronic lack of some 50,000 flats in Belgrade.

When it comes to the award of council flats, higher social strata were favoured at the expense of workers, given that managers, experts and bureaucrats were disproportionate holders of tenant rights with regard to the population at large. Paradoxically, insufficient volume of housing construction opened the way to social segregation in cities. The population with higher, high or vocational education lived in central city municipalities, while workers mostly lived in suburbs. Sociological research has shown that “the better the quality of the new housing complex or the residential building, the more fully, better equipped and better located it was, the more likely it was that their tenants were those more powerful and those with higher social standing“ (Vujović 1990: 83). However, the housing crisis has not only affected workers, but also members of the middle classes. Namely, whether somebody would be able to solve the housing issue or not largely depended on economic strength of the company for which she was working: more successful and profitable companies invested more money in housing construction. The imbalances of the process of industrialization and urbanization on the one hand and the tempo of housing construction on the other led to blossoming of illegal building. Thus it was ascertained that in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants in 1967 the construction of one legal apartment had been paralleled by the construction of one illegal apartment (Vujović 1990: 50-51).

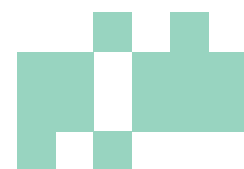
# External and Internal Construction

Ivana Dobrivojević

One of the most difficult and almost intractable problems of abruptly grown socialist cities was dramatic shortage of flats. The shortage of the basic living space has had a decisive impact on the quality and culture of living, contributed to further ruralization of cities but also endangered privacy of a large number of citizens. Until the late 1950s bad, dysfunctional and half-completed flats were built. In suburban areas, new settlements would spring up, usually without electricity, water, clearly marked streets and the most necessary infrastructure. The aspiration to reduce spaciousness of apartments as much as possible, short deadlines for producing architectural designs and lack of experiences of designers made the apartments, even those built in capital cities, uncomfortable and unpleasant. The locations were selected randomly, the cities were growing in width more than was necessary and no attention was paid to the cardinal points of the compass or the direction of the strongest winds. The notions of the Communist Party about the need to unburden women in households in order to enable their more active role in the economy and building of socialism found expression in architectural designs, as architects, in order to save space, designed very small kitchens and pantries, believing that family meals would mostly take place in socially-provided canteens. The housing standard in the country was rather low – in 1954 30.2% of all flats had no kitchen, 83% had no bathroom and 71.2% no plumbing. For many Yugoslavs, moving into half-completed or isolated residential complexes did not signify deterioration of their already bad living conditions.

Speedy urbanization, greater investment in housing construction and improvement of the living standard made external and internal construction more up to contemporary standards with each passing decade. Residential complexes being built became more modern and well-planned, surrounded by children’s day care centres, schools and shops, but often without accompanying cultural content. On the other hand, great pressure in cities forced migrants – as Belgrade mayor Branko Pešić noticed – to “seek accommodation anywhere. Some could manage to get an apartment, but they were the smallest percentage. A large number was forced to seek accommodation in cellars, in unhygienic apartments or barracks. Those who haven’t seen how it looks like should see it... It doesn’t even exist in Africa anymore“ (Čalić 2013: 260).

Even though in socialism housing standard of the largest number of citizens has significantly improved, in 1984, Yugoslavia lagged behind other European countries in terms of the number of apartments per 1,000 households, spaciousness of the apartments, number of rooms in the apartment and in terms of furnishing the apartment with necessary wirings (Vujović 1990: 100).

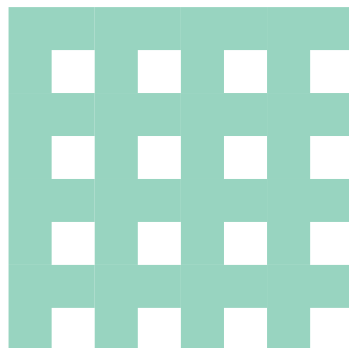




A ROOF OVER ONE'S HEAD



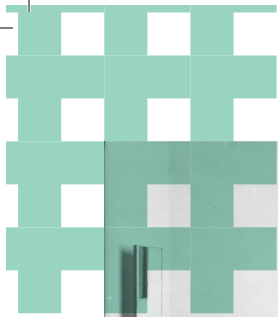
THEY NEVER HAD IT BETTER?  
THE RHYTHM OF LIFE



1. New block of flats for Viskoza factory workers, Loznica, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. New block of flats near Vardar River, Skopje, 1959, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. A view of a block of flats from the future Youth Centre construction site, Pula, around 1977. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
4. New housing and office block of flats near the market at Veruda, Pula, 1976. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
5. Block of flats of the Tomos enterprise, Kopar, September, 1960, Museum of Yugoslav History
6. CHROMOS paints and varnishes factory poster, Zagreb, 1953. Author: Milan Vulpe, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb

1. Housing estate in Jablanica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1955, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Workers' block of flats, Ljubljana, 1954. Photo: Jože Divjak, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
3. A bedroom in a workers' block of flats, 1955. From a photo album documenting the construction of New Belgrade, Museum of Yugoslav History
4. At the barracks of the builders of a block of flats, Pula, December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1975. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria





# Interior Design

Igor Duda

The impetus in housing construction with tens of thousands of new residential units every year also increased the living standard, because new apartments, even though they were often narrow and modest, were better equipped in terms of their external and internal construction. The plumbing, electrical wiring, increasingly even the gas distribution network as well as the central heating system and telephone wiring made apartments and houses more comfortable places to live. The moving into a new apartment was one of the most important events in life. It is when the family would start to think about the interior design of their new apartment. The choice of furniture, wallpapers or wall paint, floor covering, wall-to-wall carpeting or other kind of carpets depended on commercial offer, proximity to the foreign border, family budget and personal taste. Research has shown that in the early 1980s, in addition to furniture, the greatest attention was paid to curtains, followed by wallpapers, carpets, lights, paintings, bed covers and house plants. Domestic timber industry was a pretty good support for interior design of the apartment, offering both massive carved oak furniture and minimalist and multi-coloured elements. The centre of attention was the living room as the new room that was supposed to serve the entire family and its pleasant socializing and watching the TV. The couch, the armchairs, the coffee table, massive combination shelves storing the TV, rows of books, drinks and crystal glasses, along with the carpet and the house plant usually made up the design of the living room as the new centre of every household. The kitchen with all its appliances was turned into a small family factory modeled upon an assembly line for preservation and treatment of foodstuffs. The novelty were han-

1. Wood and timber factory, Ljubljana, May 1952. Photo: Božo Štajer, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

2. Products of the 20. oktobar (October 20<sup>th</sup>) furniture factory, 1961. From a photo album of the Belgrade wood and timber factory, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. Home, Ljubljana, August 1950. Photo: Marjan Pfajfer, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

4-5. Advertisement for modern seating sets, Meblo, Nova Gorica. *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1970

1. Listening to transistor radio under petroleum lamp light, Dolenjska Oblast, Slovenia. Photo: Edi Šelhaus, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

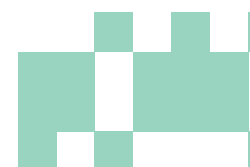
2. Velebit inhabitants watch the first moon landing live broadcast, *Start* magazine, 1969

3. Ground-plan of a village courtyard, *Knjiga Za Svaku Ženu* (*Book for Every Woman*), Zagreb, 1977

# Rural Houses

Ivana Dobrivojević

Historical circumstances, natural and geographical features, degree of economic development, literacy level, proximity to urban areas as well as the number of high school pupils, students and even half-workers half-peasants have exerted a decisive influence on the culture of living in villages. Consequently, regional differences and imbalances in terms of living standards in villages were enormous. The quality of life as a rule decreased from north to south and from west to east and fertile lowlands were more advanced than mountainous areas. There were exceptions. Thus, in villages in otherwise fertile lowland of Vojvodina which were inhabited by the so-called "colonists," namely people who came to Vojvodina from poorer mountainous areas of Yugoslavia after the war, were not equally prosperous even one decade after the change of the place of residence: they had a much more primitive lifestyle than villages populated by old inhabitants of Vojvodina. Until the late 1950s, life in most Yugoslav villages was hard. Poor housing conditions, neglect of utility infrastructure and lack of hygiene, diseases as the consequence of ignorance, high children mortality, bad diet and sparse hygiene, dirtiness of the body and the clothes, general ignorance and various superstitions were ingredients of everyday life of most peasants. Modest needs and limited habits made peasants put themselves and their families to the

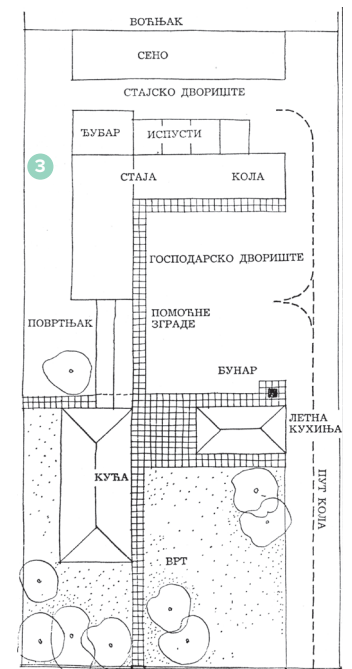


ging cabinets of the American-style kitchen, while appliances fitted into kitchen furniture were not yet a standard at the time. Their share of the marketing profit went also to bedrooms and children's rooms, the former in subdued colours, classical or modern, with a double bed, a wardrobe, a nightstand, a chest of drawers; the latter increasingly in lively colours and modern furniture. Those who were dissatisfied with the commercial offer during the 1970s and the 1980s could seek an advice in magazines which promoted "do it yourself" idea. In addition to making the furniture oneself, small household repairs and ongoing maintenance were usually taken care of without calling a professional repair worker.

In accordance with another slogan of formative socialism – technics to the people – all the power of industrialization and electrification came to be seen in households when it came to acquisition of electrical appliances, which largely changed everyday habits of the population. Thanks to domestic industry and cooperation with foreign producers, Slovenian producers "Iskra" from Kranj and "Gorenje" from Velenje, Croatian "Končar" and "Radio Industry Zagreb" (RIZ), Serbian factories „Electrical Industry“ (EI) Niš and "Sloboda (Freedom) Čačak"; "Rudi Čajevac" factory from Banja Luka in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other producers, aided by foreign imports, managed to arouse genuine consumer fever. People bought refrigerators, cooking stoves and freezers, grinders and mixers, vacuum cleaners, radio appliances, transistors, record players, tape recorders, walkmans, hi-fi stereo equipment, video-recorders, personal computers, hair dryers, hair styling sets, massagers, ventilators, heaters and thermo-accumulative heaters. Mass

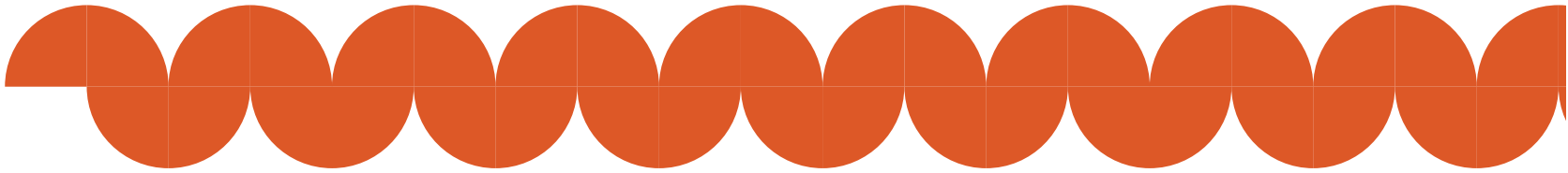
production and consumerism were felt for the first time during the 1960s, when in the early years of the decade seven average monthly salaries were needed for buying a TV. In the first half of the 1970s every second household had an electric or gas stove, a TV and a refrigerator, while in the second half of the decade washing machine was acquired by every second family and price of a TV became equal with an average monthly salary. In the late 1980s in almost every household there was an electric or gas stove, a black and white or colour TV and a fridge. Eight out of ten households had their own washing machine and cleaned the apartment with their own vacuum cleaner. Just like in other countries, TV spread faster than washing machine, confirming the thesis about attraction of appliances used for entertainment and leisure in comparison to those serving to do housework, especially the one that could still be done manually by female members of the family. The difference among the republics replicated the same pattern which depended on overall degree of development, so there was an above-average presence of TVs and washing machines in Slovenia, Croatia and to an extent Vojvodina. However, at the level of the whole Yugoslavia, there is another interesting difference which pertains to all republics, namely different rhythm of modernization among rural and urban population. Depending on the appliance, agricultural households lagged behind ten to twenty years, which is a strong argument in favour of the thesis about modernization discrepancy between rural and urban environments. Such or even greater discrepancy existed between ubiquitousness of household appliances in Yugoslavia compared to their ubiquitousness in developed countries.

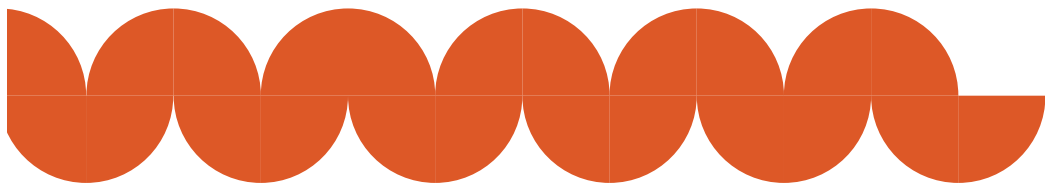
last place. They would give advantage to guests offering them food or would even put well-being of the livestock first. The life of the family, regardless of the number of family members, was mostly limited to a single room. Speedy urbanization and modernization have however led to modernization of village houses. Village architecture progressed, houses became more comfortable and modern, while factory furniture, carpets, curtains, tablecloths and sheets began to make their way to village homes in the early 1950s. In the 1960s large number of villages obtained electricity and electrical appliances made their way to village homes. However, villages were for a long time stymied in their development due not only to backwardness, but also to incomparable poverty. Until the early 1970s, tractors were sparse so men and women were sowing, ploughing and reaping manually or would plough using horse-drawn or bullock carts. In such circumstances, when industrial goods were very expensive, even if there was an awareness about the need to improve living circumstances it was not easy to find money for renovating the house or buying new furniture. The modest reach of modernization changes and advancement of living culture in villages was mercilessly shown in official statistics. During the 1960s and the 1970s, despite advanced social modernization, a large number of peasants lived in dilapidated houses 40-50% of which were below the United Nations standard. Namely, according to the 1971 data, 68% of village homes were connected to an electrical grid and only 12% had plumbing, while 20% of village homes didn't have any electrical energy or water supply system.



Добро организовано сеоско двориште

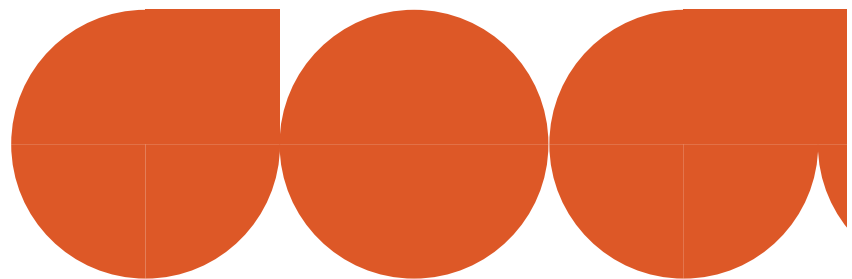






# Holiday for All

Igor Duda





1. Poster LABOURERS/ WORKERS' HOLIDAY HOMES ARE WAITING FOR YOU, Ljubljana, around 1950. Colour lithography, paper, 100 x 70 cm, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

2. Poster VISIT OPATIJA, around 1955, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb

3. Coppertone suntan cream advertisement, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1972

4. Poster JUGOVINIL FOR EVERY APPLICATION, 1952. Author: Zvonimir Faist, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

5. Poster JUGOPLASTIKA, Ljubljana, around 1960. Design: Tehnička knjiga Zagreb. Illustrated colour poster, 98 x 68.5 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb

6. Parentium Hotel in Zelena Laguna (Green Lagoon), Poreč, Croatia, around 1970. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

7. Krivaja plant workers' holiday homes in Makarska, 1965. From a photo album of "Krivaja" wood and timber plant, Museum of Yugoslav History

8. Kranjska Gora, Slovenia, February 1963. Photo: Bogo Primožič, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

9. Swimmers on the rocks below the Church of St. Euphemia, Rovinj, around 1965. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

10. Summer terrace at the Red Island tourist complex, Rovinj, Croatia. Around 1965. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

11. From a photo album of Park-Jadran Hotel, Opatija, 1960, Museum of Yugoslav History

12. Workers' holiday home in Opatija, 1948, Museum of Yugoslav History

13. Going on holiday, Ljubljana, July 27th, 1960. Photo: Marjan Ciglič, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

14. Workers' holiday homes in Ulcinj, 1948, Archives of Yugoslavia

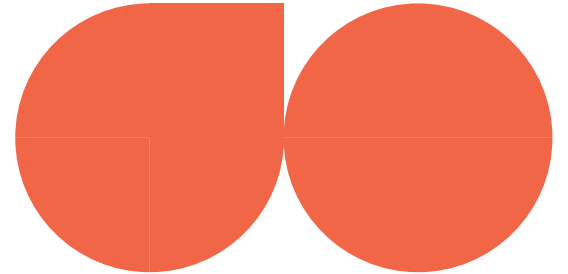


## Tourism and Holidays

The post-war decades brought the blossoming of mass tourism in Europe. The countries guaranteed to workers the right to a paid vacation and the living standard was growing, so Mediterranean coast became available to larger number of tourists than ever. The interwar efforts, even intensive interventions of certain countries to bring tourism closer to the broad masses produced their final effect only in the 1960s, called the decade of summer revolutions. The culture of travelling was unstoppably progressing and a summer vacation on the coast became a must on everyone's calendar, a new habit people can enjoy and brag about to their friends and neighbours. The same was happening in Yugoslavia, so journalists in the early 1970s commented that: "Summer holidays spent on the seaside are in Yugoslavia one of „the most important secondary things in the world.“ In many families it is the only annual "luxury", these are the days when nobody counted whether one had one or three Coca-Cola drinks or two or three coffees more than they normally do throughout the year" (weekly news magazine *Vjesnik u srijedu* (*Herald on Wednesday*), abbreviated as *VUS*, 1973). However until then Yugoslav tourism – domestic and foreign, social and commercial – has already experienced quarter of the century of accelerated development. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, before the onset of World War II, had 5.5 million nights spent in tourist accommodations and accommodated around a million tourists (SGJ). By 1949 the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has doubled pre-war number of tourists and by 1955 the number of nights spent in tourist accommodations more than doubled compared to late 1930s. This was followed by mostly stable and safe growth which reached its peak during the second half of the 1980s. The most successful year was 1986 with 111.1 million nights spent in tourist accommodation, out of which 59.7 million were domestic and 51.4 million were foreign tourists, mostly Western German, British, Austrian and Italian tourists. As much as 76.7 million nights in tourist accommodation or 69.0% occurred on the coast, which reflects the attractiveness of Adriatic destinations as well as Croatia which, with 68.2 million nights spent in tourist accommodation or 61.4% of all such nights, preserved its status of typically the most visited Yugoslav republic and the centre of tourist industry. Croatia at that time also housed two thirds of accommodation capacities which peaked in Yugoslavia in 1988 with 1.4 million beds, mostly in private accommodation, camps and hotels and much less in workers', children's and youth holiday homes, tourist settlements or other kinds of accommodation. The first post-war goal of the new government was to renovate existing hotels and make domestic population more familiar with tourism, especially the working class for whom vacation and travel had not previously been affordable. Tourism was understood as social, sound and cultural phenomenon and a necessity for all parts of the population as a symbol of material and cultural progress. In a way it was a shortcut to a better living standard. The regulation brought by the government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946 introduced the paid vacation and regulated its duration from 14 to 30 days. This was followed by the regulation of the system of socialist tourism made up of workers' holiday homes and discounts for travel expenses and accom-

modation during the vacation. In post-war years these were important incentives for domestic tourism and shaping of new habits: it almost meant an imposition of tourism because workers received invoices which enabled them a vacation in some of the trade union holiday homes. There were those who refused to accept this form of modernization, saying that they would rather stay at home or do necessary agricultural works, which was the consequence of their late inclusion in the working class and industrial culture. Thus the president of the workers' council of Varaždin textile industry "Varteks" complained about the lack of acceptance of the culture of travel by a part of the workers: "Most workers are of rural origin. Many of them simply do not feel the need to leave home during the summer. For some of them summer vacation on the seaside is "a luxury," something becoming to "gentlemen" rather than workers. [...] Old notions and habits are to blame and the trade union should be fighting them more forcefully. Our worker lacks industrial culture" (*Vjesnik*, 1958). Major discounts for workers were replaced in 1961 by the card K-15 which enabled the discount price for one return ticket and in 1965 cash payment of vacation bonuses was introduced, which equalled around one third of an average salary, which was paid on the basis of a decision by the workers' council by the enterprises that could afford it. This change is only a small part of reforms which were introduced in the country in the mid-1960s and in the sphere of tourism they resulted in larger emphasis on foreign guests and foreign currency earnings, while a large part of domestic guests turned towards commercial tourism. The polls have shown that in the second half of the 1970, in the years of the highest living standard, those who travelled most were younger employees aged 25 to 36 and the elderly over 65, that six out of ten domestic tourists would spend their holidays on the seaside, while one third stays with friends and relatives and one third in private accommodation. Several conducted pieces of research have shown that in the late 1970s and early 1980s every second citizen was taking a vacation, every second citizen travelled by car, mostly in the summer and on the seaside, where he would spend a week or two without taking a loan or spending his savings. Of course, domestic tourists were mostly from bigger towns but not capitals of various republics, were better educated, had higher salaries and less family members.

Yugoslav tourism during socialism fitted in excellently in the aforementioned wider context of democratization of travelling, mostly relied on Adriatic coast and its tourist development which started in the 19th century in Austria-Hungary. Since it was a significant source of foreign currency income, it has easily found its place in economic policy and involved also some foreign policy issues because it helped promote an image of Yugoslavia as a friendly country with open borders which gladly displays its different path to socialism. It also had an unavoidable role in modernization of leisure of domestic tourists and infrastructure and way of life of those areas to the development of which it had a significant impact. In close encounter with the West, *Zimmer frei* was a symbol not only of free rooms, but also of wider social changes.



## Weekend

When Ivo Robić, Marko Novosel and Beti Jurković performed the song “Bus Calypso” on the music festival in Opatija in 1959 the concept of the weekend has still not been developed in Yugoslavia. Thus the lyrics: “Hurry up, the bus is horning, /it does not wait a minute, you should know /C’m on hop in and don’t waste your time! /Why do you wanna ruin every weekend we have? /It will take us directly to the sea/ to beautiful paradise full of palm-trees. /I will comfortably sit next to the window /but before that I want a kiss!” depicted a scene from a possible life or a life of a minority, rather than a wide-spread practice of a weekend holiday. A weekend of two days in a week was legally permitted only in 1965, when working week was reduced to 42 hours, so Saturday was the working day only once a month. Two years later research conducted in Zagreb showed that every fifth citizen would go on a half-day or a whole day outing for the weekend. At the Yugoslav level, two thirds of respondents were never taking an outing for the weekend. They stayed at home due to the lack of time or money, but also due to the inexistence of the need to go out for a weekend. Zagreb weekly *Vjesnik* was trying to convince its readers otherwise and every Thursday gave a proposal what to do the following weekend, where to go to for a short holiday and how to prepare, what to read, listen or watch. The entire weekend culture began to appear, which enriched leisure time. Owners of weekend houses and those who spent their weekends in these houses were a part of that culture. They spent weekends or even summer holidays in smaller or bigger holiday homes – mostly located near major cities, in untouched nature or at the seaside – they have fully accepted new habits and were not only members of the richer classes. Merging state holidays with weekends became a practice already in the 1960s and people made use of them to go on several-day vacations. This was done also by a female reader of the *Weekend* magazine: “I’m looking forward to state holidays the most. For me that’s the real weekend, because three to four free days are an entire small vacation! On these days, my son and I travel to at least two republics!” (*Vikend*, 1969).

1. Bled transistor radio, Iskra (Spark), Kranj, 1960s, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Ground-plan of a weekend house, *Knjiga Za Svaku Ženu (Book for Every Woman)*, Zagreb, 1977
3. For your weekend, Advertisement for Ei, *Naš dom (Our Home)*, No. 10, 1968.
4. Advertisement for CAPRI, TAHITI sunshades, produced by Varaždin silk, ready-made clothes and umbrella factory, *Vijesnik u srijedu (VUS) (Herald on Wednesday)* weekly, 1972
5. Zastava 125 (Flag 125) cars advertisement, *Start* magazine, 1969
6. Advertisement for Adria caravans produced by Novo Mesto Motor Vehicle Factory, *Vikend (Weekend)* weekly, 1975
7. “Short outings in nature refresh the body”, Silvio Ružić, *Leksikon svakodnevnog života (Lexicon of Everyday Life)*, Zagreb 1967
8. JAT programme for 1974
9. *Turizam (Tourism)* magazine, 1974

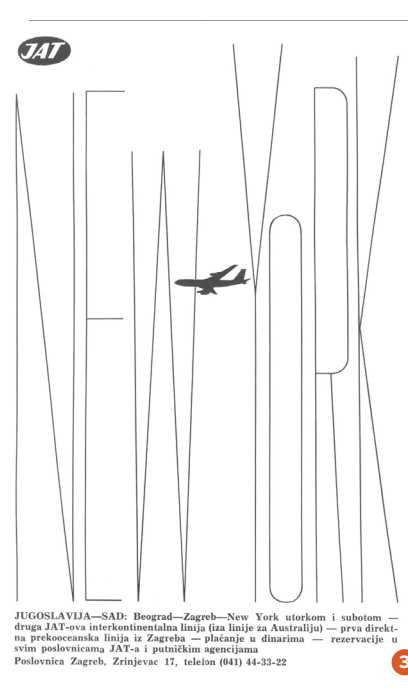




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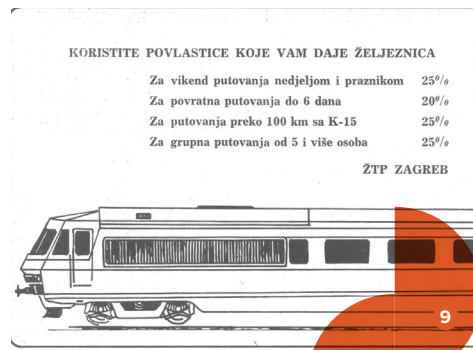
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1. Poster JAT YUGOSLAV AIR TRANSPORT, Serbia, 1954. Offset printing, 98x67cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
 2. Poster JAT TO THE TOWN OF SPLIT, Serbia, 1960 – 1970. Author: B. Šinkovec / JAT atelier. Offset printing, 100 x 70 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
 3. Advertisement for the first JAT direct overseas flight from Zagreb, 1976, *Turizam* (*Tourism*) magazine, 1976.  
 4. 4-6. From a photo album documenting the opening of the Belgrade airport in April 1962, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. Petrol station between Kranj and Bled, September 1957. Photo: Svetozar Bušić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia  
 6. Express train line connecting Belgrade and Zagreb, intended for business people, Museum of Yugoslav History  
 7. Zagreb Railway Company advertisement, 1974  
 8. *Turizam* (*Tourism*) magazine, 1974

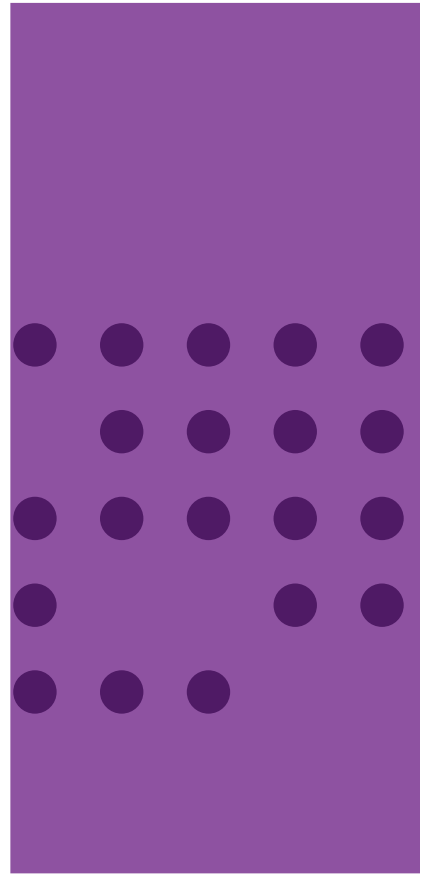
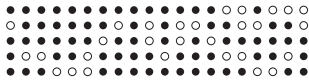
# Transportation

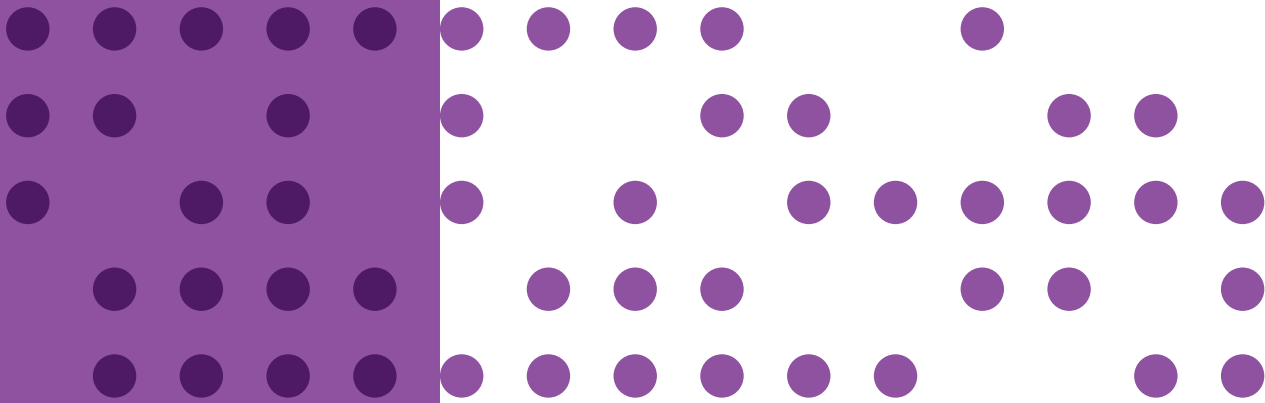
One of the preconditions for the development of tourism was building of transportation infrastructure and modernization of highway, railway, maritime and air transport. All forms of transportation had their role in freight transport, trade and import-export businesses. However, the link between everyday life and the transport network was the most visible in the transport of passengers. The mid 1960s were the turning point for the relationship between railway and highway transportation. Until then, railway prevailed, but for the first time in 1966 more passengers were transported using highways than using railways (269 against 213 million), while three years later transportation capacities became equal (249 million passenger seats each). During the 1970s and the 1980s railway network was shrinking, however in terms of the number of transported passengers rather than in terms of kilometres of closed railways which were maintained at the level of some 10,000 kilometres, out of which one third was electrified. The most busy railway stations were those in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana which in the 1980s accommodated between 4 and 5.5 million passengers per railway station. The attempts at modernization and introduction of new services did not manage to turn away passengers from preferring travelling by cars and busses. These efforts included introduction of new speedy trains between Zagreb and towns on the Adriatic coast, new holiday lines and services. The return ticket for the new train Kvarner-Express between Zagreb and Rijeka in 1968 cost 39.20 dinars or around 4% of an average salary, so frequent family weekends by train were a luxury for most citizens. The same year, Marjan-Express for the first time connected Zagreb and Split with car carrier wagons. However, the return ticket for the transport of "Fića" (Fiat) was 258.10 dinars or almost 30 percent of an average salary. Newspaper headlines underlined the lack of traveling culture and violation of the rules of conduct in wagons of the Yugoslav railways: passengers did not respect seat reservations, they threw garbage through the windows, took off their shoes, freely walked through the train and ate food they brought with them, while children jumped throughout the wagons. The reorientation towards bus and car transportation was unstoppable. The rise of the

numbers of registered transportation vehicles was constant, as well as the length of paved highways. The number of motorcycles peaked in early 1970s and started decreasing, giving way to the increasing number of personal cars which outnumbered them in 1963. The highways with modern road surfaces (cement, asphalt, cube) outperformed other types of roads (earth, cobblestones) only in the early 1980s and in 1985 reached 69,401 kilometres or twenty times greater length than thirty years before. In the other words, Yugoslav drivers by the early 1960s drove motorcycles more than cars and until the early 1980s they mostly drove along dusty roads. Modern Yugoslav highway network relied on two traffic backbones: the Brotherhood and Unity highway and the Adriatic highway. The former connected Belgrade and Zagreb till 1950, when it was extended till Austrian and Greek borders and it was only in the 1970s that certain sections of paved two-track highways began to expand into four-track highways. The latter was the vital two-track highway which connected Adriatic towns from the Italian border near Trieste to Ulcinj in Montenegro near Albanian border. Some sections of the Adriatic highway were built in the interwar period, but the main tracks were built and paved during the 1950s and the 1960s, especially intensively in Dalmatia in 1964 and 1965 thanks to the loan of the World Bank, which made a major contribution to accelerated development of tourism. First Yugoslav highways in the full sense of the word began to be built since 1969 so first kilometres near Rijeka were opened in 1971 and sections between Zagreb and Karlovac in Croatia and between Postojna and Vrhnika in Slovenia were opened in 1972. New roads, more and more cars and drivers, but also disrespect of traffic rules led to an increase of car accidents, so the lack of traffic culture was a frequent topic in the media. In the mid-1960s, traffic police registered about 20,000 accidents per year, while twenty years later it even doubled. In the same period, the number of around 1,000 killed in traffic accidents per year increased to five times more victims of traffic accidents. Especially dangerous was the highway of Brotherhood and Unity, known as the guest workers highway which Yugoslav, but also tired Turkish and Greek guest workers, used to travel towards Western European countries.

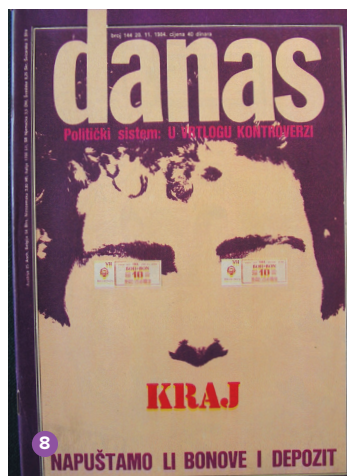
Although the isles of Pag and Krk were connected to the mainland in 1968 and 1980, the connection of other Croatian islands with the mainland depended on the maritime transportation and steamboat companies ever since the 19th century. The main maritime transporter in Yugoslavia was Jadrolinija, established in 1947 with the headquarters in Rijeka. The first ferryboat line opened in 1959 between Crkvenica and Šilo on the island of Krk, followed by the connection between other islands and towns. The ferryboats replaced older ships and became vital in the transportation of cars, buses, trucks, passengers and goods. Between the 1950s and the 1980s, maritime transportation increased from 5 to 8 million passengers, mostly on the sea because river transport was considerably less developed.

The early days of air transport were in the interwar era, but until the early 1960s Yugoslavia had only two runways with contemporary road surface (Belgrade and Zagreb) but by 1988 there were 22 of them. A series of new airports was opened in the 1960s, especially in order to develop Adriatic tourism. In Croatia there were seven major airports (Zagreb, Split, Dubrovnik, Pula, Zadar, Rijeka-Krk, Osijek), two in Slovenia (Ljubljana, Maribor), Montenegro (Tivat, Podgorica), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, Mostar), Macedonia (Skopje, Ohrid), central Serbia (Belgrade, Niš) and one in Kosovo (Pristina). The main transporter was Yugoslav Airlines (JAT) founded in 1947 with the headquarters in Belgrade, but in the 1960s it was joined by Adria Airways from Ljubljana and Aviogenex from Belgrade. JAT was very active in the 1970s in terms of marketing and was trying to attract passengers with slogans such as "the shortest way to the sun" or "transforms travel into leisure," and offered, in cooperation with travel agencies, package arrangements such as an airlift or an air-weekend, connecting the mainland and the Adriatic coast. In the 1980s Yugoslav fleet contained about 50 airplanes flying to some 250 destinations and transporting more than 6 million passengers. At the time, JAT connected Yugoslavia with 53 cities on 5 continents.





# Consumerism in Socialism



1. The first self-service store in Cvetni trg (Flower Square), Belgrade, 1958, Museum of Yugoslav History  
 2. Centroprom self-service store, Belgrade, 1972, Museum of Yugoslav History  
 3. Interior of the Arena clothes shop, Pula, around 1980, Museum of Yugoslav History  
 4. Self-service store of the POMORAVLJE food trading firm, Požarevac, 1959, Museum of Yugoslav History  
 5. NAMA Department Store, Ljubljana, 1956. Photo: Miloš Švabić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia  
 6. Nestlé chocolates advertisement, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1971

7. Diners Club International card advertisement, *Start* magazine, 1978  
 8. The cover of the news weekly *Danas (Today)*, November, 20<sup>th</sup>, 1984  
 9. People waiting in line to buy petrol, 1979. Photo: Miško Kranjec, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia



# Consumer Culture

Igor Duda

The beginnings of mass consumer culture are usually associated with the process of industrialization and the development of mass production. Therefore, the forms of the contemporary consumer practice were present as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the regions of Yugoslavia that entered industrialization earlier than the rest. However in Yugoslavia, just like elsewhere in Europe, the first recognizable features of mass consumer society emerged late - fifteen or so years after World War II. Its birth at the political and ideological level can be placed in 1958 when, at the height of the Yugoslav economic miracle, the Programme of the Communist League of Yugoslavia recommended a more intensive development of the retail network and better supply of consumers with goods and the song *Mala djevojčica (Little Girl)* better known as *Tata, kupi mi auto (Daddy, Buy Me a Car)* won at the festival of popular music in Opatija. The wishes mentioned in this musical piece – bicycle, scooter, doll with a pram, cakes, candy and oranges and window shopping in town that is also sung about, announced the consumer revolution that took place in the 1960s. From that point on, Yugoslav consumers had the wonders of the consumer society at their disposal to a greater or lesser degree: the possibility of choosing goods and the availability of financial resources, the desire of consumers to have all that is new and modern and the interconnectedness of social values with the purchasing power and material ownership.

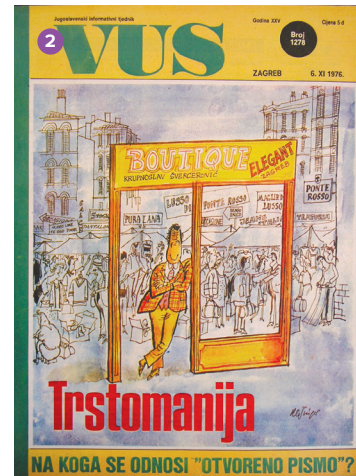
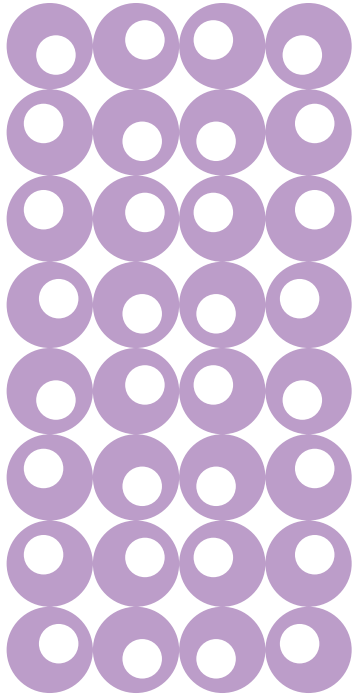
The local consumer culture had its limitations determined both by the socialist ideology and the level of economic development. Although supply never reached Western European levels, everyday life in Yugoslavia was not marked by frequent and long-lasting shortages like those in the socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The first wave of shortages that hit the limited, but certain supply happened in the years after the war, like in other European countries. From 1945 up until the end of 1952, the state directly organized the supply of goods for the population. Depending on the category to which they belonged, which was determined by their profession, the size of their families and other factors, people were given access only to a limited quantity of food and other products by using consumer cards, ration stamps and subsequently coupons. Certain kinds of goods were divided into categories: strictly rationed goods could be bought using special vouchers and money, semi-rationed goods were purchased using

ration stamps, coupons and money, while ration stamps and money could be used to buy products that were sold freely. Although some products were unavailable from time to time in the local market and even the quantities of electricity were insufficient, which led to the introduction of scheduled reduced supply, Yugoslav consumers were confronted with a true wave of shortages and administrative limitations again only around 1980. Since the country lacked foreign currency necessary for paying foreign debt, Yugoslavia then reduced import and new borrowing, which disrupted the local production and supply. Coffee, detergent, oil, certain kinds of dairy produce, meat, freezers, sugar, citrus fruits, women's stockings, cotton wool, petrol, building materials, spare parts, nails, paints, light bulbs, agricultural machinery, tools and other goods were lacking in the market. The state meddled in the supply of fuel in particular and so unlimited quantities of it could not be bought from the spring of 1979 to early 1985. The odd-even license plate road rationing system was in place until 1982, after which up to 40 litres of petrol per month could be bought using coupons. Towards the mid-1980s, the supply of all the goods was normalized. Despite the mostly regular supply, the need to be economical and save, stock up certain products and reusing / repurposing packaging were lasting features of the consumer culture.

On the other hand, a wave of expansion of the retail network, new products made by the local light industry, alternative forms of payment and also prize contests and games of chance spread across the country. Black-and-white and colour TV sets, automatic washing machines, mixers, pressure cookers, different products made of plastic, synthetic clothes, pre-packaged goods in custom designed packaging, pouch soups and powder drinks were among the novelties that consumers craved. They were available in more and more shops, whose number tripled from the beginning of the 1950s to the end of the 1980s. At the time when the first consumer revolution was in full swing, in Yugoslavia in 1965, there were 93 department stores and around thirty years later, there were about 700. In the same period, the number of self-service stores rose from 955 to around 6700. Supermarkets were based on an entirely new concept of sale that reached Europe from the United States of America after World War II. The first self-service store in Yugoslavia was opened in Ivanec in northern Croatia, a year later, Zagreb had its

first self-service store and Belgrade followed suit in 1958. The consumers were thus given a possibility of having a direct contact with goods, without shop assistants, behind the counter, acting as mediators. That considerably changed the attitude towards consumers, goods and time, which people gladly spent walking among shelves. Locally made goods were prevalent in the retail network. However, some foreign products could be found, while the goods produced by the local industry, under foreign licences (for instance, Pepsi since 1967, Coca-Cola since 1968, Levi's since 1983) were somewhat more accessible. Foreign products were available in bigger towns in commission stores and towards the end of the 1980s in duty-free shops that spread to towns, having previously existed only at airports, marinas and road border crossings. The money that consumers spent came from regular salaries and additional sources of income, as well as from increasingly large savings deposits and consumer loans. Deferred payment in instalments, monthly salary deductions or deferred cheques had a particular appeal in the 1980s, when inflation eroded the value of subsequent instalments. Credit cards offered another way of deferred payment: Diners since 1969, American Express since 1972. In spite of all that, the purchasing power was mostly based on salaries, whose real value was the highest in the second half of the 1970s, while the following decade brought a fall in the standard of living and the real value of salaries by around thirty percent.

Consumer values gradually permeated the society, despite occasional criticism of the trend coming from the ranks of the Communist League and social and political organizations. Namely, Yugoslavia found itself torn between the non-acceptance of the capitalist society of abundance overstepping the boundaries of good taste and the refusal of the asceticism promoted by other socialist societies. The confusion, brought about by the flourishing of consumer culture was being justified by the nature of the socialist society, understood as a transitional phase from capitalism to communism, as well as by the need exactly for consumption to be a means of catching up with modernization and progress, thus creating a better life.



1. Exchanging money in the street in Trieste, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1976
2. The cover of the news weekly *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*), November, 6<sup>th</sup>, 1976
3. DARWIL jewellery advertisement. Arena illustrated weekly 1972
4. Fernetiči border crossing, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1976
5. The cover of the news weekly *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*), June, 26<sup>th</sup>, 1976



# Shopping in Trieste

Igor Duda

Although, from the 1960s onwards, the Yugoslav society gradually acquired all the key features of a consumer society, to a greater or lesser degree, the domestic market still could not meet the desires of all consumers. Between the mid-1950s and the end of the 1970s, shortages, not unlike those in Eastern Europe did not hinder supply. But, occasionally some products that were in no way special would be in short supply, such as meat, light bulbs or water heaters, while certain kinds of goods never appeared in local shop windows or on the shelves. These products were in no way required or necessary, although, as symbolically important, they often enjoyed precisely such status and gained new meanings. They were different, which made them interesting; they had that “certain something” that generated enthusiasm, as they belonged to the latest trends in fashion or high tech. Even back then, the results of market research were quite clear: “These are again mostly products that cannot be found in the local market or those that do not meet the necessary requirements in terms of their range or quality” (according to the ZIT/CEMA market research agency). People had to travel abroad in order to get such products and thus the Yugoslav market never managed either to overcome or hide this deficit. Consequently, the local consumer culture developed as a unique hybrid between local and foreign supply – the needs fulfilled in the country and those that had to be fulfilled abroad.

Each time Yugoslav citizens went abroad, on business or as tourists, to visit relatives or look for a job, they usually took some time to go shopping too. That was especially present when travelling to the West, as such travels grew increasingly common from the 1960s onwards, when Yugoslavia liberalized the policy of issuing travel documents. Although Italy was not a preferred destination for guest workers, as many as 7.3 million local travellers crossed the Italian border in 1970, which amounted to a half of all times people left the country that year (according to the Statistics Bulletin of the Federal Statistical Office). The new peak occurred in 1978, when 6.5 million travellers crossed that border, more than the border with Austria, which was the point of departure for temporary work in Austria and Germany. Surely the majority of trips to Italy were shopping-related. The estimates in the early 1980s showed that Yugoslav citizens spent around a billion US dollars a year shopping abroad, namely, up to 5,700 dinars approximately, or half the average salary per shopping trip (according to ZIT/CEMA).

A considerable portion of that amount remained in Trieste, the town that was first and foremost a place for cross-border shopping and going there for any other reason was almost inconceivable. In the political sense, Trieste remained sufficiently Italian not to become “ours”. However, it was geographically close enough to very easily become the nearest western consumer paradise for Yugoslav sho-

ppers. They came by bus, train and car from all parts of Yugoslavia and after a short ride or a long exhausting journey, depending on the distance they had to cover, they spent a couple of hours or an entire day in the town. Ponte Rosso, Darwil, Godina, San Giusto, Mercato Coperto, Upim, Standa, Lavoratore and many other retail establishments transformed Trieste into a “town of promise”. After plastic raincoats and jeans, people went after shoes and gold jewellery, curtains, lamps, electronics, baby equipment, cosmetics, detergents and many other products. They learned how to deal with customs officers and mastered the ways of concealing the goods they bought. According to the estimates, one in five Yugoslav citizens smuggled goods for themselves or others, for personal use or resale. Thus, the journalists concluded, as early as the 1970s that “Trieste is for some a magical town, even today, some people lose their human dignity there” (VUS, 1976). They were also able to make a good assessment of the place of Trieste in the Yugoslav consumer culture and economy: “Whether we like it or not, Trieste has become a barometer of the state of the Yugoslav market. It is always, in a way, an indicator of the situation in our economy, the fluctuations of prices and the supply level in our market”. (VUS, 1970). Trieste was undoubtedly one of the starting points of modernization of everyday life in Yugoslavia.



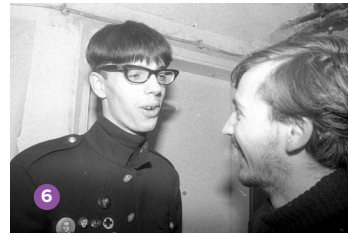
## Dressing in the Latest Fashion: Clothing between Ideology and Consumerism

Ana Panić

In the first years after the war, the socialist state championed a new kind of woman – in war, a partisan, with a rifle in one arm and a child in another and in peace an activist, strong and muscular shock worker without femininity, which was condemned as a feature of the petite bourgeoisie mentality. An analysis of women's magazines is essential for examining the culture of femininity and the culture of clothing, in view of the fact that mass media are active factors contributing to shaping social consciousness by formulating collective representations and assuming an educational and normative role. In the pre-television era, magazines were the ones to contribute to the socialization of women, taking it in the direction that was valued by the society. Under the influence of mass culture and as a result of turning to the west, women's press changed its look and feel. Fashion made its timid debut in 1949, on the back cover page of the *Ukus* (*Taste*) magazine, specializing in fashion, published by the Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia. During the 1950s and 1960s, it appeared with a bang in Yugoslavia and on pages of magazines from which female shock workers and heroes of labour had quietly disappeared, leaving room for a new idealized image of the reality and family bliss, which included new and increasingly available beauty products, kitchens, refrigerators and home appliances that reaffirmed the traditional gender roles of women. This coincided with the abandoning of public distribution system, namely, ration stamps and allowing textiles to be sold freely. In 1949, adults were given 210 ration stamps a year with which to buy clothes and shoes, where 70 summer stamps would buy you a dress, a petticoat and a pair of knickers, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of socks and a bed sheet. It is clear that in these circumstances, fashion was out of the question. Moreover, fashion was said to make women look ridiculous. It was all about the acquisition of basic clothes, often without any aesthetic value whatsoever. As early as 1952, in an atmosphere of relative liberalization and an official break with the copying of the Soviet cultural model, the cover of the fashion magazine *Ukus* (*Taste*) was graced with a picture of a female model wearing an evening dress, a hat and white gloves. All subsequent issues featured nothing but fashion-related content, styles, sewing patterns and photographs taken from foreign magazines without permission and in breach of copyright.

The *Žena danas* (*Woman Today*) magazine went so far as to publish a crocheting pattern of a Chanel suit. The ideal of beauty typical of socialist realism was quickly abandoned and in February 1952, the daily newspaper *Politika* (*Politics*) launched its women's corner, a column dedicated to women entitled "For Our Woman". Interviews with women from the USSR were replaced by interviews like the one with the London-based model Miss Jean Donnay. In 1957, product advertisements started to appear (Nivea creams, Jorgovan perfume shops, Reflex Oreal, Dahlia, Partizanka socks and knitwear factory, Petar Velebit shoes, Neva Zagreb crème, etc.), together with regular columns of the Wardrobe Do's and Don'ts kind and shopping guides – the pages focusing on different new, practical and useful products with the title We Saw and Recommend. Influenced by fashion magazines, like the Zagreb-based *Svijet* (*World*) published since 1953, Belgrade-based *Praktična žena* (*Practical Woman*) and later on, local editions of foreign magazines, such as *Neue mode* and *Burda*, a new identity of women was shaped, in line with the new consumer culture that was born and developed in the conditions typical of Yugoslav socialism.

The mid-1950s marked the slow beginning of development of Yugoslav fashion and ready-to-wear industry, which had long been facing considerable technical setbacks, due to the lack of skilled designers, proper materials and designs, absence of standard measures and sizes of ready-made clothes, which had not made it into the Yugoslav standard (JUS), not even as late as the early 1970s. Throughout the 1950s, a great many people still had their clothes made at tailor's shops, thus copying western fashion, the salon run by Žuži Jelinek in Zagreb being the most famous. Otherwise, imported goods could be bought at commission shops selling confiscated and smuggled foreign goods. Belgrade and Zagreb had twenty-five commission shops each. Among the things that could be bought there or in the black market were genuine American Levi's jeans, which became a symbol of rebellion and resistance of the new generation. Because of their rather high price, they also became a symbol of divisions, as not everybody could afford them. Jeans were also made locally, but usually classic style, in a single denim colour and the models were not to the taste of young people. After the opening of the country's borders, the so-ca-



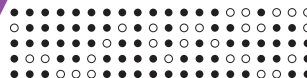
1. Fashion magazine *Svijet* (*World*), November 15<sup>th</sup>, 1966
2. *Ukus* (Taste) Magazine, 1952
3. Television Belgrade newsreaders - Staka Novković, Mira Tomić, Vesna Nestorović and Danka Novović. Recorded by Pavle Milovanović, Television Belgrade Programme Archive
4. The cover of the first issue of *Praktična žena* (Practical Women) Magazine, 1956
5. Lee Cooper clothes advertisement, *Start* Magazine, 1980
6. Študent Disco, a club that achieved cult status and a place where young people wishing to hear a different kind of music gathered. It was one of the rare places that was home to the alternative scene in Ljubljana in the 1980s, May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1982. Photo: Janez Bogataj, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
7. Slovenian punk band NJET (NYET), Ljubljana, August 1984. Photo: Janez Bogataj, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

lled “fashion tourism” developed and clothes were more and more often bought in Trieste, Venice, Rome, London or Paris. The 1960s saw the opening of the first department stores and specialized shops selling locally manufactured goods of an increasingly improved quality and towards the middle of the decade, local shops offered a visibly wider range of imported clothes. In the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, high quality, modern clothes appeared in Yugoslavia, thanks to the bold business moves of local fashion companies. Beko purchased a licence to manufacture clothes by the British Lee Cooper corporation, while Varteks got the license from the world’s most famous manufacturer of jeans, the American company Levi Strauss. Besides jeans, the people in Yugoslavia grew increasingly fond of English coats, cloaks and the famous duffle coats.

The Centre for Contemporary Clothing was founded in 1961 in Belgrade with the aim of educating the population from rural areas lacking a sense of fashion. Namely, by moving to towns, these people developed a new need for useful, nice looking and affordable clothes. The ideological task of Yugoslav fashion was impossible to accomplish, because ready-made clothes were supposed to be made accessible to everyone, designed with the needs of working people in mind, and at the same time meet high quality requirements. This frequently led to a situation where the selling price was lower than the cost of production, which was caused by the absence of the market and by the administrative regulation of prices, so as to prevent price points exceeding the purchasing power in Yugoslavia. Familiar with Western fashion, Yugoslav consumers were becoming more and more demanding and increasingly dissatisfied with unimaginative Yugoslav products that lacked aesthetic qualities. Gradually, a differentiation began to develop between cheaper clothes and fancy pieces of clothing that resembled global fashion trends more and more closely, but at the same time, the distance between them and average citizens of Yugoslavia increased. “The deluxe version of Yugoslav fashion” (Velimirović, 2006: 93) embodied in the exclusive collections by Aleksandar Joksimović was within the reach of the privileged only and it served as a showcase of the authorities that attached a special significance to fashion and its role in the process of aesthetization of everyday life in Yugoslavia. The socialist middle class found the clothes designed by Mirjana Marić to

be more accessible. They were manufactured as limited editions and sold as clothes by an anonymous designer in the Jugoexport clothing boutiques since 1968, because the names of designers were omitted, in line with the proclaimed ideology of the state and state-promoted values, which placed the community above the individual. Thus, the well-known metal tags with the name of Mirjana Marić, who achieved the biggest success in the domain of design of Yugoslav ready-made clothes and remained a symbol of Jugoexport, appeared on the clothes she designed as late as the 1980s.

The socialist society ensured equality as one of its central principles, at least in theory and at the level of declarations and rhetoric to which everyone paid lip service. Thus, school tunics and dust coats, as pieces of clothing that were meant to erase the differences between social groups were a widespread (and mandatory) part of the wardrobe of working people, from pupils at schools, young people taking part in voluntary mass labour to workers in factories and firms. Modesty, moderation, utility and simplicity were never abandoned in the official fashion discourse and extravagant designs were not desirable, especially as far as men’s fashion was concerned, where the use of jewellery and other accessories, traditionally regarded as feminine was not allowed. Lapels and collars on jackets could be widened or narrowed, trouser legs too. Shirts could be narrowed at the waist or not, but everything remained within the limits of traditional men’s clothes. Scarves worn around one’s neck underneath a shirt and turtleneck sweaters (known back then as “dolce vita” i.e. “sweet life” in Italian) were a novelty at the time. The changes and questioning of the codes of masculinity followed as late as the mid-1980s. In the second half of the 1970s, and in the 1980s, clear differences in the clothing styles of Yugoslav teenagers emerged, inspired by the kinds of music they listened to and depending on the groups to which they belonged (rock and rollers, hippies, dandies, heavy metal fans, punk rockers). Their fashion closely followed global street fashion trends and was an expression of rebellion against the false image of youth and the outdated patterns with which new generations could not identify.



1. Zavodi Crvena Zastava (Red Flag Works) calendar for 1966, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Zavodi Crvena Zastava (Red Flag Works) calendar for 1966, Museum of Yugoslav History
3. Prima scooter assembly line. From a photo album documenting the production process, working conditions and the life in workers' housing estates, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. Zastava 101 (Flag 101) car advertisement, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1973
5. RENAULT 4 car advertisement, *Vikend* (Weekend) weekly, 1975
6. Poster Savica All-Purpose Engine, around 1950. Design: Zvonimir Faist, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
7. "Moto Magazin" magazine cover page, August 1st, 1966

8. Zastava Jugo (Flag Yugo) car advertisement, *Start Magazine*, 1981
9. Winner of the Sutjeska '67 rally female youth group category. From the Sutjeska '67 rally photo album, Museum of Yugoslav History
10. A tour of the Tomos factory, Koper, Slovenia, 1959, Museum of Yugoslav History



# Motorization and Automobile Culture

Igor Duda

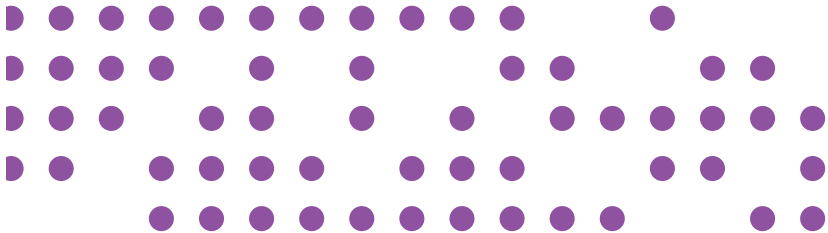
During the middle of the century, personal car became the most distinguishing status symbol of all products on which the rise of consumer society and modernization of everyday life were based. The car was certainly the most expensive privately owned product and its visibility on traffic roads and parking lots was telling about the owner, his living standard and his way of life. It was not unimportant whether somebody parked his car under the window, which model and colour it was, which additional car accessories it had and how often and to what purpose it served. The car assumed the role of a member of the family or a house "tin pet", it appeared on family photographs, participated in moments of joy or sorrow, making a link between privacy of housing space and public exposure in fulfilling various social obligations. Many everyday chores were done more easily and speedily with the help of a car, but changes were also made in terms of leisure time, which began to fill in with new content. Weekend and tourist outings became closer and more accessible and leisure testified about the phenomenon of a free joy ride. In addition to all this and apart from its role of a status symbol, the car also played the role of a symbol of freedom: it enabled free moving in space, independent of public transport and its timetables, so the driver and the co-drivers could go wherever they wanted and in whatever time they wanted, while being encapsulated in a car allowed separation from a part of reality of the outside world, enjoyment in music, song, discussion or thoughts. This new and contemporary automobile culture, with a vehicle which was taking over a wide range of roles from the consumer object to the aid to boost personal and family pride - both frequently with problems, unfulfilled wishes and expectations - began to develop since the 1950s in most European countries, including Yugoslavia.

Cars mostly reached Yugoslav drivers through domestic factories and through imports. The beginnings of car industry reach to 1953 when

Kragujevac factory Crvena Zastava (Red Flag) produced the first jeeps of the Willys label, but what consumers would feel most was the contract with the Italian car label Fiat, thanks to which in 1955 the first cars entitled Zastava 750, much better known as "Fića," appeared on the market. It was the most popular Yugoslav car and the strongest symbol of motorization with half a million car production in the first twenty years. It stopped being produced in 1986. For many drivers it was the first car they bought and drove and in late socialism it was often the second family car which resolved the problem of several drivers in the family or released him from oil consumption constraints. Of all the cars produced by Kragujevac factory, two other models became distinguished. Also in cooperation with Fiat, in 1971 Zastava 101 or "Stojadin" appeared, a model which was marketed as an embodiment of modernity and of a contemporary lifestyle: "safe and reliable - like a family member," "pleasant and comfortable - your second home," "fast - because you live fast," "beauty and perfection you cannot resist," "yesterday's dream, today's reality." In 1980, Zastava launched Jugo 45, its "thrifty temperamental car," which the following year won against Volkswagen Jetta and Citroën GA to win the title of the Yugoslav car of the year. Due to the rush of consumers, this model outperformed all other Zastava vehicles in terms of increase of production and as an upgraded Yugo 55A it was sent in 1985 to try to conquer the US market. However, Zastava, which during the mid-1970s held two thirds of the Yugoslav car market, was not alone, even though it was considered the only real producer, the one which makes the "national car" and connects the entire series of other factories in various parts of the country. Apart from Zastava and the import of finished cars from Western and Eastern Europe, the market share was also taken by the so-called assemblers who imported some car parts and exported other car parts in order to assemble finished vehicles

in domestic factories. The most well-known were one car manufacturer from Bosnia and Herzegovina and two from Slovenia: Tvrnica automobila Sarajevo (TAS) Car Factory Sarajevo (TAS), which cooperated with Volkswagen, Cimos from Kopar as an associate of Citroën and Renault's partner Industry of Motor Vehicles (IMV) from Novo Mesto. Thus Yugoslav roads saw a lot of Volkswagen Beetles and Golfs, Citroën 2CVs (nicknamed "Spaček" in Yugoslavia or "Flying Dustbin" in Britain) and Citroën Dyanes, models 4 and 5. However, none of them could even remotely threaten the leading role of Zastava and Serbia in the Yugoslav car industry.

Yugoslav car park in the early 1970s counted over one million registered cars and by the late 1980s it tripled. The biggest tendency of growth was in the second half of the 1970s when the number of registered cars grew for some 180,000 a year on average. All this means that Yugoslav motorization started with the humble 238 inhabitants per vehicle in 1961 and but reached 7 inhabitants per vehicle by the late 1980s. Only Slovenia with four and Croatia with six inhabitants per vehicle were above the federal average - the standard that Western countries reached in the early 1970s - while on the other hand also in 1989 Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro with 11 and Kosovo with 23 inhabitants per vehicle were at the bottom of the list, which reflected internal Yugoslav differences in economic development. Personal salaries were also not always equal and in the early 1970s to acquire "Fića" one needed about 15, to acquire "Stojadin" about 20 and to acquire more expensive imported models as much as 30 or 40 average monthly salaries. However, despite the price and long waiting lists, the shortage of fuel in the early 1980s and some difficulties in learning to comply with the traffic rules, motorization caused a big thrill and owning a car quickly became a need, a habit and a sign of an average standard.



1. RIZ TV sets advertisements
2. Savremena tehnika (Contemporary Technology) Magazine, 1964.
3. "Football World Cup on Ei TV screens", *Vijesnik u srijedu (VUS) (Herald on Wednesday) weekly*, 1974
4. The first Yugoslav TV sets, TECHNOLOGY TO THE PEOPLE exhibition, Museum of Yugoslav History, 2012
5. Advertisement for an Iskra Minirama portable television, *Naš dom (Our Home)*, No. 8, 1974
6. 1960 San Remo Festival broadcast, Television Belgrade Programme Archive
7. Television Belgrade studio at Belgrade Fair, 1958, Television Belgrade Programme Archive



# Television and the Modernisation of Everyday Life

Sabina Mihelj

As with other technological inventions, it took a while for the small screen to become fully embedded in the texture of everyday life. The early experimentation with television took place among small circles of enthusiasts, and the first regular broadcasts typically reached only a handful of viewers who joined public viewings or could afford to buy their own television set. Yugoslavia was no exception. The early broadcasting experiments in Yugoslav lands date back to the late 1920s, and the first regular transmissions of television programmes started in the second half of the 1950s. However, as indicated by the speed of diffusion of television sets (Table 1), it was only in the 1970s that the small screen truly established itself as a major ingredient of everyday life for the majority of the population. Many countries in both Western and Eastern Europe reached this point much earlier. Yugoslav television was also marked by considerable regional disparities; in 1972, for instance, Slovenia and Vojvodina averaged less than 6 inhabitants per each set, while in Bosnia in Herzegovina the number stood at over 14, and in Kosovo at over 33 (based on Leandrov 1973, 4).

There are three main ways in which television contributed to the modernisation of everyday life. First, as a medium linked closely to the passage of time, television promoted new ways of organising daily routines – for instance, watching evening news with family members – and gave rise to new, large-scale collective rituals associated with major public holidays and the passage of the calendar year. Through that, television contributed to the formation of shared rhythms of daily life: waking up with breakfast television, sitting down for a family dinner while watching the evening cartoon and the evening news bulletin, and, once the kids are in bed, relaxing on the sofa while watching one's favourite television series, game show or talk show. Second, as a material object situated in the private sphere, television established itself as a necessary element of a

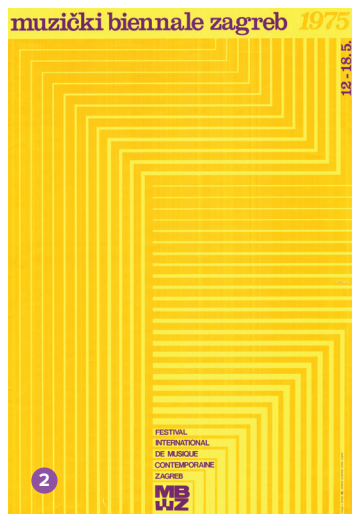
modern household and functioned as a major symbol of modern everyday life. The shiny set was usually allocated a privileged spot in the home, and changed the ways in which families and individuals organised their private space and leisure time. It became one of the focal points of shared family rituals, and contributed to the partial shifting of leisure activities into private spaces. At the same time, however, television also contributed to the formation of new, modern forms of publicity and collectivity. Similarly to radio and to some extent newspapers, but with the added attraction of moving images, television allowed large numbers of people to participate in the same events at the same time, offered access to debates and cultural experiences previously accessible only to few, and fostered a sense of belonging to modern forms of community such as nations and classes. Finally, as a vehicle of cultural narratives – whether in the form of daily news, talk shows or television series – television contributed to the shaping of common values, norms and cultural tastes. These narratives functioned as key resources in shaping our sense of what it means to be modern, and how one should live a modern life as a man or a woman, as a husband or a wife, as a child or a teenager, or as a member of a particular nation or class. Favourite news anchors, talk show presenters, politicians and even characters from television series could function as role models to be emulated, but also as negative heroes to be rejected and ridiculed.

Established in a communist-led country, Yugoslav television was of course expected to contribute to the rise of a modern society of a very particular kind, tied to the vision of communist progress and class equality, and opposed to capitalist economy and liberal multiparty democracy. Although Yugoslav television news and current affairs programmes were not as heavily laden with explicit political propaganda as their counterparts in the Soviet bloc,

they regularly included extensive reports on the latest achievements of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as well as paid particular attention to issues of relevance to the socialist vision of modernisation, including the growth of industry, labour productivity and agriculture. Television also sought to foster a sense of a communist, revolutionary passage of time by instituting new, specifically socialist rituals, sacred dates and media events. These included the festive routines associated with major public holidays such as the New Year (31 December – 1 January), Labour Day (1 May) and the Day of the Republic (29 November), which typically included live broadcasting of major public celebrations as well as entertainment programmes produced specifically for the occasion. The popular cultural narratives circulated by Yugoslav television had a distinctly socialist feel as well and often engaged with everyday situations and dilemmas specific to socialist societies, and to Yugoslavia, in particular. The families depicted in popular television series, such as the Petrović family in *Pozorište u kući* (TV Belgrade, 1972-1984), lived in typical socialist apartments rather than single family suburb homes, and even worry-free youngsters such as Bane Bumbar in *Gr-lom u jagode* (TV Belgrade, 1975) eventually learned the importance of Party connections when trying to find a job or secure access to one's own apartment. The heroic achievements of the anti-fascist liberation struggle during World War Two were another distinctive element of Yugoslav television culture and the particular vision of history and modernity it promoted. Many of the films and television series depicting the events of wartime years, such as *Kapelski kresovi* (TV Zagreb, 1975), *Otpisani* (TV Beograd, 1974) and *Walter brani Sarajevo* (TV Sarajevo, 1974) achieved top ratings at the time, and remain among the most fondly remembered programmes to this day.



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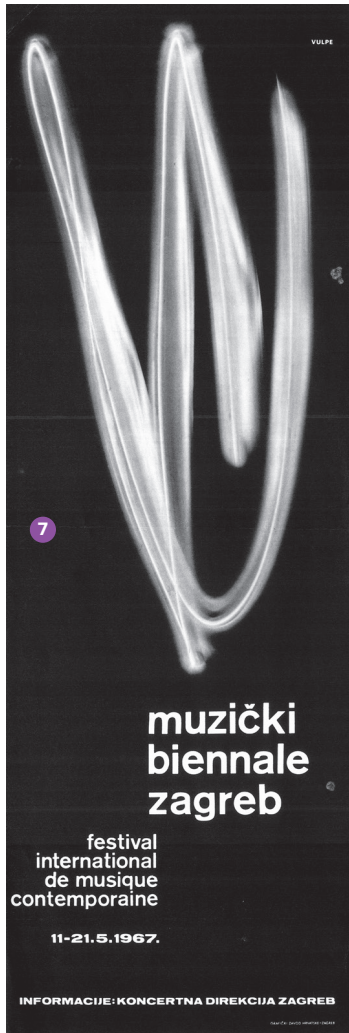
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1. The British sculptor, Henry Moore in front of Moderna galerija (Modern Gallery) in Ljubljana, February 1955. Photo: Svetozar Busić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia  
2. Poster ZAGREB MUSIC BIENNALE, Zagreb, 1975, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
3. Poster NORWAY - ART AND HOME, Croatia, Zagreb, 1965, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb

4. Dubrovnik Summer Games festival opening ceremony, 1964. From the Dubrovnik Summer Games festival photo album, Museum of Yugoslav History,  
5. Legendary trumpet player, Louis Armstrong in Ljubljana April, 1<sup>st</sup>, 1959. Photo: Marjan Ciglić, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia  
6. The opening of the 24<sup>th</sup> Yugoslav Feature Film Festival, Pula, July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1977. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

7. Poster ZAGREB MUSIC BIENNALE, Zagreb, 1967, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
8. Poster SPLIT '74, Zagreb, 1974. Author: Vladimir Straža, silk-screen print, 98x68 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
9. Poster BRITISH INDUSTRIAL DESIGN Zagreb, 1967. Author: Juraj Dobrović, silk-screen print, 100 x 70.5 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
10. Poster VI PULA FILM FEESTIVAL, Croatia, 1959. Colour lithography, 69.5 x 100 cm, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

11. Poster HAU STOR (HALLWAY), Zagreb, Croatia, 1981. Authors: M. Klarica (design) / S.Hrzić (photo), 100 x 70 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
12. Poster M.A.S.H, Croatia, 1970. Offset printing, 70 x 50 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb  
13. The audience at the concert of the band Bijelo dugme (White Button) , Arena, Pula, July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1977. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria



# Cultural Climate

Ivana Dobrivojević i Ana Panić

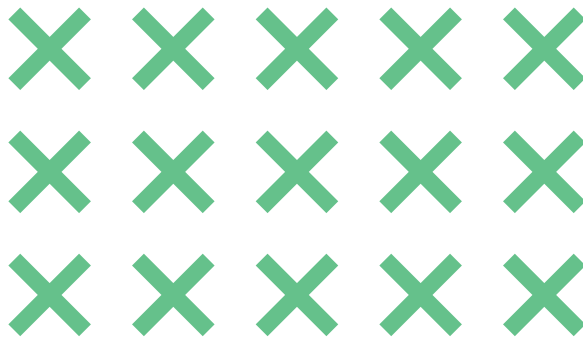
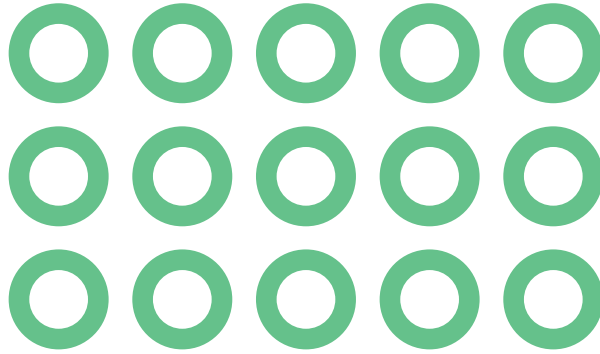
Despite the attempts of the Party to bring high culture closer to the migrants and to carry out a genuine cultural revolution through literacy and education campaigns, the rural roots of new residents of towns, coupled with living conditions, contributed to the fact that barroom atmosphere provided the chief and only setting where they had fun, just like in the countryside. In the circumstances where people spent around three and a half times less money on culture than on tobacco and alcohol, the cultural policy of the Party was still a true debacle, because instead of highlighting and fostering lighter cultural material, such as popular plays and quality pop music, uneducated migrants were offered only high culture that they could not possibly understand or accept. Thus, the music scene was marked by a paradoxical situation that made the coexistence of oratorios, on the one hand and barroom songs on the other possible. Random urbanization came at a price – a kind of inhabitants of towns who had a culturally different mind-set emerged. In terms of literacy and cultural level they were considerably behind long-term town residents. Hence, migrants changed and shaped the life in towns, as far as entertainment was concerned, in the ways that suited them and their needs and standards. However, the dichotomy between the way of life in towns and villages existed in the culture of towns before the war too. Folk music and merry-making in barrooms, as the dominant and often the only form of entertainment had a certain foundation in the mentality and also in the (pre-war) provincial past of the majority of inhabitants of towns. In spite of all the attempts to popularize high culture, the Party could in no way influence either the tastes of town residents or indeed the kinds of entertainment and forms of popular culture that began cropping up. “Even a hundred lectures on music that are based on ideology will have no effect”, dejectedly remarked Danilo Purić, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, “when in the evening people end up in the bar “Tri grozda” (Three Clusters of Grapes) listening to the song “Drma mi se šubara na glavi” (“The Fur Hat on My Head is Shaking”).

Still, the new cultural policy, opening to the West and liberalization in the 1950s brought foreign films to Yugoslav cinemas, as well as the first dance music and jazz festivals. American Westerns were increasingly being shown in cinemas and people read Zane Grey, Karl May, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, as well as Jean-Paul Sartre and Françoise Sagan. New generations of people in Yugoslavia slowly developed new cultural needs and progress in do-

main of culture was evident. In the early 1950s, the American film *Bathing Beauty* attracted 333,000 viewers in Belgrade alone, at the time when the city had a total of 555,000 residents. Modernist tendencies in art were featured in Yugoslav presentations abroad (such as at Venice Biennale from 1950 onwards) and in many foreign exhibitions like the exhibition *Contemporary French Art* shown in 1952 in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Skopje. The City Gallery of Contemporary Art was opened as early as 1954 in Zagreb and the first domestic film revue, that was to become the Pula Film Festival was held the same year. Theatre has had its summer stage at Dubrovnik Summer Games since 1950. The big exhibition and guest visit of the British sculptor, Henry Moore in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana were first-class events of global importance. The travelling exhibition *Contemporary Art in the USA*, showcasing works of art from the New York MoMa museum was shown in Belgrade in 1956. The strengthening of activities in the domains of culture, art and science was reflected by the founding of numerous institutions, among which the establishment of the Lexicographical Institute of Yugoslavia in Zagreb in 1950. It became the leading Yugoslav publisher of reference books (encyclopaedias, lexicons, atlases). The local cultural production also earned recognition abroad, thus two prestigious awards went to Yugoslavia, in the early 1960s. In 1961, Ivo Andrić was awarded the Nobel prize for literature, while Dušan Vukotić won an Academy Award in 1962 for his animated film *Surogat (The Substitute)* made at the Zagreb School of Animated Film studio.

In the mid-1950s, jazz returned to Yugoslav radio stations and soon became an integral part of cultural life through jazz bands, dancing to jazz and jazz festivals, as reflected in the well-known line of an early 1960s song: “Hey young boys, what can you do when the small village has no jazz orchestra”. With the support and funding from the U.S. residents of Belgrade had the opportunity to listen to live performances of the world’s biggest jazz stars: Dizzie Gillespie (1956), the Glenn Miller Orchestra (1957), Louis Armstrong (1959 and 1965), Ella Fitzgerald (1961) and Yugoslav jazz musicians went on their first tours of Eastern Europe. In the 1960s, listening to the radio was a favourite kind of entertainment. “Mikrofon je vaš” (The Microphone is Yours) (Radio Zagreb since 1959) and “Veselo večer” (Merry Evening) (Radio Beograd since 1949) were the most popular shows. The International Jazz Festival in Ljubljana and the festival Melodije Jadrana (Melodies of the Adriatic) (subsequently named Splitski Festival (Split Festival)) were founded in 1960. However, under

the influence of the Italian music festival in Sanremo, local music festivals were established, as early as the 1950s, like the one in Zagreb since 1954 and Opatija since 1958. From 1961 onwards, Yugoslav citizens cheered their representatives in the Eurovision Song Contest, in which Yugoslavia was the first socialist country to participate. The first precondition for holding big cultural and artistic events was renovating old and building new, modern museums and galleries, theatres, cinemas and concert and congress halls, where film showings were also held, which is something that was done a lot in socialist Yugoslavia. The Museum of Contemporary Art (known as Modern Gallery Belgrade since its founding in 1958) got a new, modern building located at the confluence of the Danube and Sava Rivers in 1965. The reconstructed National Museum building in Belgrade was opened in 1966 and the same year, the museum hosted the famous Dutch exhibition of the works of Vincent van Gogh, remembered for a long time as one of the biggest cultural events in the city. To come and see that exhibition was a matter of prestige. People waited in lines and within a little less than two months, the exhibition had more than 30,000 visitors. Avant-garde tendencies in theatre were also announced by the 1966 visit to Zagreb by the New York avant-garde theatre company, La Mama, which acquired a cult status. As early as 1967, the first BITEF (Belgrade International Theatre Festival) was held with the aim of showcasing the latest avant-garde trends in theatre. It became one of the most important events in Serbian culture in the post-war period. An international festival showing the latest films, FEST earned a cult status among the youngest generation of viewers right from the beginning in 1971. Students Cultural Centre (1971) was established as a concession to students after student demonstrations in 1968. It quickly became a cult favourite spot of the members of the New Wave generation, a place promoting new forms of artistic practice, conceptual and video art. The concert scene had one of its high points during the 1970s and 1980s, when the world’s biggest rock stars, like the Rolling Stones and Tina Turner included Yugoslavia in their tours. From the 1970s onwards, the number of television subscribers was on the rise, while the audiences in cinemas and theatres were constantly declining. Television increasingly influenced the daily routine and thus watching television programme was becoming more and more often a substitute for cultural life and going out in the evening.





# Social Rights

Ivana Dobrivojević



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1. Doctors examine children from the village of Ostružnica, 1954. From a photo album of the Municipality of Čukarica, documenting the work with the children over a one-year period Belgrade. Museum of Yugoslav History

2. From a photo album of the Boris Kidrič People's Health Centre, Belgrade, 1958, Museum of Yugoslav History

3. X-ray examination at a health station, 1960. From a photo album of the Krušik factory, Valjevo, Museum of Yugoslav History

4. From a dental dispensary of the People's Health Centre. From a photo album documenting the production process, working conditions and life in the workers' housing estate of the Tito automobile and motorcycle factory, Sarajevo, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. Training for mothers-to-be, 1948, Museum of Yugoslav History

6. From a photo album of the Rehabilitation Institute, 1963, Museum of Yugoslav History

7. Factory dispensary for first aid and examination of patients, 1979. From a photo album of Prvi maj (May 1<sup>st</sup>) Piroć clothes factory, Museum of Yugoslav History

8. From a photo album of Zagreb Children's Home, 1953, Museum of Yugoslav History

# Health

Typhus, malaria, tuberculosis, diphtheria, dysentery and endemic syphilis were claiming thousands of lives in post-war years. Difficult health circumstances were partly a result of warfare and its devastation and were partly due to bad living conditions as well as hygienic and sanitary circumstances. Namely, in many parts of Bosnia, south Serbia, Macedonia, Lika, Kordun, Kosovo and Metohija, as well as in some places in Vojvodina, people lived in dilapidated windowless clay houses. The lack of basic household utensils, sheets, lingerie and dishes, bad personal hygiene and existence of numerous primitive beliefs and customs, such as the belief that the navel cord should be cut with a sieve so that the newly born could one day become a good harvester, made Yugoslavia in post-war years one of rare European countries where many infectious diseases were spreading, where children mortality was enormous, while louse in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina reached up to 100%. Faced with such difficult health conditions and a small number of doctors and hospitals, the government made a super-human effort to stabilize epidemiological situation and ensure medical enlightenment to the population. The campaigns of DDT powdering and vaccination against tuberculosis, financed by UNRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) have produced positive long-term results, despite initial resistance.

Apart from complete lack of basic hygienic habits, huge problem in the efforts to curb infectious diseases was also posed by a huge shortage of doctors and nurses, as well as insufficient expertise of general practitioners due to which many patients did not have a diagnosis even after they visited a doctor. Due to unequal distribution of doctors within the country, but also within the republics themselves, there were cases that in counties which had up to 30,000 inhabitants there was only one doctor, so some doctors would have to do medical examinations of as much as 80-120 patients in one day. The most dramatic situation was still in republics which were least developed, namely Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro, where one doctor had between 7,000 (Macedonia) and 9,500 (Montenegro) patients. The Committee for the Protection of People's Health thus brought a Decree on Compulsory One-Year Service in these republics, sending doctors from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. The new proclaimed health policy placed an emphasis on preventive healthcare to stop spreading of diseases and reduce mortality rate among the population. A special role in fulfilling the set goals ought to be played by healthcare centres, which were envisaged as the basic units in the healthcare system.

The health and hygiene-related education, the increase of the living standard and general educational level of citizens, schooling of new doctors, widening of the network of healthcare centres and hospitals, introduction of compulsory medical check-ups in schools and enterprises, but primarily the entitlement to a free healthcare protection enjoyed by all citizens led already in the 1960s to the full normalization of health circumstances in the country.



1. Pensioners' outing around 1980. From a private photo collection.
2. Female workers at the Marijan Badel factory, Fažana, 1970s. From a private photo collection.

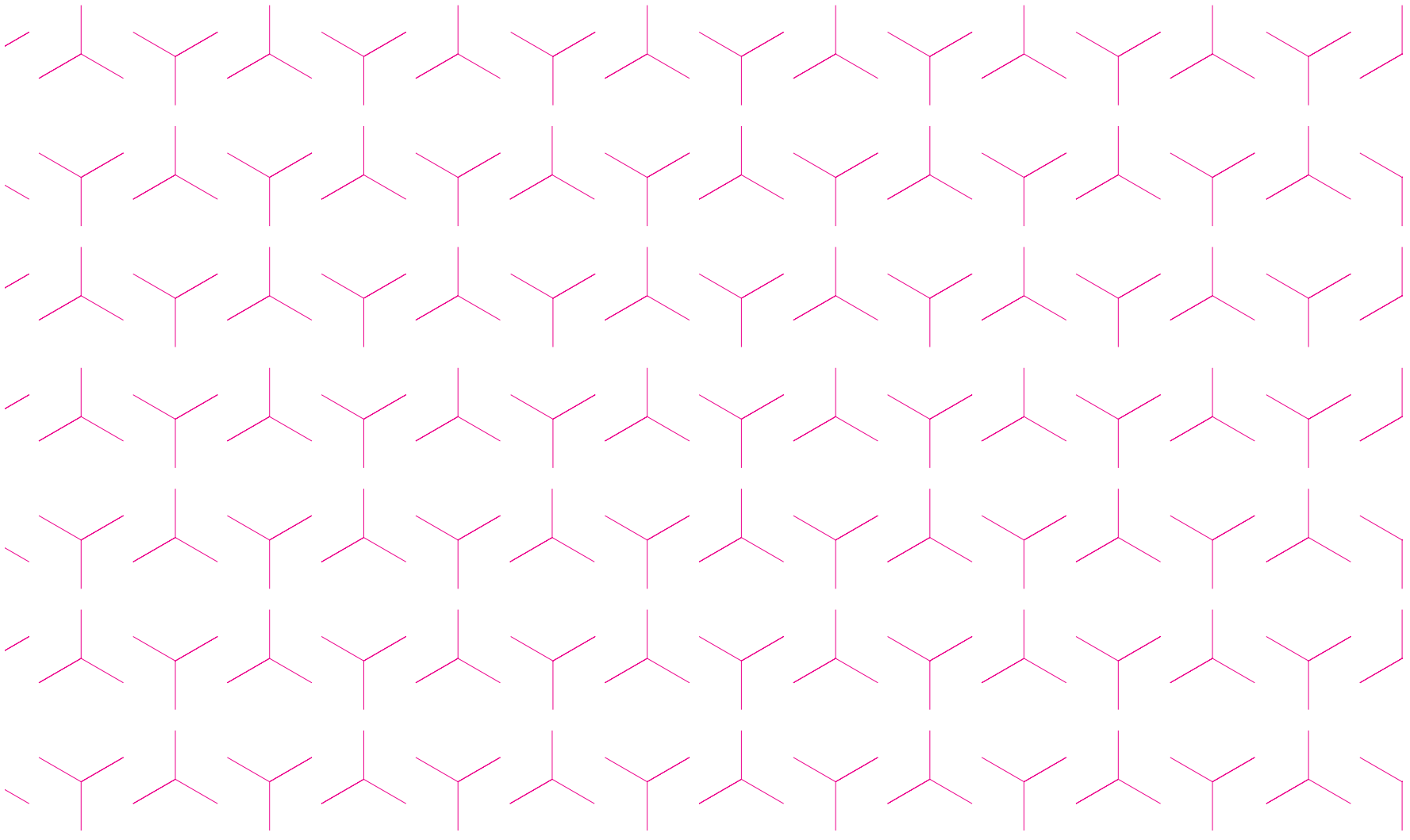
# Social Insurance

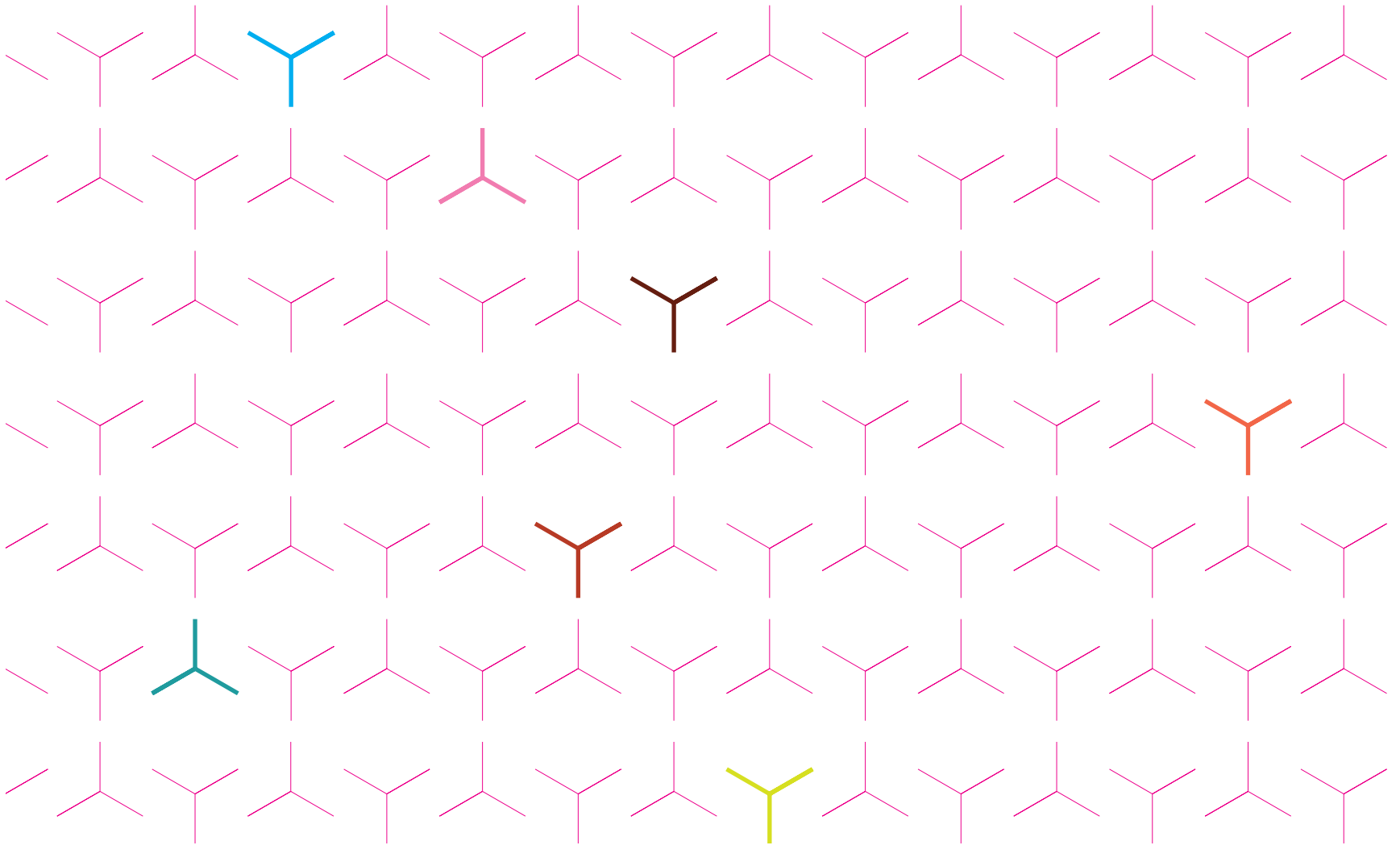
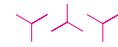
The enactment of the Law on Social Insurance of Workers, Employees and Civil Servants (1946) laid the groundwork for the basics of the state social welfare insurance. Four years later, the Law on Social Insurance of Workers, Employees and their Families was enacted, completing the process of developing a social insurance system as a system of state insurance. Under the Law, state ensured funds for realization of the social insurance program. The Law envisaged that salaries of workers and employees cannot be taxed with contributions to social insurance. The procedure to claim certain rights (money compensation during sick leave, pregnancy leave or delivery, transference of insurance holders to other jobs due to retraining or ensuring financial provision during retraining) was initiated by competent bodies in their official capacity. As a special branch of social insurance, insurance in case of unemployment began to be organized and implemented since 1952 in accordance with a special regulation.

Liberalization of circumstances in the country, loosening of party discipline and slow decentralization reflected on the area of social insurance. On the basis of bylaws enacted in the period from 1953 to 1955, insurance was transferred from jurisdiction of state administration to institutes for social insurance established in individual republics. The agricultural population has been covered by health insurance since 1959 with the enactment of the Law on Insurance of Agricultural Workers.

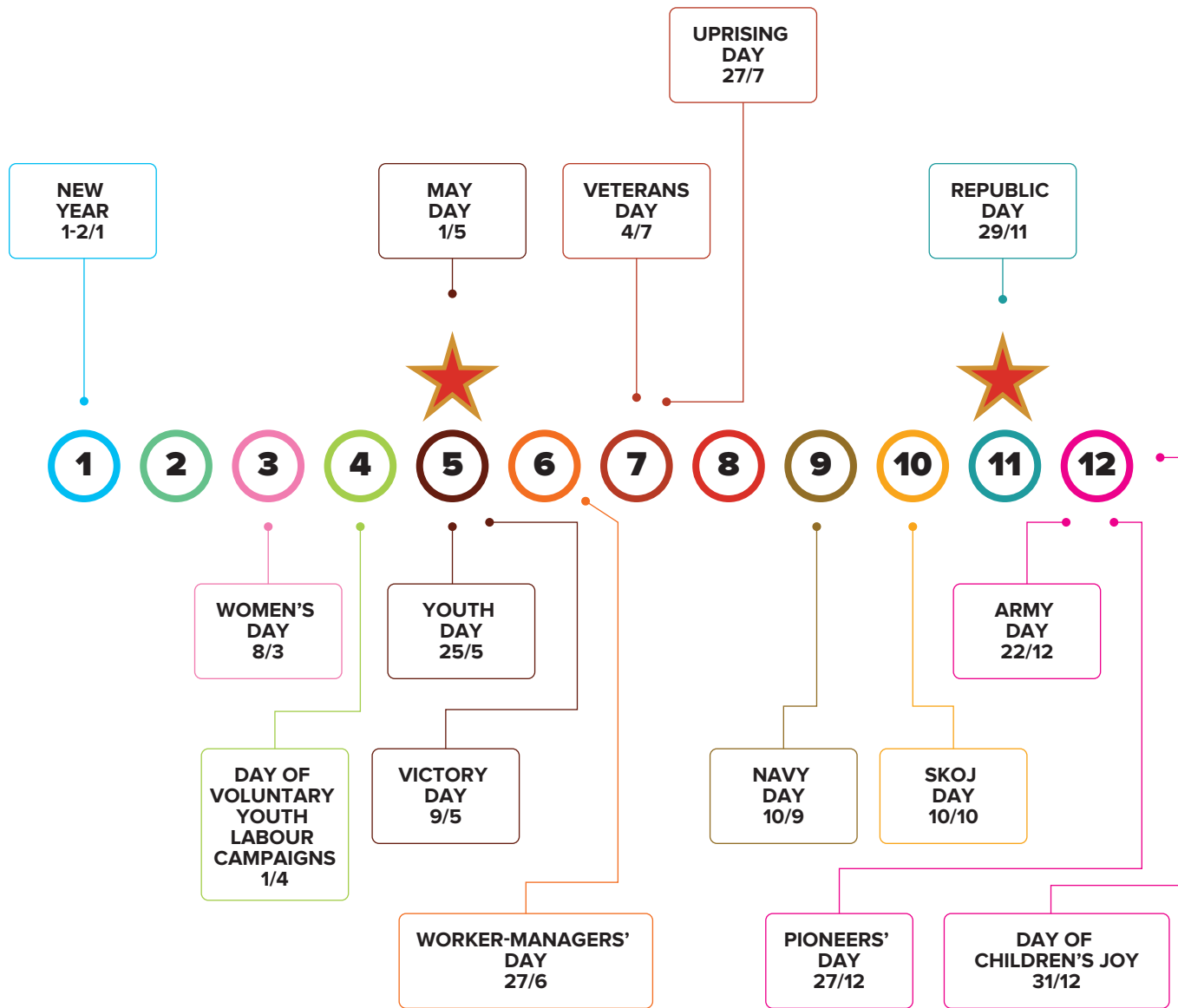
The laws enacted in 1958, 1964 and 1982 guaranteed employees the right to an old-age pension insurance and terms of pension depended on age, length of employment and gender (women were allowed to retire earlier than men).

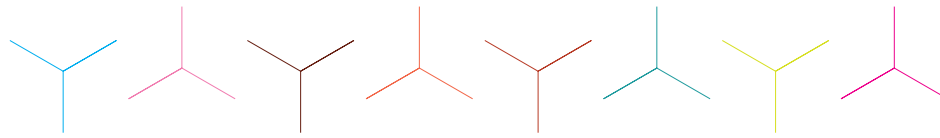
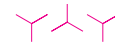






# Rhythm of the Year





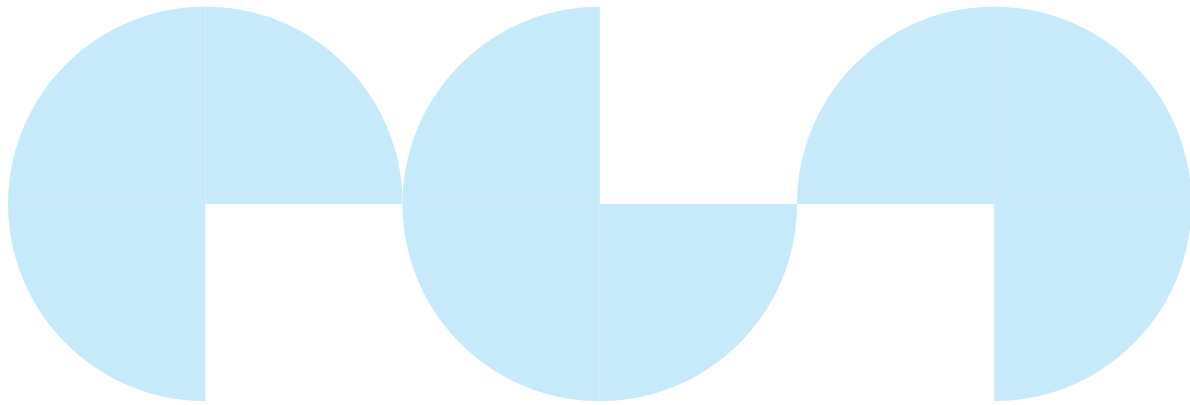
## Rhythm of the Year

Igor Duda

Holidays and rituals give rhythm to life in accordance with nature, political order or religious affiliations. The rhythm of the year with all holidays and festivities, therefore has a key role in the upbringing of citizens, their homogenizing and inclusion in social relationships. Every holiday has its reason of existence, thus making understandable the relations in the society celebrating it. Yugoslav rhythm of the year based its tradition not only on World War II and the dates important for the establishment of the new state and the new political order, but also on events which had already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century internationally marked the fight for workers' and women's rights. The rhythm of the year thus became one of the symbols of legitimacy and identity of the state.

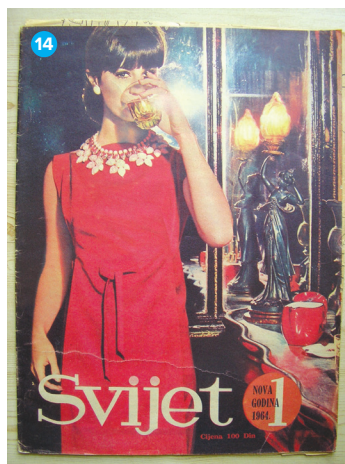
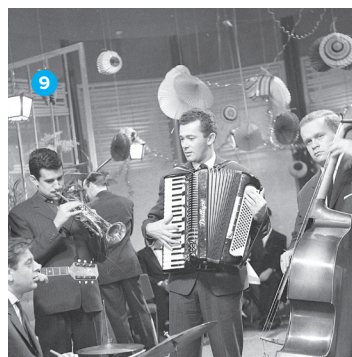
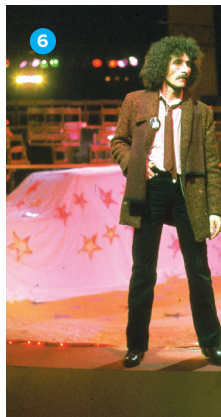
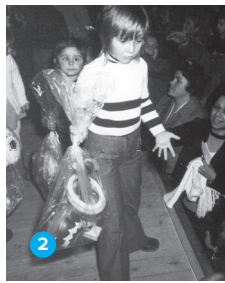
During the 1950s four state holidays were established which in total meant 7 non-working days: New Year (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of January), May Day (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of May), Veterans Day (4<sup>th</sup> of July) and Republic Day (29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of November). The eighth non-working day was the Day of the Uprising, which every republic celebrated on a different date as its holiday. However, if a state holiday fell on Sunday, the following working day would be a non-working day, and thus the number of non-working days increased. Very soon it became customary to merge or connect non-working days with weekends in order to obtain several free days in a row. Some dates were of special importance, even though they did not have the status of a state holiday or a non-working day. Among these were Women's Day (March 8<sup>th</sup>), Youth Day (May 25<sup>th</sup>) and Yugoslav National Army Day (December 22<sup>nd</sup>). The calendar was full of other important days which were marked in a more modest way or in a narrower circle: Day of Voluntary Youth Labour Campaigns (April 27<sup>th</sup>), Navy Day (September 10<sup>th</sup>), SKOJ Day (October 10<sup>th</sup>), Pioneers' Day (December 27<sup>th</sup>) and many more.

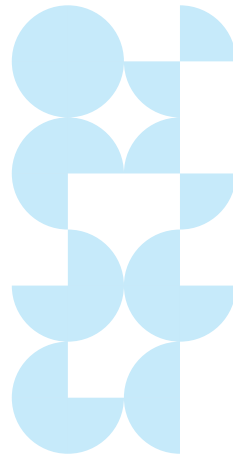




# New Year

(January 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>)





Two non-working days at the very beginning of the year were an occasion to celebrate, to recover from celebrating, to pay congratulatory visits to friends and family and even an occasion for short travels, especially if a weekend could be merged with this state holiday. The New Year was celebrated in one's own place decorated with New Year decorations or with a Christmas tree, with friends or the TV program, while public celebrations were organized in hotels and restaurants. Media often widely covered the way in which Tito and other senior officials celebrated the New Year, but also relayed New Year messages and greetings as well as expectations of citizens or their impressions about the passing year. Given that it also assumed some of the significance associated with Christmas, New Year assumed greater importance

than in the first half of the century. Somewhere, as in Croatia, December 31<sup>st</sup> was celebrated since the late 1940s as the Day of Children's Joy when children would get New Year presents and expect the Santa Claus. Mixing of traditions meant multiple gifts to children through kindergartens, schools and parents' enterprises which all prepared Santa Claus gifts for children and in the family environment they could expect other presents either for Christmas or some other day between the old and the new year. Santa Claus became a widely-accepted character throughout Yugoslavia, celebrations were organized to welcome him and even the entire Santa Claus towns which children visited in organized fashion.

1. Welcoming Santa Claus, Pula, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1974. Photo: Dušan Ćurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

2. Delivering presents on the Day of Children's Joy, Pula, December 1974. Photo: Dušan Ćurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

3. New Year's TV show *The Button to the Fifth Floor*. Recorded by Pavle Milovanović, Programme Archive of Television Belgrade

4. Receiving New Year's presents from Santa Claus, Pula, December 1974. Photo: Dušan Ćurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria

5. Decorated streets of Belgrade on New Year's eve, 1970. A photograph from the show *Decoration*, Programme Archive of Television Belgrade

6. Željko Bebek in a New Year's TV show, Television Belgrade Programme Archive

7. Lokica Stefanović's ballet troupe in a New Year's TV show, Television Belgrade Programme Archive

8. New Year's celebration in the Grafopak company, Belgrade, December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1974. Photo: Miomir Marković, from the company Jugohemija archive

9. New Year's TV show *The Button to the Fifth Floor*. Recorded by Pavle Milovanović, Television Belgrade Programme Archive

10. HAPPY NEW YEAR poster, 1979, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

11. Decorated streets of Belgrade on New Year's eve, 1970. A photograph from the show *Decoration*, Television Belgrade Programme Archive

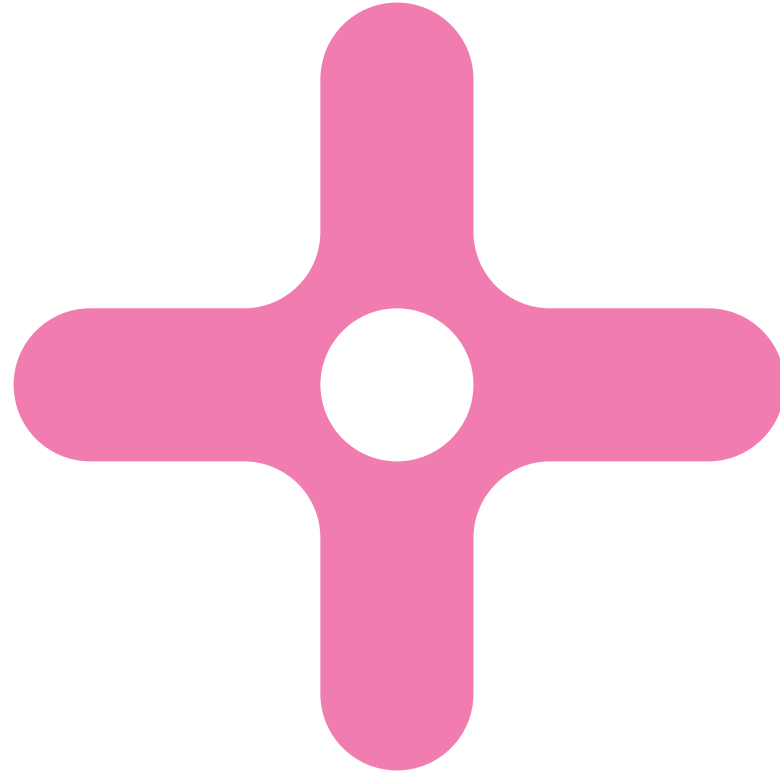
12. Actors Gorica Popović, Jelica Sretenović and Mima Karadžić entertaining children during the New Year's celebration in the Jugohemija company, Belgrade. Photo: Miomir Marković, from the company Jugohemija archive

13. New Year 1988, Belgrade, Television Belgrade Programme Archive

14. Fashion magazine *Svijet (World)*, 1964

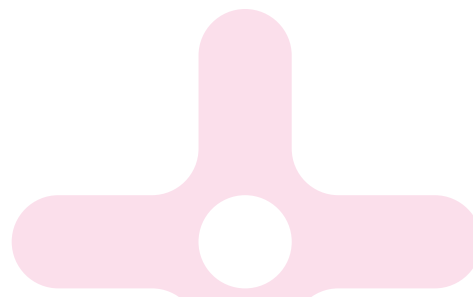
15. News weekly *Vjesnik u srijedu (Herald on Wednesday) (VUS)*, December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1970





# Women's Day

(March 8<sup>th</sup>)



Women's Day was the working day, usually called the International Women's Day or simply March 8<sup>th</sup>, sometimes in preschools or schools it was even called the Mother's Day. As an international holiday it relied on the tradition of female workers' protests in New York in the 19th century, the decision of the Women's Conference which was held in 1910 in Copenhagen and which was organized by the Socialist International and protests by Russian female workers in 1917 and the tradition of celebrations in the Soviet Union. Women in Yugoslavia enjoyed certain political equality already in the framework of the National Liberation Movement, especially thanks to the operation of the Antifascist Women's Front and they obtained franchise for the first time in history in 1945, participating in the first post-war elections in November 1945. Inclusion of women in social life and the world of labour mostly meant that they have simultaneously performed three roles – they were workers

and housewives and mothers. Therefore the efforts to achieve equality of women with men was supposed to be continued in the sphere of political rights, realization of the equal pay for equal work and ensuring of other labour rights, rising the education level, protection of pregnant women, mothers and children, ensuring sufficient number of infant nurseries and kindergartens as well as socially-managed canteens which facilitated performing of maternal and household chores. In early socialism Women's Day had a marked political significance, with parades, gatherings and speeches, but later lost this charge and became a popular holiday often congratulated with flowers and other gifts. The children marked it preparing celebrations and male and female workers had a joint lunch or supper, some time for socializing, entertainment or a joint outing, usually with shorter working hours.

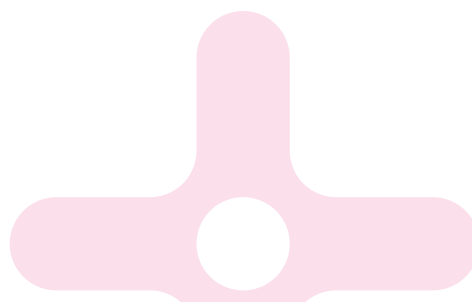
1,2,3,4,5,7 Woman's Day celebration, March 8<sup>th</sup>, 1973. From a photo album about the Yugoslavs working in the Federal Republic of Germany, Museum of Yugoslav History

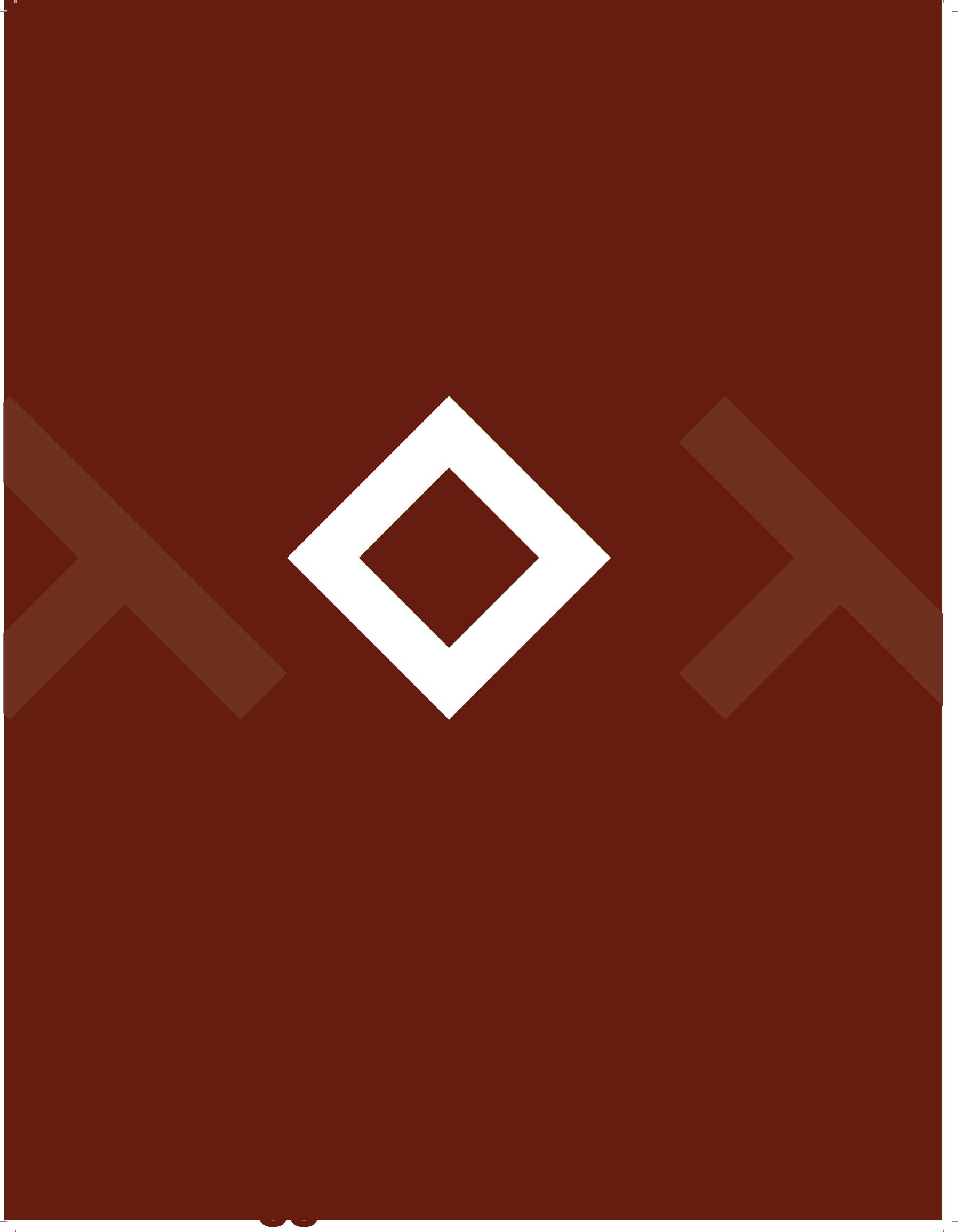
6. Poster MARCH 8<sup>TH</sup>, WOMEN'S DAY, Museum of Yugoslav History

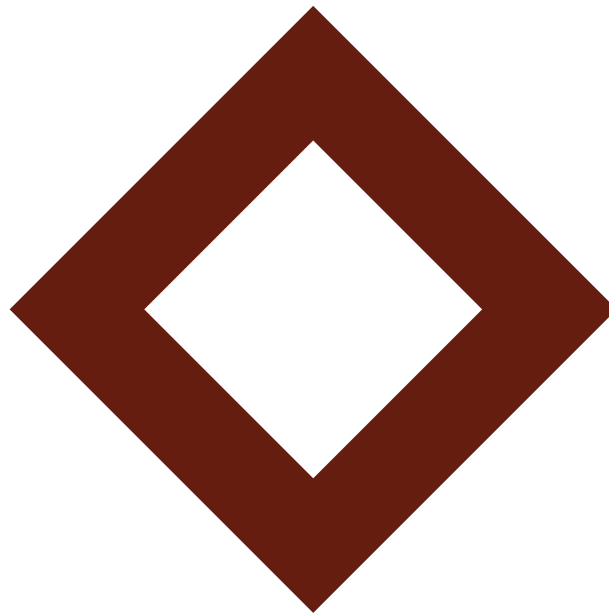
8. Advertisement for Plum Brandy, produced by the Badel factory, *Vijesnik u srijedu* (VUS) (*Herald on Wednesday*) weekly, 1970

9. Poster LONG LIVE MARCH 8<sup>TH</sup>, DAY OF WOMEN'S STRUGGLE! 1945. Author: Ismet Mujezinović, Museum of Yugoslav History

10. Poster LONG LIVE MARCH 8<sup>TH</sup>, WOMEN'S DAY! Author: Edo Murtić, Museum of Yugoslav History





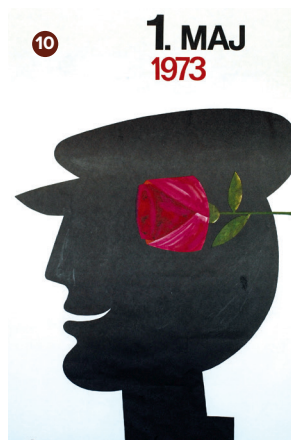


# May Day

(May 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>)



8  
**ЖИВЕО 1 МАЈ**  
ДАН СОЛИДАРНОСТИ  
РАДНИЧКЕ КЛАСЕ ЦЕЛОГА СВЕТА

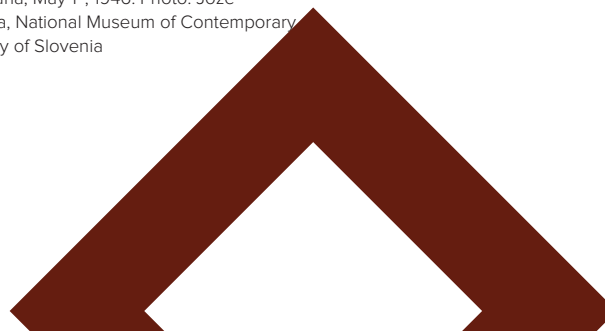


The International Worker's Day or commonly May Day was marked in Yugoslavia as a state holiday with two non-working days. The history of this holiday dates back to the 19th century and the workers' protests in Chicago on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1886 and the decision by the First Congress of the Second International in 1889 to establish a holiday in the memory of Chicago victims and demands. In post-war Yugoslavia the emphasis was no longer placed on the fight for workers' rights, for shorter working hours, more equal pay, the prohibition of children's work, compulsory social and health insurance, but in the new social and political circumstances it was placed on the strong role of the working class in

socialist society, the importance of self-management and high level of exercised rights. In early socialism mass May Day gatherings and parades stressing people's character of the holiday were common. Later public character of the celebration was preserved in larger towns, but with weakening of political messages and prevailing of entertainment content, a fair-like atmosphere and spending of free time in nature. The increasing number of citizens went to outings and travels, enjoying spring time, opening of weekend houses after winter months, first splash in the sea or barbequing. In Belgrade army parades were held attended by most senior state officials and their guests.

1. The miners from Vareš, one of three awarded workers' organizations in the May Day competition "The May Day Celebration", Belgrade 1947, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. May Day celebration in front of the National Assembly building in Belgrade, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1983. Author: Stevan Kragujević, from the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History (Bequest of Stevan Kragujević)
3. May Day celebration in Šijanska forest, Pula, around 1985. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
- 4.i 5. May Day procession, 1946, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
6. May Day celebration in Belgrade, Television Belgrade Programme Archive
7. May Day Parade in Belgrade. A shoot from Terazije. Television Belgrade Programme Archive
8. Slogan LONG LIVE MAY 1<sup>ST</sup>, DAY OF WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY WORLDWIDE, Museum of Yugoslav History

9. Military parade held on Victory Day, Belgrade, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1985. Author: Stevan Kragujević, from the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History (Bequest of Stevan Kragujević)
10. Poster MAY 1<sup>st</sup>, 1973. Author: Nikola Masniković, offset printing, , 98 x 68 cm. Museum of Yugoslav History
11. May Day Parade on the streets of Belgrade, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1950, Museum of Yugoslav History
12. Poster MAY CELEBRATION OF THE WORKING YOUTH OF SLOVENIA - TEN YEARS OF FREEDOM 1955, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
13. May Day Parade on the streets of Belgrade, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1949, Museum of Yugoslav History
14. May Day Parade on the streets of Ljubljana, May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1946. Photo: Jože Kološa, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia

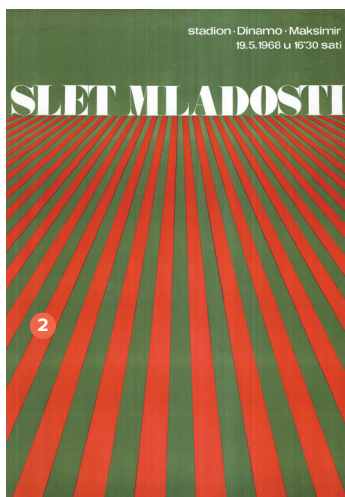






# Youth Day

(May 25<sup>th</sup>)



Although Tito's birthday was on May 7<sup>th</sup>, his other birthday, connected with the airdrop raid on Drvar in Bosnia and Herzegovina on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1944, was more famous. Tito hardly stayed alive after this enemy attack and continued to perform the role of the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia and the president of the National Committee for Liberation of Yugoslavia. Already in 1945 youth branches began marking Tito's birthday with a relay race and passing a relay baton which was in the end handed over to the President of the Republic personally on May 25<sup>th</sup>. The first Youth Relay was organized in Zagreb and from 1946 to 1956 Tito received Youth Batons in front of Beli dvor (White Palace) in Belgrade. At the same time throughout the country many local relay races were ran and relay batons were made by individual associations, organizations and enterprises, which were delivered to the President. Since 1956 the celebration was held with Tito's presence on the stadium of the Yugoslav National Army in Belgrade, not only in order to honour his birthday, but primarily as the

Youth Day. Thereby Tito's wish was acknowledged to make it the day dedicated to Yugoslav youth, its bodily and mental strength. Until 1987 the ceremony was held on the stadium staging mass games with the participation of youth from the entire country. The Youth Baton, having toured many parts of the country, finally came to the stadium as a symbol of all other relay batons, containing a birthday message to Tito. After Tito's death, the relay was received by the President of the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. The Youth Baton and youth mass games were symbols of unity and efforts by young people to build socialism. Thousands of children and adults sent letters, drawings, handmade objects and other gifts to Tito for his birthday and media regularly reported on celebrations, disseminating positive emotions and participating in the preservation of the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito.

1. Passing on the Youth Baton on the top of Triglav Mountain (Slovenia), May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1950. Photo: Jože Mally, National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia
2. Poster Youth Mass Games, Croatia, 1968. Author: Bojan Stranić, offset printing, 99 x 68 cm, Museum of Arts and Crafts Zagreb
3. Youth Baton, 1978. Author: Malj Murataj. Material: gold-plated silver, silver, crystal, h 49 cm
4. Youth Day celebration in the Arena, Pula, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1982. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
5. Poster Youth Day '76. Author: Milan Stanković, Museum of Yugoslav History

6. Youth Day celebration in the Arena, Pula, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1978. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
7. Youth Day celebration in the Arena, Pula, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1982. Photo: Alojz Orel, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
8. Seeing off the Youth Baton, 1963. From a photo album from Mostar, Museum of Yugoslav History
9. "We bring you greetings...", 1955. From a photo album documenting the life of pioneers in Rijeka, Museum of Yugoslav History
10. Handing the Youth Baton over to President Josip Broz Tito in front of Beli dvor (White Palace), Belgrade, May 25<sup>th</sup> 1955, Museum of Yugoslav History

11. Handing the Youth Baton over to President Josip Broz Tito, YNA (Yugoslav National Army) Stadium, May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1965, Museum of Yugoslav History
12. From a photo album documenting the life of youth of Croatia, 1959. Photo: Ivan Belobrajčić, Museum of Yugoslav History
13. Seeing off the Youth Baton, 1963. From a photo album from Mostar, Museum of Yugoslav History
14. Youth Relay, Labin, May 1974. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
15. Youth Relay, Pula, May 1968. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria







# Veterans Day

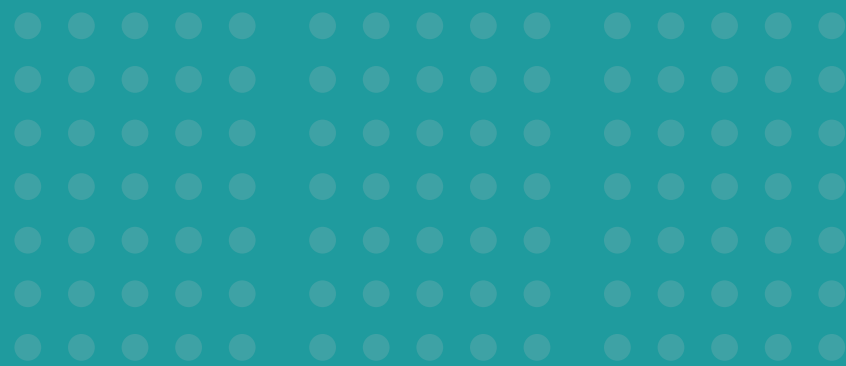
(July 4<sup>th</sup>)



The state holiday was proclaimed in honour of July 4<sup>th</sup> 1941 when the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Belgrade sent an appeal to incite armed rebellion and fight against occupation forces. Although there were armed activities that preceded it, this day was considered to be the beginning of organized Partisan warfare under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In the memory of certain actions special Days of the Uprising were proclaimed as republic-level holidays and non-working days at the territories of particular republics: July 7<sup>th</sup> in Serbia, July 13<sup>th</sup> in Montenegro, July 22<sup>nd</sup> in Slovenia, July 27<sup>th</sup> in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and October 11<sup>th</sup> in Macedonia. Holidays were marked through official state celebrations and visits to places where the war events took place. Due to summer holidays, the Veterans Day and the uprising days have not been specially marked in schools and due to the season of summer holidays, they were less conspicuous than other state holidays.

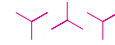
1. The Uprising Day in Slovenia, July 21<sup>st</sup>, 1951, Museum of Yugoslav History
2. Celebration of the Uprising Day, Bela Crkva, July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945, Museum of Yugoslav History
- 3-6. Celebration of July 7<sup>th</sup>, the Uprising Day of the People's Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 1963. From a photo album documenting the life of pioneers from Pioneer City, Belgrade, Museum of Yugoslav History







REPUBLIC DAY

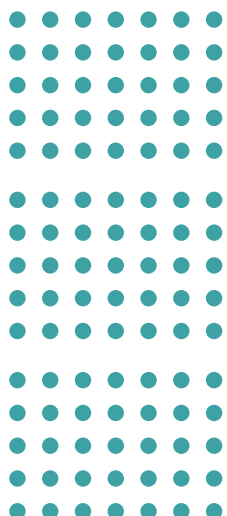


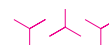
THEY NEVER HAD IT BETTER?  
RHYTHM OF THE YEAR



# Republic Day

(November 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>)

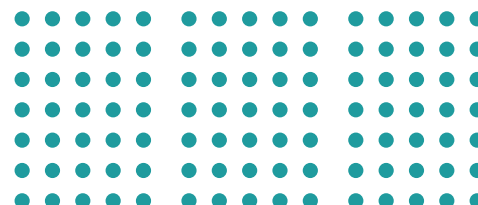


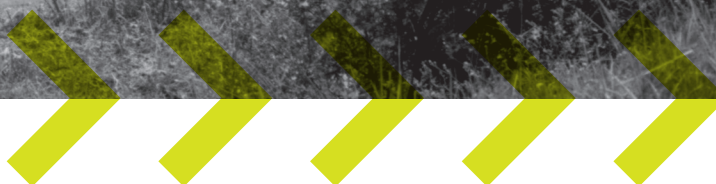


The Republic Day was celebrated in the memory of the decision of the Second Convention of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in Jajce, where on November 29<sup>th</sup> 1943, Democratic Federal Yugoslavia was proclaimed, as a new complex state union of equal Yugoslav nations and national minorities. This date was inscribed into the Yugoslav coat of arms. The date was also significant because exactly on that day two years after, in 1945, the National Parliament in Belgrade proclaimed the birth of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. This was the most important state holiday which extended to two non-working days. In honour of the Republic, volley shots were fired in salute, first graders were admitted to the Alliance of Pioneers of Yugoslavia and thus began the process of their forming into socialist citizens. Commemorative meetings and academies and opening of new facilities were usual rituals on occasion of this holiday, which was turning into several-day public celebration. During non-working days which often merged with weekends, since the 1960s tourist agencies have also seized their chance to offer shorter or longer domestic or foreign trips. In addition, many people used these days for vacation, outings and visits to the native villages, often participating in village works (pig slaughter and the ensuing feast).

1. Induction into the Pioneers' Organization, Pula, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1976. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
2. Republic Day celebration in the Jugohemija company, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1978. Photo: Mimir Marković. From the Jugohemija company archive.
3. Pioneers visiting Hero's Grave in Kalemegdan during Republic Day celebration, Belgrade, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1955. From a photo album of Zemun pioneers from the Anda Ranković Pioneers' Club in Zemun, Museum of Yugoslav History
4. Republic Day celebration in the Unity club, Vienna, 1972. From a photo album of the Vienna-based Unity Yugoslav Club, Museum of Yugoslav History

5. Waiting for the ceremony to begin, Pula, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1976. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
6. The ceremony of induction into the Pioneers' Organization, Pula, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1976. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
7. Induction into the Pioneers' Organization, Pula, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1976. Photo: Dušan Čurić, Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria
8. Poster commemorating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Second Session of the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia), Belgrade, 1973. Author: Bojana Komadina, Museum of Yugoslav History
9. Illustrated weekly *Arena*, November 29<sup>th</sup>, 1965





1. A train of tourist cars on the old road to the seaside, Postojna, around 1960. Photo: Edi Šelhaus. From the collections of the National Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia



Among millions of foreigners visiting Yugoslavia every year, the majority were ordinary tourists, but there were also those who wrote about their impressions in newspaper articles, reports and tourist guides. These impressions could be like millions of others, but they could also influence perceptions by shaping enduring stereotypes.

Around 1950, foreigners noticed unasphalted roads and cars that were few and far between, industrial chimneys and housing building sites, the enthusiasm of young people participating in voluntary mass labour, but also shortages of simple things, such as combs, pencils or shoe laces.

In the late 1950s, the citizens of Yugoslavia complained to foreigners about high prices, for which a justification was found in relatively low salaries, resulting in the fact that the standard of living was never on a par with living conditions, even in poorer Western countries. The guests had an impression that the basic foodstuffs were accessible to all, but that the prices of imported and luxury goods – beauty products, cars and home appliances reached astronomical heights. The new decade brought into focus new asphalted roads, continuing industrialization, low rent and younger people who foreign journalists thought resembled Americans, as they wore jeans, sports T-shirts and listened

to jazz. The western look of passers-by and western influences in the field of popular culture in big cities in the 1970s too were what foreign reporters noted, along with easy loans, strong demand for material goods, the development of small private entrepreneurship and the inappropriateness of tipping waiters.

In terms of its tourism potential, Yugoslavia was advertised as a best buy destination, from the late 1950s onwards, offering the best value for money. In the 1960s it was almost unspoilt; it had the most beautiful coast in Europe to offer, new hotels were constantly being built and the conditions in tourist camps were in accordance with the usual European standards. The only thing that was lacking was a better choice of entertainment and nightlife options. Private accommodation owners were extremely hospitable and often overly kind.

The differences between the country's regions, namely, between Yugoslav republics and peoples did not go unnoticed. Cultural differences, different historical experiences, uneven economic development and the completely different worlds united in one country were written about. However, in the eyes of foreigners, the common characteristic of the locals was their shared feeling of pride and independence and a knack for enjoying life.



# A SIDE LOOK

Igor Duda





Modernization influenced deep-seated beliefs, world-views and mentalities, evolving through the centuries, causing their gradual change. That was a long process that cut deep into the fabric of society, although it may have sometimes seemed that a view of the world could change in an instant, by a simple, revolutionary decision coming from the top. Immediately after World War II, communist dogmatism clashed with the mainly traditional and patriarchal societies in Yugoslavia and those who stuck to old dogmas that the new era rejected. The communist ideology took on the role of a champion of modernity and emancipation and strove to quickly do away with the remnants of the old society. However, its own inflexibility led it to take some false steps, especially in the period from immediately after the war to the mid-1960s. The communists directed the main thrust of their fight against backwardness and the hidebound mind-set at religious groups, as their principal ideological rivals. Therefore, every form of religious belief was branded backward and religious life was transferred from the public into the private sphere. It resulted in rapid secularization and disappearance of active religious life in part of the population, while many people observed religious customs only at the level of cultural facts or inherited patterns of social behaviour. The everyday forms of cultural practice, highly typical of traditional patriarchal, most often agrarian and rural communities, but also the practice of the middle-class or the petite bourgeoisie that could be regarded as suspect for being reactionary were to be diminished.

Industrialization and urbanization, together with the education system and socialist institutional, public and media upbringing, followed by the penetration of the western consumer and popular culture, shaped the new man and the new society. Family relations underwent a change, mostly because the nuclear family cut its strong ties with extended family members and escaped the supervision of their elders. The communication between parents and children became closer and those born during and after the war strove to ensure that their descendants had everything that they themselves did not have and sometimes went too far, lavishing care and attention on them. Women too found themselves in a new position, especially those who had an employment and among them the ones who, as mothers and wives, maintained their households and took care of family members. Divorced men and women and single mothers became a growing phenomenon, which the society gradually started to accept with fewer reservations than before, although more easily in towns than in villages. The emancipation of women was thus torn between modernity and tradition, in an environment where equality of the sexes was not an established value.

naturally expected to be upheld in practice.

Despite the traditional foundations that the country shared with many European societies, in Yugoslavia, the authorities strove to change the deeply held views through regulations imposed from the top. In the early 1950s, the liberalization of abortion rights began, which was finally incorporated into legislation towards the end of the 1960s and in the 1970s. That was just one aspect of the changed attitude towards the body and health, the attitude that was determined by the spread of health education, on the one hand and the sexual revolution on the other. Health care and family planning were the benefits of the new awareness and structure of the public health care system, which made regular full physical examinations and compulsory vaccinations against contagious diseases possible. The second direction in which the sexual revolution spread its influence was that of consumer and popular culture, where the image of women was used as a marketing tool and a means of arousing desire: from advertising and beauty competitions to erotic magazines. From the 1960s, beauty queens and models have been openly attracting media attention. A different attitude towards the body can be seen in popularizing sunbathing and swimming too, the activities in which members of older generations did not participate. Younger people and most often foreigners could even embrace naturism, which was a source of considerable revenue for the local hospitality industry and sparked curiosity of regular, dressed bathers. The other face of tourism contributed to facilitating access to drugs, which were easier to get in seaports and bigger towns anyway. The local public became concerned about this issue as early as the 1970s. Although same-sex relationships, as an everyday occurrence, would remain outside the confines of social acceptance for a long time, same-sex orientation was decriminalized in certain republics and autonomous provinces in the second half of the 1970s. People who were considered to be other and different on account of their racial background were a regular sight in bigger towns and university centres that were home to students coming from the countries, members of the Non-Aligned Movement. These people sometimes stayed in Yugoslavia having completed their studies and started families of their own. The level of openness of the society achieved by the end of the 1980s – although founded on different cultural backgrounds and with different degrees of success in terms of modernization – would subsequently be destroyed by nationalism, in the last years of existence of Yugoslavia, and by retraditionalization experienced by all post-Yugoslav societies at that time and throughout the 1990s.



# NEW WORLD VIEWS

Igor Duda



**Ivana Dobrivojević** (1975) is a research fellow at the Institute for Contemporary History in Belgrade. She graduated from the Yugoslav History Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade where she obtained her M.A. degree. Her thesis topic was *State Repression during the Dictatorship of King Aleksandar (1929 – 1935)*. She then received her Ph.D. from the same department. The dissertation was entitled *City and Village. Transformation of Serbian Agrarian Society (1945 – 1955)*. Her research focuses on state repression, the processes of urbanization and modernization, migrations from villages to towns, as well as on everyday life of common people in socialist Yugoslavia. She was a visiting fellow at the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg and the then the Institute for the History of Eastern and Southeast Europe (now Centre for Southeast European Studies) in Graz. She is the author of two monographs and 44 articles, published in local and international journals. She is currently working on the topic Between Ideology and Pop-Culture. The Life of Youth in Socialist Yugoslavia.

**Igor Duda** (1977) is an assistant professor at the Department of the Humanities, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula. He graduated in History and Croatian Language and Literature from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (2000). He earned his MSc (2004) and PhD (2009) degrees in history from the same university. His research fields are social history and history of everyday life in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, history of consumer culture and history of leisure and tourism. He is the principal investigator in the scientific project Making of the Socialist Man. Croatian Society and the Ideology of Yugoslav Socialism (2014-2017). He is the author of two volumes: *U potrazi za blagostanjem. O povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih (In Pursuit of Well-Being. On the History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s)* (2005) and *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)* (2010) which won the Kiklop award for the best science book of the year. He has held presentations at numerous science conferences and delivered a number of public lectures. He is a member of several professional associations and university boards, researcher at and the first Head of the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism in the year 2012/13. In the beginning of the academic year 2013/14 he became the Head of the History Subdepartment within the Department of the Humanities.

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**Ana Panić** (1978) is a curator and art historian. She has worked as a curator of the fine art collection at the Museum of Yugoslav History in Belgrade since 2005. She is the author or co-author of numerous exhibitions focusing on the history and popular culture of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: *Yugoslavia from the Beginning to the End* (2012), *The Non-Aligned Movement From Belgrade to Belgrade* (2011), *Women's Corner* (2010), *Deadly Treasures* (2009), *Tito's New Years* (2008), *the permanent exhibition of Youth Batons at the House of Flowers* (2007), *CongratulaTi(T)Ons* (2006), as well as the exhibitions showcasing the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History: *Art and Authority - Landscapes from the Collection of Josip Broz Tito* (2014), *The World of Silver* (2008), *Youth, the Queen of Life* (2005), *May 9<sup>th</sup> 1945 – 2005* (2005). Ana Panić is the winner of the Mihailo Valtrović prize, awarded by the Museum Association of Serbia for the category "Individual" for an exceptional contribution to the improvement and development of museum work and the development of culture in Serbia in 2008. She won this prize for the project *The World of Silver* (the exhibition and the accompanying publication). In 2012, she was awarded this prize for the exhibition *Yugoslavia from the Beginning to the End*, which was chosen best of the year. In 2010, she completed on-the-job training at a the Malmö Museum (Sweden), aimed at the development of educational programmes and improving the experience of working with museum audiences.

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

# Recommended reading for those who would like to know more

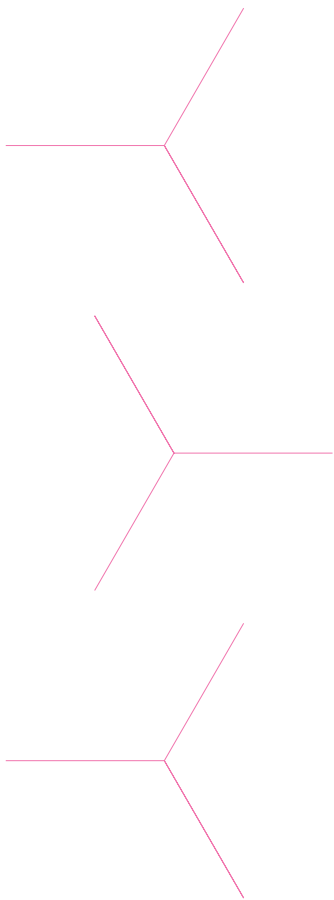
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It is a known fact that design quite directly reflects the society in which it has emerged. However, even design collections themselves are a unique mirror image of the society: they clearly reflect the attitude of the society towards the domains of design. The **Graphic Design Collection of the Museum of Arts and Crafts**, for example, has been carefully and systematically built up over the last hundred years or so. Moreover, numerous exhibitions showcasing key achievements in the local graphic design have been held. The work of several major Croatian graphic designers is mostly well documented. On the other hand, the **Product Design Collection** is much smaller, randomly compiled and dating much further back. The contemporaries (not just museum professionals) obviously did not particularly feel the need to document the successes of the then manufacturers and it is equally obvious that the designers working for manufacturers had a completely different treatment in the society. The overwhelming majority of names of local industrial designers are unknown, both to the professionals and the public at large. The consequence of such an attitude is that today we are collecting the remainder of the remnants of the local production, in order to preserve a modicum of social memory (musealize socialism?). What we are collecting nowadays is not even the best of what we had, but simply what exists today.

**Koraljka Vlajo**

Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb  
Head of Design Collections



The Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria – Museo storico e navale dell'Istria was founded in 1955 as the Museum of the War of National Liberation of Istria. Although it had been collecting 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> material from its very beginnings, it primarily focused on the period of World War II and the post war development in the era of socialism, until 1990 when it was restructured, becoming the Historical Museum of Istria. That is the reason why the period of socialism is very well documented, above all in the Archive Material Collection, Press Collection, Weapons and Military Equipment Collection, Town Life Collection, Photographs, Negatives and Photographic Equipment Collection. The holdings of the museum expanded considerably over time, thanks to the collaboration with businesses, cultural and educational institutions and social and political organizations, such as the Communist League, Yugoslav Socialist Alliance of Working People, Youth League and Federation of Veterans' Associations. The Photographs, Negatives and Photographic Equipment Collection in particular, provides a wealth of testimonies, not only about people's activities but also everyday life in socialist times. Namely, the continuous gradual growth of the standard of living and the purchasing power of the population in the decades after World War II, made it possible for a wide range of people, in addition to satisfying their basic needs, to buy things that can be placed into the context of the middle-class society and popular mass culture. Still cameras and the accompanying photographic equipment certainly belong to that category. Their mass use resulted in the creation of extensive photographic material, documenting the life of people throughout the socialist period. That material was produced both in the public sphere and as part of people's private lives. Today it is an invaluable source to be tapped into in museum displays of everyday life in the era of socialism.

**Gracijano Kešac**

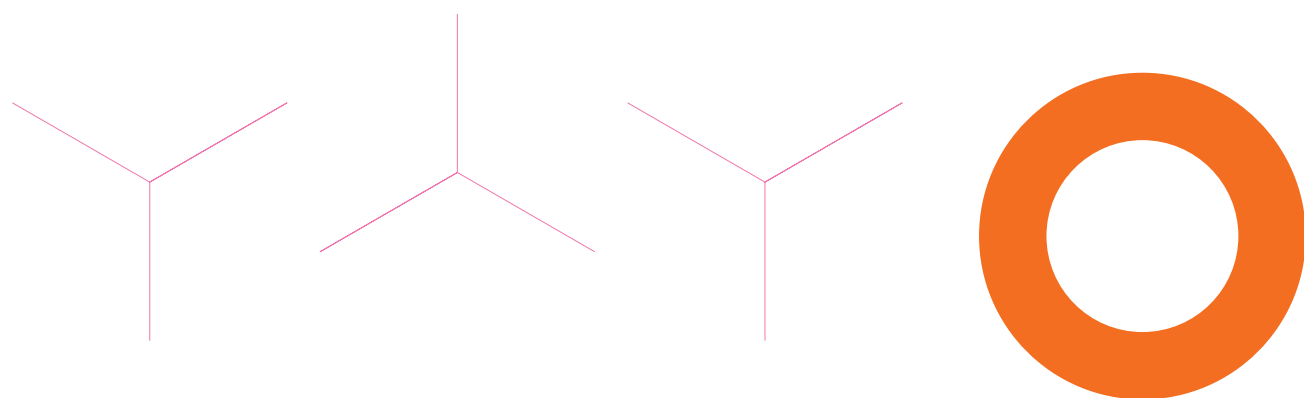
Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria, Pula  
Director

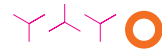
The National Museum of Contemporary History in Slovenia has its beginnings in 1948, when the government of the People's Republic of Slovenia established the National Liberation Museum. In 1962, it became the Museum of the People's Revolution, which was oriented towards collecting, studying and exhibiting the material related to the liberation struggle in the Second World War, the labour movement before and after the Second World War and the socialism movement. This museum collection policy changed in the eighties and after 1991, the museum was renamed Museum of Contemporary History. In the following decade, it specialized in collection, preservation, study and display of museum material from the twentieth century and in 2003, it became known as the Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia. The current permanent exhibition, *Slovenians in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, presents national history from the beginning of the First World War to the present day, with an emphasis on everyday life in different states and individual testimonies about the featured historical periods. The museum is now committed to presenting and sharing personal stories and different testimonies about the last century. Understanding recent history through personal experiences, not only provides other interpretations to compare with the dominant historical narrative, but also gives a special voice to the social (individual) perception of the past. Personal stories are different from the institutionalized narrative, and are a reminder of the complex relationship between history and memory. Documenting everyday life, collecting material evidence and personal stories is an important endeavour in this age when factories are being closed down and the society barely remembers the notions like 'solidarity', 'camaraderie' and 'the working class'. *Have we really never had it better?* This poignant, slightly playful title brings us back to the era of great urbanization of our cities and the very beginnings of that which we now think of as 'modern'. In this presentation of the perception of socialism, we also ask the question: how did people value time and what were their values in general in the first years after the war?

**Kaja Širok**

National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana  
Director

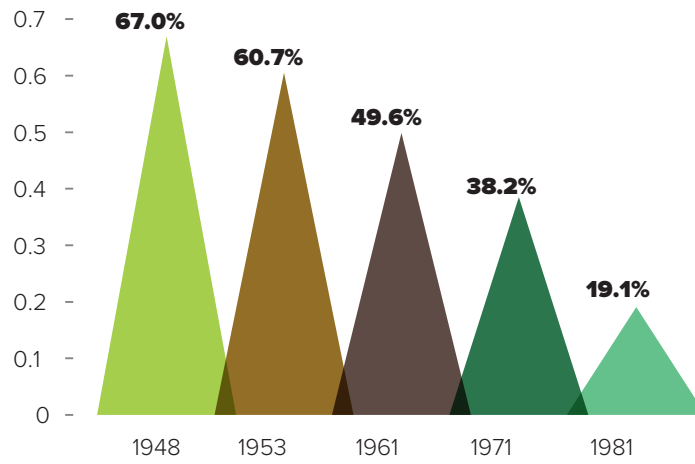
# CURATOR STATEMENTS



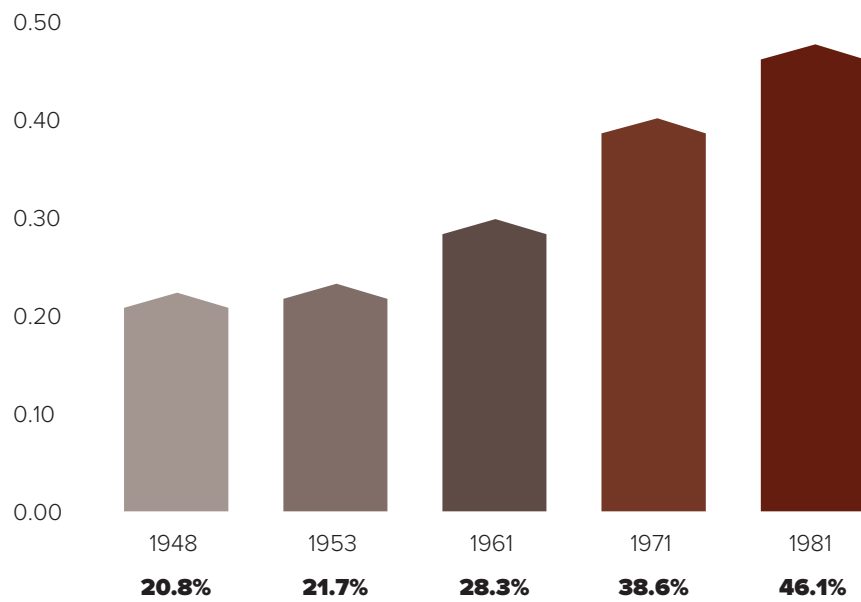


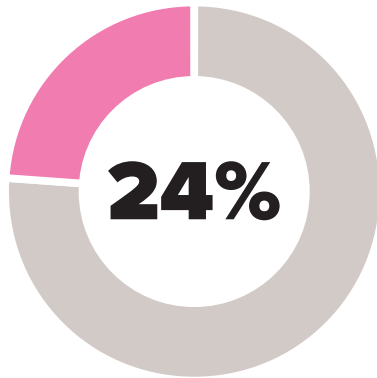
# APPENDIX

**Percentage of  
Agricultural  
Population in the  
Total Population  
1948 - 1981**

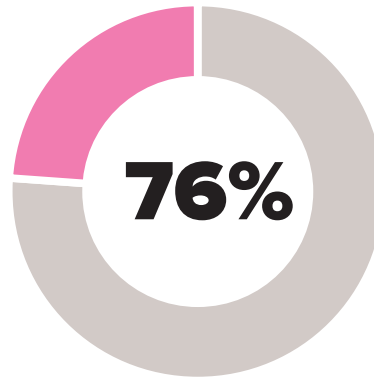


**Percentage of  
Urban Population  
in the Total  
Population  
1948 - 1981**



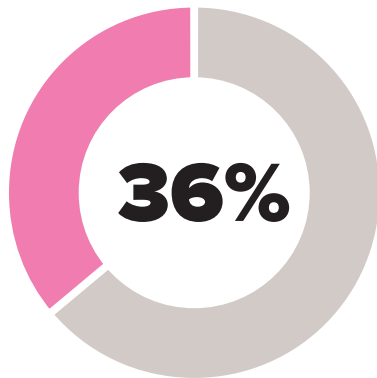


**Women**

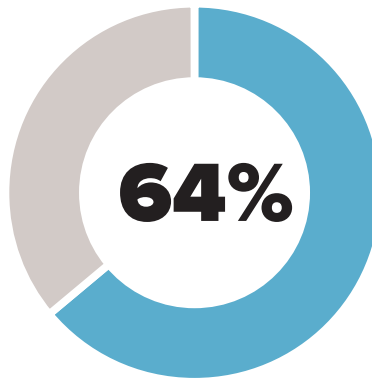


**Men**

**Percentage of Workers by Gender in 1953**

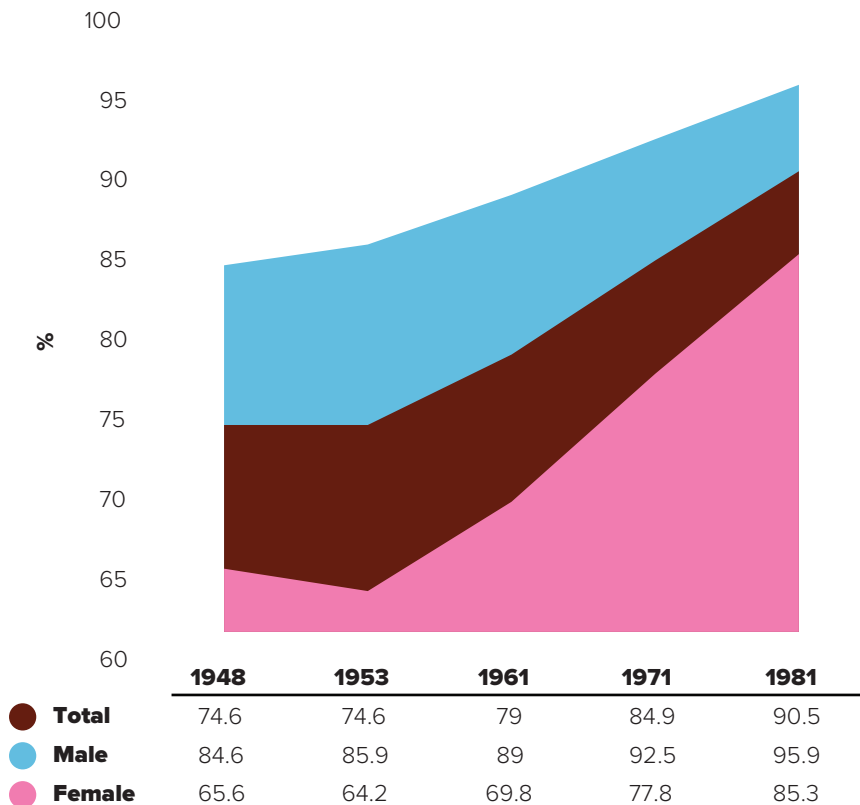


**Women**



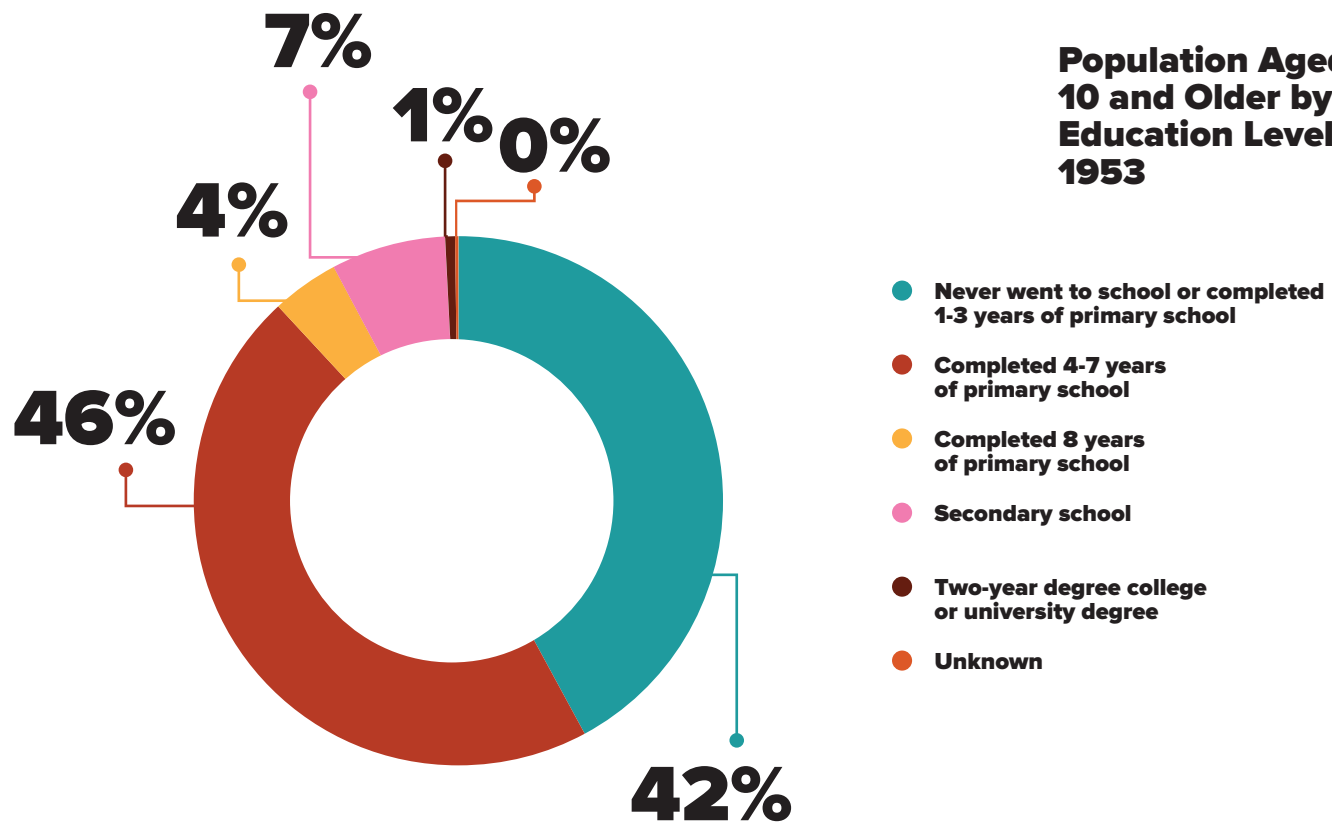
**Men**

**Percentage of Workers by Gender in 1981**

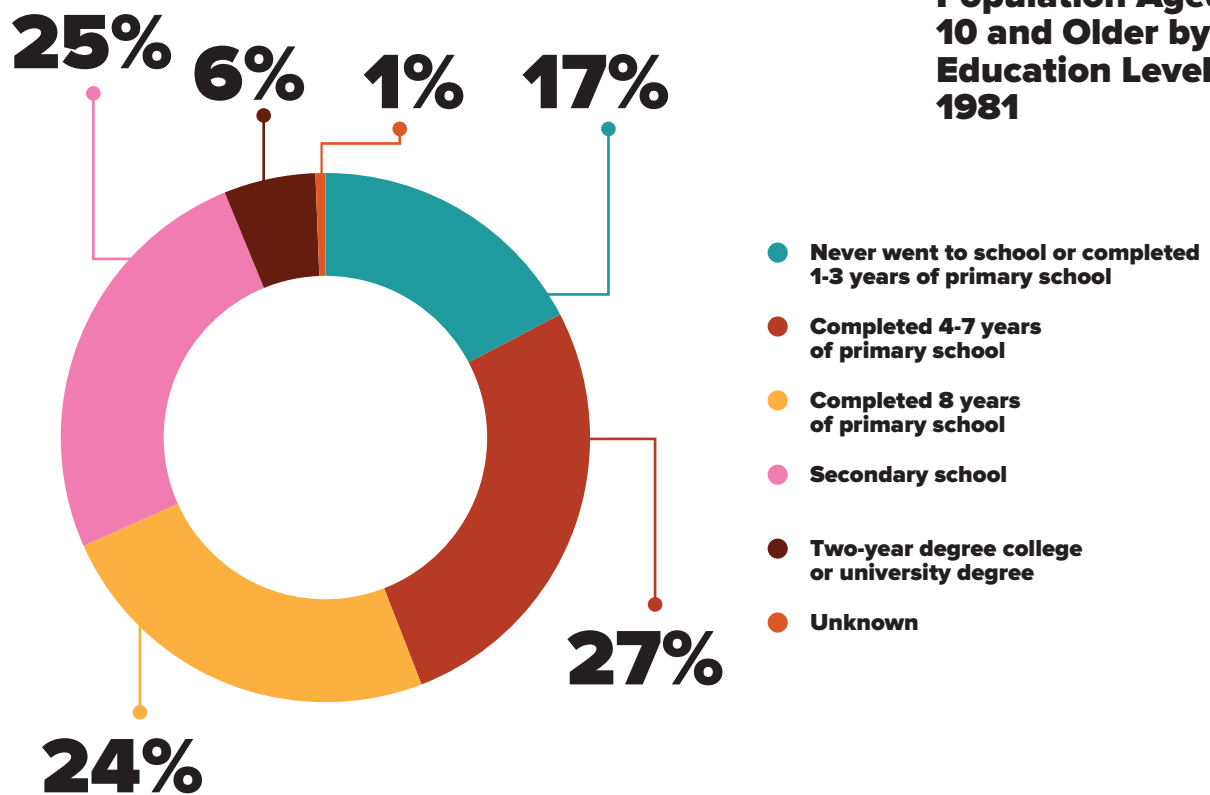


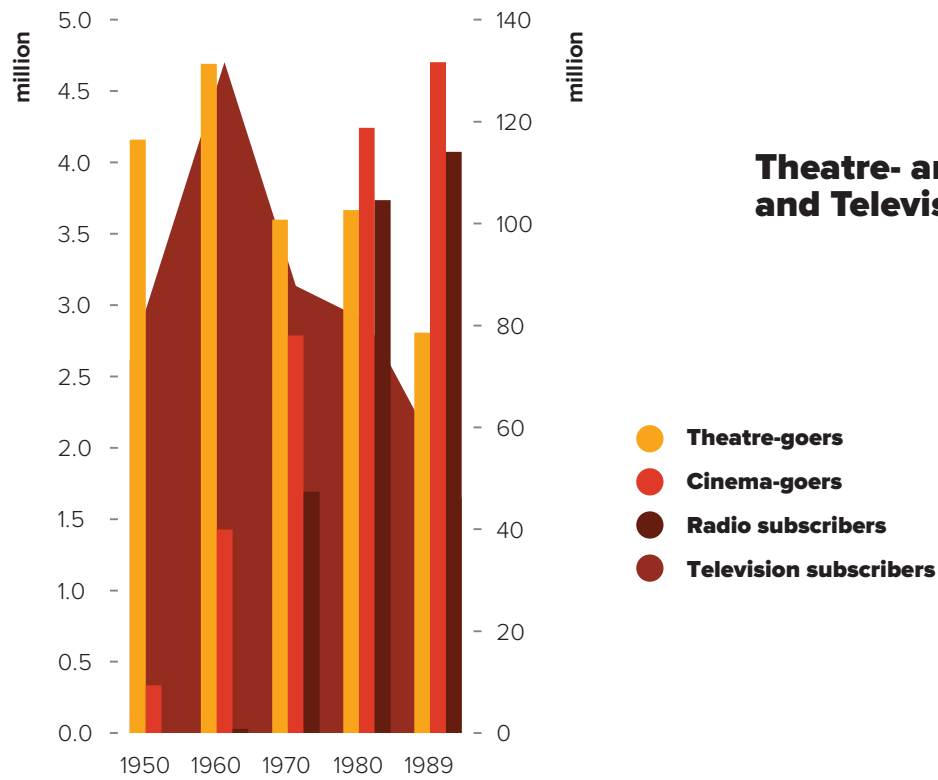
**Literate Population Aged 10 and Older 1948 - 1981**

**Population Aged 10 and Older by Education Level in 1953**

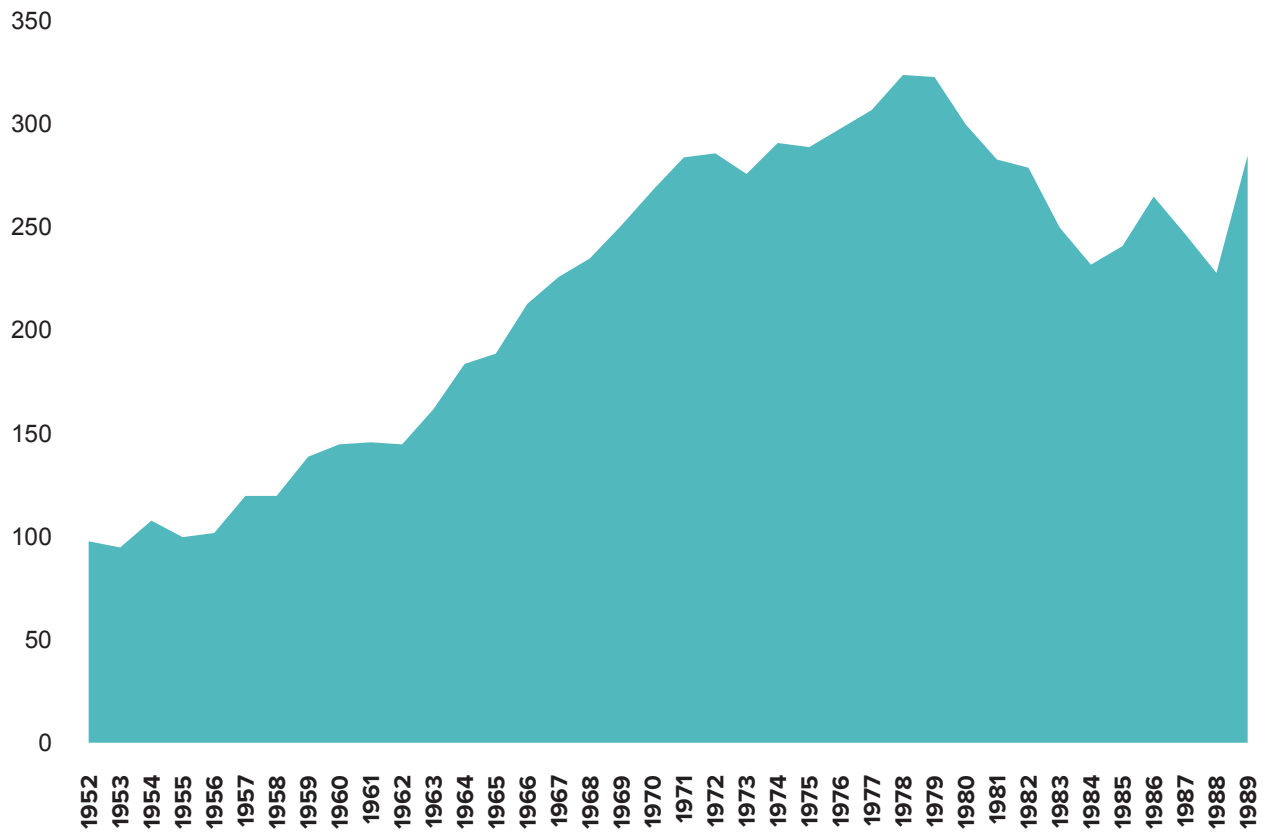


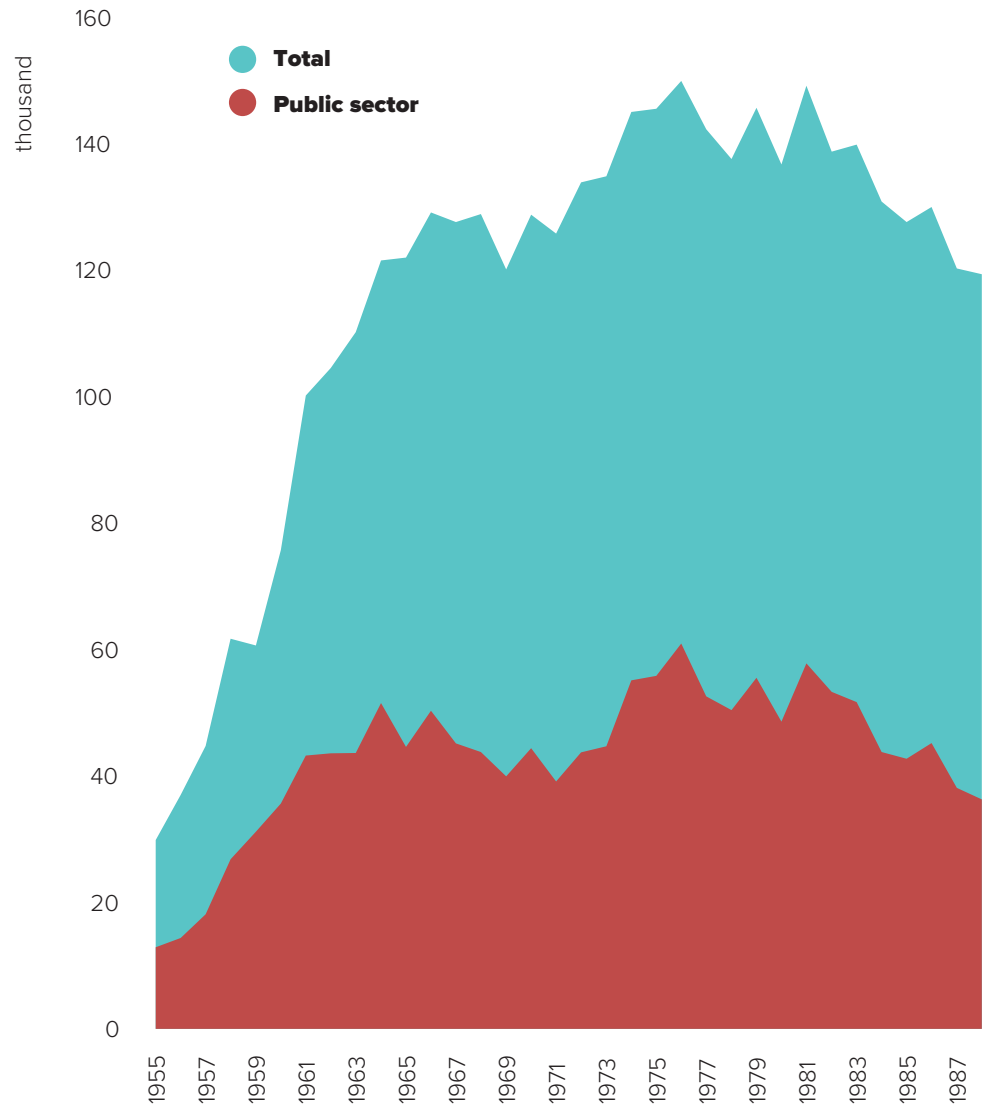
**Population Aged 10 and Older by Education Level in 1981**



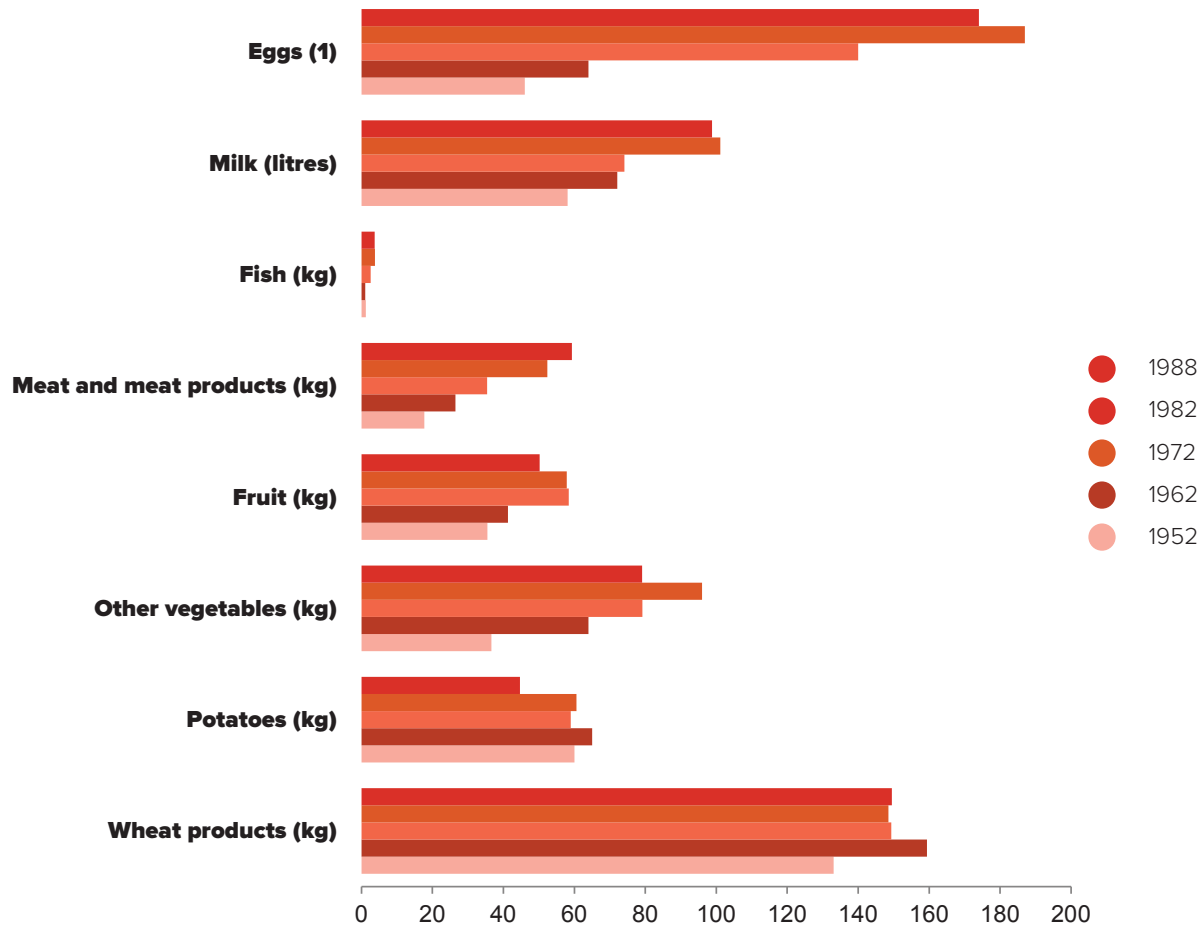


**Index of Real Personal Disposable Income 1952 - 1989 (1955.=100)**



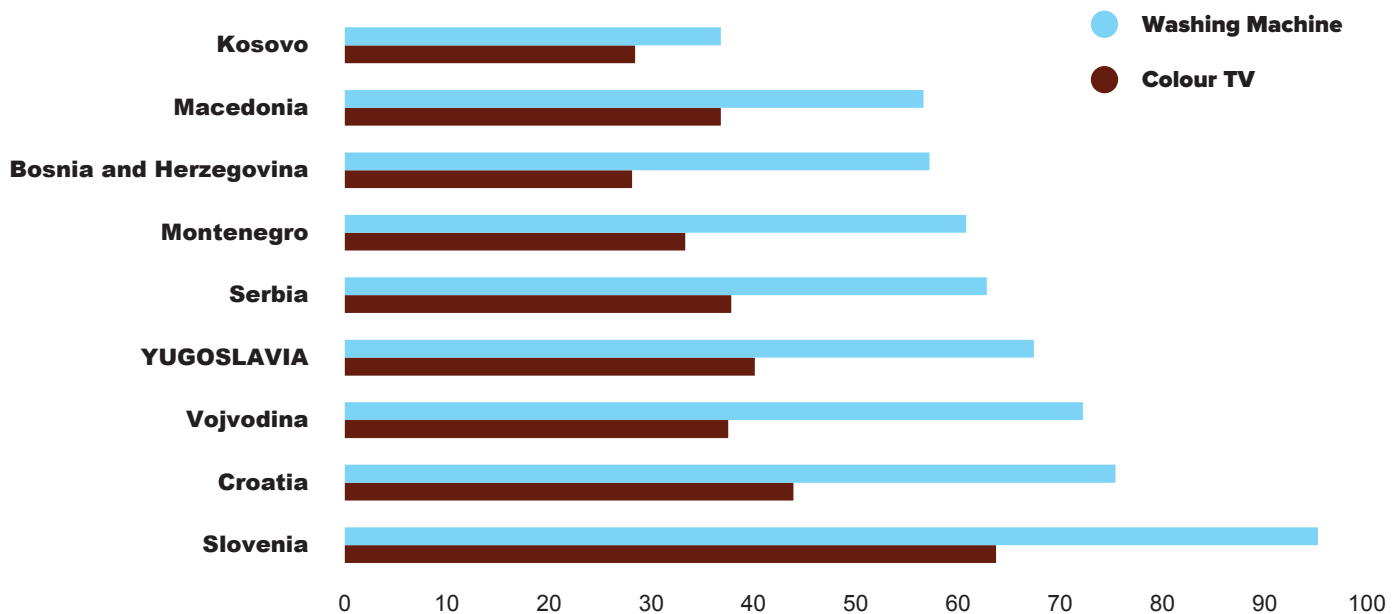


**Housing Units  
Built 1955 - 1988**

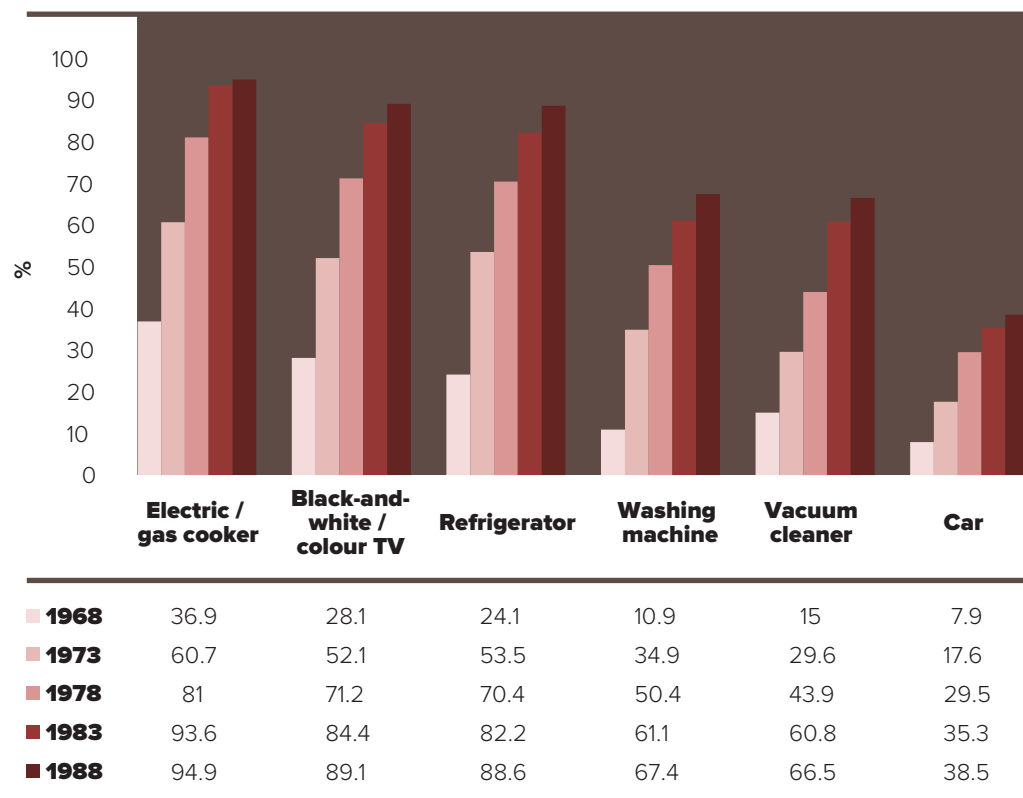


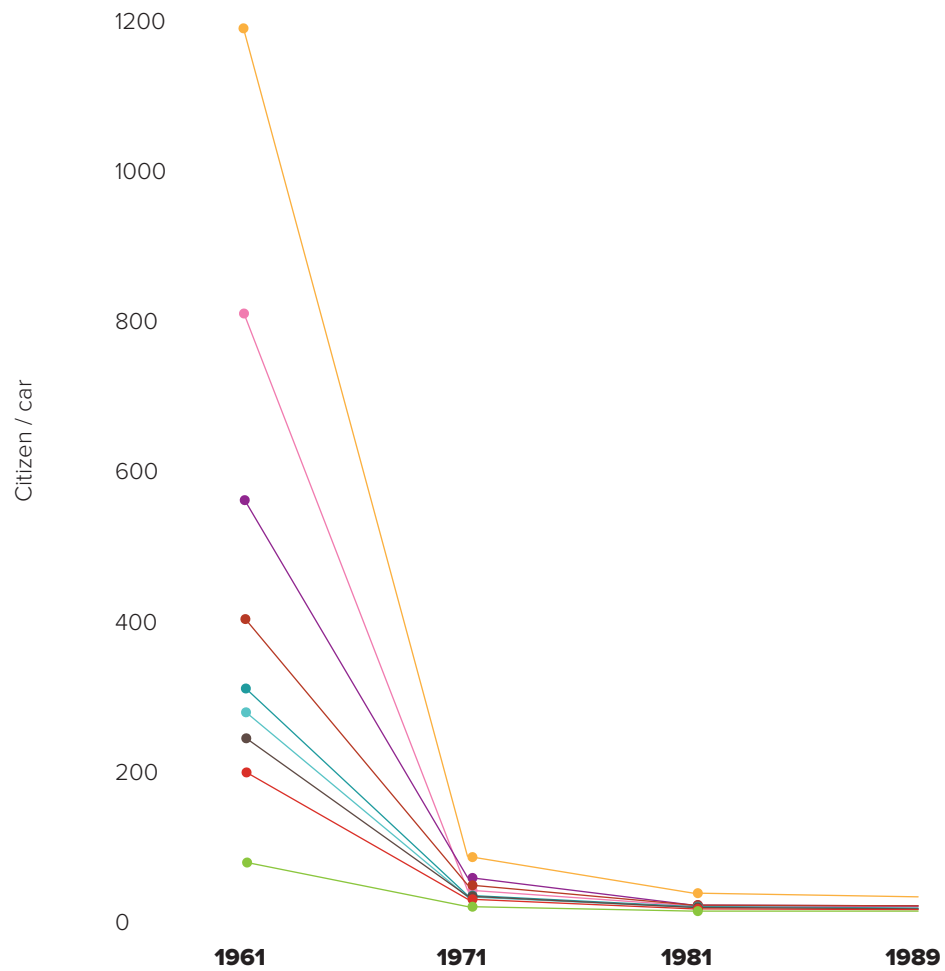
**Annual Food Consumption per Person 1952 - 1988**

## The Level of Supply of Households with Colour TVs and Washing Machines in 1988

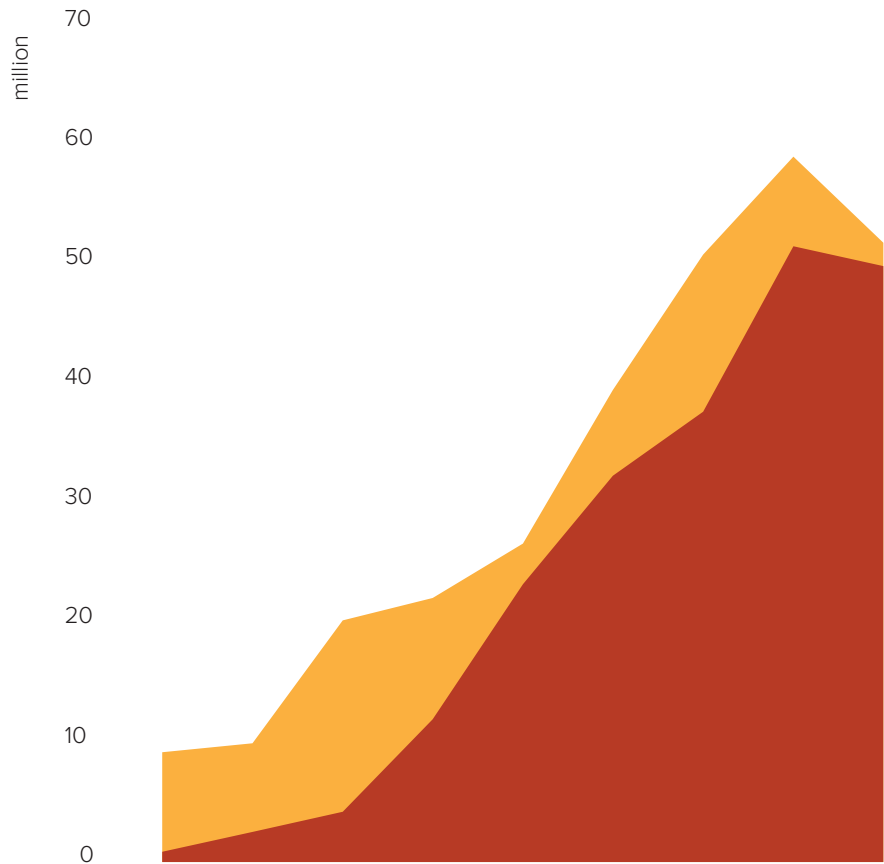


## The Level of Supply of Yugoslav Households with Consumer Durables 1968 - 1988



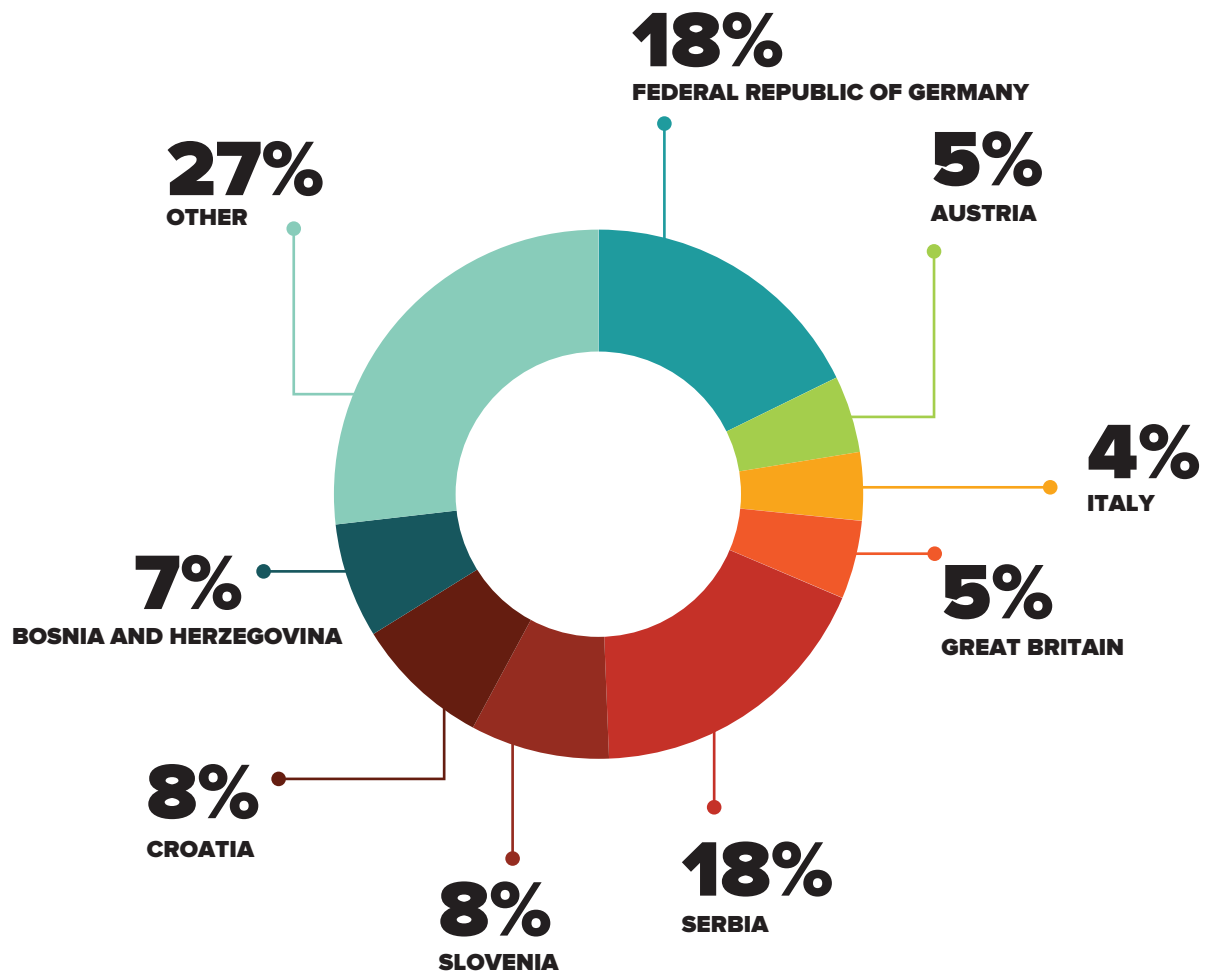


**Number of Persons  
per Car  
in Yugoslav  
Republics and  
Autonomous  
Provinces  
1961 - 1989**

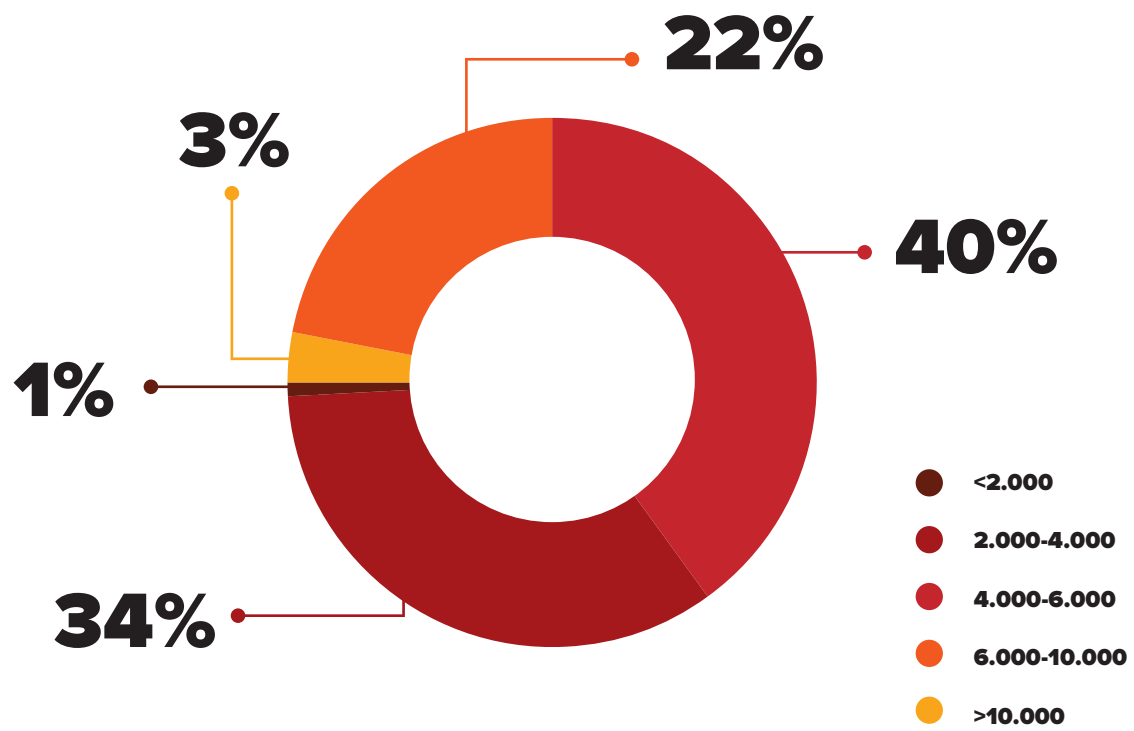


	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1989
● Domestic overnights	8501	9254	19512	21411	25943	38805	50128	58322	51113
● Foreign overnights	172	1833	3511	11240	22560	31622	36978	50816	49176

**Domestic and Foreign Overnights 1950 - 1990**



**Overnights in  
Yugoslavia by  
Country of Residence  
in 1986  
(111,134 overnights)**



**Workforce by Salary in 1978**  
 (the average salary amounted to 5,075 dinars)

**PRICES OF CERTAIN PRODUCTS AND SERVICES AND THE AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARY**

<b>(in New Dinars)</b>	<b>1958</b>	<b>1968</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>1988</b>
Bread (1 kg)	0.48	2,04	7.40	1,329
Milk (1 litre)	0.41	1.48	6.00	679
Sugar (1 kg)	1.51	2.62	13.00	1,653
Eggs (l)	0.16	0.55	2.10	248
Veal (1 kg)	2.72	11.11	51.00	7,579
Apples (1 kg)	0.53	2.35	14.00	1,345
Mens shoes	28.71	81.67	478.00	64,926
Haircut	0.62	3.50	21.70	3,126
Permanent wave	5.02	19.22	98.50	13,688
Cinema ticket	0.57	2.62	13.30	1,482
SALARY	151.00	862.00	5,075.00	472,722
The number of baskets consisting of these products and services that a salary can buy	3.7	6.8	7.2	4.9

**They Never Had It Better?**

Modernization of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia

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