The Making of the Youth

Coming of Age in Yugoslav Cinema

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Abstract

This thesis explores representations of young people in four youth films which thematize the coming of age of young adults in 1960s and early 1970s Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It is based on the analysis of *Čudna* devojka/*Strange Girl* (Jovan Živanović, 1962), *Tri sata za ljubav*/*Three Hours for Love* (Fadil Hadžić, 1968) *Bubašinter*/*The Bug Killer* (Milan Jelić, 1971), and *Kužiš stari moj*/*Get it, Man* (Vanča Kljaković, 1973) that have been made during the so-called utopian phase in Yugoslavia. Cinema is here understood as a privileged domain of youth construction, and a projection of (un)desirable images related to processes of maturing in Yugoslavia. By placing the concept of coming of age at the centre of the analysis, this thesis examines the contradictory relationship between film representations of young people, and the youth ideal promoted by official discourses in Yugoslavia. Close analysis of four films within their specific social, political and cinematographic contexts demonstrates how selected representations subvert society's main ideological tendencies concerning questions of female emancipation and class liberation.

This pioneering analysis of Yugoslav youth cinema and its coming-of-age representations presents a theoretical and cultural intervention into the cinematographic, social and cultural history of Yugoslavia. The findings show that due to their ambivalent status inside the Yugoslav film industry, selected youth films subvert the binary opposition of auteur cinema and the producer's cinema, which functions as a dominant organizing principle in histories of Yugoslav cinematography. By analysing different patterns of the youth's behaviour that are represented in the films, this research offers insights on gender and class regimes that were hierarchically structuring social relations in Yugoslavia at the time. The thesis therefore introduces youth films as valuable objects of study in the social and cultural history of Yugoslavia.

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Note

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis is the product of original research and that it contains no materials which have been accepted for the award of any other degree in any other institution.

This thesis includes my own material that has been published during my doctoral research studies. Section 4.1. of Chapter 4 in this thesis has already been published as an article entitled "*Strange Girl*'s love ideology: the promise of modernity and failure of emancipation" (2018), but in a slightly different form in *Studies in Eastern European Cinema* journal. In the thesis, I also refer to some of my previously published work: „Kultura mladih u tranziciji: analiza filmova *Tilva Roš* i *Klip*" (2015) and „How 'post' can we go? Shifting paradigms in researching post-Yugoslavia" (2016).

All translations from secondary sources are my own unless otherwise indicated. All translations of film dialogue from Serbo-Croatian to English are my own, unless otherwise indicated. For the ease of reading, foreign titles of secondary sources that have been included in the text are not supported with translations to English.

My bibliography does not include a full list of newspaper and magazine articles that have been used as secondary sources in the thesis. All necessary data regarding these articles has been included in the text itself.

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Introduction

In his book *Od internacionale do komercijale: popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.* (2011), cultural historian Zoran Janjetović notes the emergence of the figure of a „ticket tout" in everyday film practices in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at the end of the 1950s. Namely, the pace at which film theatres and projection halls were being (re)built in Yugoslavia after the Second World War could not accommodate audience demand, as the number of people who were interested in going to the cinema was constantly growing (Janjetović 2011, 56). This was generating crowds of people who would wait for hours in front of the box office to try and buy the admission ticket, particularly when popular films were being screened (Janjetović 2011, 57). A ticket tout, i.e. a person who purchases a large amount of tickets to resell them at a different price, was most usually a child or a young person (Janjetović 2011, 57). Young ticket touts who were operating in front of film theatres came from different social backgrounds: from youths who needed fast and easy profits, to those coming from wealthier homes in search of additional pocket money (Janjetović 2011, 57). Janjetović therefore concludes:

> They presented a vivid case of a market economy in the making, which undermined the socialist system of values in a society where entertainment was supposed to be available to all and earning profit without working was not supposed to be possible.
>
> (Janjetović 2011, 57)

Not only is Janjetović's note on ticket touts in Yugoslavia insightful but also serves as an apt historical metaphor from which my research in this thesis

should depart. Thus, the metaphor of a young ticket tout has a double-bind value for my study. On the one hand, it brings together the social formation of youth with film in socialist Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the metaphor links both the youth and the film with the paradox of a market-oriented socialist economy which, as I shall argue, fostered the emergence of the first coming-of-age film stories in Yugoslav cinematography at the beginning of the 1960s. The figure of a young ticket tout therefore introduces the main locus of contradiction that my thesis examines: Yugoslav youth (as a socialist formation which was altered by the appearance of Yugoslav teenagers who owned pocket money for their leisure activities), Yugoslav cinema (with its multiple faces of modernity: the socialist tool for education, the art form and the industry of fun) and the undermining of socialist values (a leisure activity which reflects inequality and social corruption).

This thesis explores representations of young people in Yugoslav youth films. It is based on the analysis of four films which thematize the coming of age of young people in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and early 1970s. Cinema is understood as a privileged domain of Yugoslav youth construction, and a projection of desirable and undesirable images related to the processes of growing up. Thus, at the centre of my analysis is the contradictory relationship between film representations of young people, and the youth ideal around which official discourses in Yugoslavia were pivoting. By analysing the films as coming-of-age stories, I aim to show how selected representations of young Yugoslavs and their maturation subvert society's main ideological tendencies concerning questions of female emancipation and class liberation. The chapters in this thesis are therefore specifically focused on gender and class as organizing

principles in narratives of maturation. Hence, the main hypothesis of this study: by depicting contemporary Yugoslavia as traditional, patriarchal and classist, coming-of-age cinema is challenging cinematography's ideological role and undermining the main postulates of Yugoslav society of the time.

To illustrate the complex relationship between my selected youth films and society's main premises about the youth, I am pursuing interdisciplinary research. On the one hand, by analysing official views of the youth against the backdrop of dominant social and political discourses, I shall examine discursive contexts in which selected youth representations were made. On the other hand, I shall establish the domain of cinematic representations of the youth: by analysing chosen film stories about growing up of young Yugoslavs, in relation to the films' specific coming-of-age narrative structure. The conceptual bridge between the two levels of research is the notion of coming of age. Thus, coming of age will have a twofold purpose in my thesis. First, as a social issue, it will reveal social mechanisms by which young protagonists are integrated into society. Investigating different cinematic constructions of maturing will indicate how Yugoslav society treated young people in the 1960s and early 1970s, during the phase of the so-called utopian socialism. Second, as a narrative tool, coming of age will expose narrative strategies and discursive mechanisms through which selected films engage with dominant discourses that shaped the youth as a disputed category. Accordingly, the premise of my thesis is that by conveying messages about undesirable images of young Yugoslavs and their desirable maturing, my selected films disclose conservative hegemonic patterns of the time. Nevertheless, different types of the films'

engagement with the hegemonic patterns will illustrate a heterogeneity of film practices in Yugoslavia.

This study therefore presents a close analysis of *Čudna devojka*/*Strange Girl* (Jovan Živanović, 1962), *Tri sata za ljubav*/*Three Hours for Love* (Fadil Hadžić, 1968), *Bubašinter/The Bug Killer* (Milan Jelić, 1971) and *Kužiš, stari moj/You Get it, Man* (Vanča Kljaković, 1973). The four films are rare examples of coming-of-age narratives in Yugoslav cinematography at the time. As I shall argue, *Strange Girl* is the first film in Yugoslavia made as a coming-of-age narrative, and hence a suitable starting point in my research. The rest of the films are chosen with the aim of covering male and female protagonists equally. However, their selection was made according to several additional criteria. First, they contain a common narrative of maturation, integral to literary genres such as the classical *Bildungsroman* and the coming-of-age story. This narrative structure centres on a young protagonist who after many youthful delusions and life disappointments enters the world of adults, i.e. is integrated into society. The protagonist's life situation at the end of the story speaks both of his or her transformation and of society which generates that transformation. Second, the films focus on contemporary urban settings – their plots revolve around the young protagonists' encounters with the uncertainties and the raptures of modern city life. Related to this is the fact that these films' contemporary stories also construct an image of a historical sequence (1962-1973) of the utopian phase of Yugoslav socialism. Third, the age of the protagonists reflects the period of the end of their schooling: they are either enrolling at the University or looking for a job after obtaining secondary education. In other words, the protagonists are adolescents ranging from 15 to 19 years old.

Although the films vary in genre from melodrama to comedy, by interpreting these films as coming-of-age stories my analysis will focus on the process of the protagonists' maturing. Given that in the years of their production all four films were the most popular films in cinemas, special attention will be given to their critical reception in the daily press and youth magazines. Ultimately, the aim of such historical, cultural and film analyses is to examine different political, social and cultural processes that shaped the representation of youth as a problematic category in the four selected films.

Yugoslavia in the early 1960s was marked by the state's transitioning to what its leadership believed was a path towards utopian socialism. In his address to the Fourth Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia in 1953, a leading Yugoslav politician and theorist Edvard Kardelj argued that Yugoslavia was on its unique road to socialism (Kardelj 1953, 1.9-1.10). Trying to define an independent way for the country after a major political crisis in 1948, Kardelj described Yugoslavia as different from both the imperialist Soviet Union and the capitalist West (1953, 1.9-1.10). The cornerstone of such a road to socialism was the introduction of the self-management in 1950. Namely, returning to the revolutionary principles of Marxism and socialism, Yugoslav communists followed the idea of socialist progress towards reaching utopia. The abolition of state and private property through workers' control of their own production was the Yugoslav path to its utopian phase. Utopian socialism in Yugoslavia was therefore related to the self-management reforms meant to liberate the means of production and decision-making, fostering at the same time the country's opening to the West. This new phase of development was

fortified in Yugoslavia's second Constitution in 1963, also referred to as *Povelja samoupravljanja/Self-Management Charter*.

For most citizens, radical shifts toward economic and cultural liberalization generated higher living standards. Also, better educational standards and housing conditions accelerated the development of urban regions, causing large migrations from the rural areas to the cities. For the student population in Yugoslavia such progressive transformations meant two things. On the one hand, the period of rapid urbanization gave opportunities to many of those who wished to study at Universities. Thus, as student housing was growing in the early 1960s, student culture was also becoming more autonomous. This gradually altered the urban social landscape, as students were the first to appropriate Western middle-class lifestyles through the means of imported popular culture. On the other hand, the implementation of self-management as the paradigm of general progress introduced intellectual and media freedoms. As part of such impetus for liberalization, the youth infrastructure began to decentralize, allowing the youth media its authentic voice, and fostering young people's greater autonomy inside the institutional hierarchies. Utopian socialism therefore gave rise to the new generation of socialist youth in Yugoslavia. Official discourses associated this generation with the utopian outlook of the self-management paradigm, in contrast to the revolutionary generation who directly participated in the reconstruction of the country after the war. Corresponding to the cultural and political changes of the time, this new generation of young people embodied the manifold contradictions of Yugoslav self-management and its utopian premises.

I argue that such socio-cultural restructuring induced new modes of representation of the youth which linked them to the phenomena of this *new* Yugoslav reality: the self-management reforms, socialist modernity, leisure, consumerism, sexual liberation etc. Yugoslav cinema also participated in these shifts in the social imaginary that was integral to the new positions awarded to young people. As chapters in this thesis elaborate, the ideological consolidation of Yugoslavia after the Second World War positioned the youth as important contributors to the project of building a new society. Relying on Marxist-Leninist postulates, the primary aim of Yugoslav socialist unification was 'the making of the new man'. Young people were to be brought up as the future socialist offspring of Yugoslavia through educational and cultural policies, but also via infrastructure dedicated to youth. At the same time, the presence of the youth in early Yugoslav films was predominantly ideologically motivated – they were the young Partisans sacrificing their lives in the war, or young workers building the country. Later, following the gradual proliferation of Yugoslav film genres in the 1950s, Yugoslav youth became more than a propagandist tool.

However, it was not until the 1960s that young people became the actual subjects of youth films. But these films began portraying them unfavourably. Instead of brave boys and girls committed to the Yugoslav cause, young protagonists were depicted as cynical, deprived of ambitions, and lacking a moral compass. Certainly, such portrayals are closely related to the larger sociocultural context of the self-management reforms, and economic and political crises that the implementation of the reforms initiated in the 1960s and 1970s. The protagonists' transformation into adulthood brings to the surface

the contradictions that kept Yugoslav society functional, and which conversely led to its major crises. This research therefore aims to illustrate the way selected youth films respond to the contexts of their production.

The youth shift in Yugoslav literature

As chapters in this thesis discuss in more detail, coinciding with the emergence of a teenager figure in the United States of America, in American literature of the 1950s the youth theme gets adopted as a new perspective on everyday life in post-war society. The youth perspective challenged old traditions and social norms, establishing at the same time a unique generational voice of this newly recognized social formation. A typical novel of this kind was J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* from 1951. Still, what is important to stress is that after surfacing in American literature, the youth theme was taken up by Hollywood in a similar fashion in films like *Rebel Without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955). An equivalent pattern is noticed in the Yugoslav context too. Stories about growing up in Yugoslavia first appeared in literary works such as Grozdana Olujić's novel *Izlet u nebo* (*An Excursion to Heaven*, 1957) which was then turned into a film – *Strange Girl*, the first film to be analysed here. Thus, for the broader contextualization of the coming-of-age theme in Yugoslav cinematography, it should be noted that the shift towards youth perspectives emerged in Yugoslav literature around the same time as in American culture. To clarify this point further, I will refer to the research by Yugoslav literary theorist Aleksandar Flaker.

Flaker in his 1976 pioneering study *Proza u trapericama* argues for a fresh type of prosaic and novelistic writing which was developing in Slavonic

literatures on the threshold of the 1960s. The jeans prose, as Flaker names it, is a stylistic formation that centres on a young protagonist and the urban colloquial language of intellectual student youths. For him, Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* is typical of this kind of prose. However, Flaker's study sets out to explore if Salinger's novel is the only origin of the new youth prose, as he also finds examples of similar types which come from Soviet and German literary traditions; for example, in the works of the Russian Soviet writer Vasily Aksyonov (1932-2009), or the Polish author Marek Hlasko (1934-1969) (1976, 11). Flaker also traces the same characteristics in the work of an East-German author Ulrich Plenzdorf whose novel *The New Sorrows of Young Werther* (1973), an active dialogue with Goethe's classic, became emblematic of socialist renegotiations of the classical Bildungsroman. He furthermore states that in the Yugoslav context, the jeans prose was initiated by the circles of Croatian novelists gathered around the literary magazine *Krugovi* (1952-1958), and particularly in Antun Šoljan's novellas from the 1950s and his later novel *Izdajice* (*Traitors*, 1961) (Flaker 1976, 16). The jeans prose entered Serbian literature with Grozdana Olujić's *An Excursion to Heaven* (1957), and particularly her second novel *Glasam za ljubav* (*I Vote for Love*, 1965) (Flaker 1976, 16).

According to Flaker, these novels share the following structural features: opposition between the worlds of young people and adults, a narrator who fosters such opposition by building a language that is confrontational to the adult language – hence, the narrators spontaneous speech imbued with urban slang – an ironic perspective towards traditional cultural values and a certain level of mythologization of youth conformism (1976, 28). More importantly, the jeans prose builds "horizontal continuities within contemporary

culture" (Flaker 1976, 35). In these novels, young protagonists appropriate social values from contemporary mass culture: films, music, fashion or books (Flaker 1976, 35). Although Flaker talks about the jeans prose in terms of stylistic formations and not narrative structures, by linking Salinger's novel to novels like Plenzdorf's *The New Sorrows of Young Werther* or Olujić's *An Excursion to Heaven* he also acknowledges that their similarities derive from a shared narrative of development. In literature, since the 18th century Bildungsroman genre, this narrative structure has been closely linked with notions of youth. In modern American prose, this narrative has become distinctive of coming-of-age novels such as *The Cather in the Rye* (1951) or Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963).

Drawing on Flaker's insights, it could be said that Yugoslav jeans prose corresponds to the American coming-of-age novel. It is a local variant of the same type of prose. Not only did the jeans prose introduce the structural features of coming-of-age prose into Yugoslav literature, but it also served as a literary template for several youth films which thematize the plights of growing up in Yugoslavia. Two such films are part of this research: *Strange Girl* based on Olujić's novel *An Excursion to Heaven* and *You Get it, Man* which draws on Zvonimir Majdak's 1970 popular novel of the same name. The fact that Flaker lists Olujić's novel as one of the first examples of the jeans prose provides further support for my claim in this thesis – *Strange Girl* is the first Yugoslav film which uses the coming-of-age narrative, which also makes it the starting point in my analyses of the films. The presence of youth-oriented prose in post-war Yugoslav literature shows that the shift in representational practice towards younger generations was a global trend of the time,

influencing the domains of literature and film alike. The youth thus became a symbolic formation that could question the rules of the old order marked by the atrocities of the Second World War. Stories about the joys and difficulties of growing up in modern societies also emerged as part of this general trend in literature and cinema.

***

In the former countries of Yugoslavia today, film studies are still a field in the making, which is why film writing in this region is often of occasional and publicist nature. Apart from several academic books and articles in history or sociology of Yugoslav cinematography (most of which were written by scholars from universities outside of this region), almost all pieces on Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav cinema are articles or film essays in journals and film magazines. As opinion pieces and essays belong to a different register than theoretical studies and academic research, my thesis includes two literature reviews: one dedicated to presenting the state of art in film writing, and the other made in the form of a theoretical framework (Chapter 1). Such a strategic division is further reflected in the types of my engagement with the existing literature – the theoretical framework is much more sustained in the analytical apparatus than the following film literature review.

The absence of Yugoslav (youth) cinema

This thesis has developed from my previous research on coming-of-age film in post-Yugoslav cinematography (see Đurović 2015). My study of coming of age in Yugoslav cinema is therefore an attempt to outline a rich and continuous tradition of youth film in Yugoslav cinematography from which youth genre in

post-Yugoslav cinema draws. Such film tradition has so far been entirely absent from histories and theories of Yugoslav cinematography. This lack is partly due to the youth genre's enduring absence in global film studies, and partly to the tendentious vantage of people who wrote about Yugoslav film after the breakup of socialist Yugoslavia. That is, when in early 2000s adolescent cinema appeared as a prominent research topic in film studies (Schmidt 2002; Shary 2002; 2003a; 2003b; Siebel and Shary 2007), in the countries of former Yugoslavia – which still suffered the consequences of the 1990s Wars of Succession – film writing was focused on liberating national (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Slovene) cinematographies from their totalitarian past.

As Nebojša Jovanović, one of the leading voices in studies of Yugoslav cinema, argues in his critical pieces (2011a; 2011b; 2012a; 2012b; 2012c; 2015a; 2015b), in post-Yugoslav writing Yugoslav film is perceived either as communist propaganda or artistic (dissident) critique of communist reality. Because of such views – which Jovanović describes as the totalitarian approach to Yugoslav cinema – youth film was ignored as it resists both the categories of propaganda and of dissident art. It is therefore important to note that this thesis participates in the ongoing shifts in writing about Yugoslav culture, and as such it contributes to the small niche of researchers who write about contradictory dynamics of Yugoslav film, as a response to the dominant totalitarian approach to socialist Yugoslavia. The gist of my approach in my previous research (Đurović 2015; Đurović 2016), as well as in this thesis, is that insisting on post-Yugoslav instead of national film traditions opens a possibility of studying Yugoslav cinematography as an autonomous and complex aspect of

Yugoslav culture. To this end, I am sketching a development of the ongoing shifts in writing about Yugoslav cinematography. I located the central shift in the emergence of the so-called post-Yugoslav framework. This framework is used for studying synchronic and diachronic influences and interdependencies (or the lacks thereof) between cinematographies of former Yugoslav republics. Post-Yugoslav framework thus re-introduced Yugoslav film as the object of research in the local film writing. As such, it gradually opened a possibility for researching Yugoslav genre films, and particularly youth films.

Post-Yugoslav framework

After the breakup of the country, many scholars have addressed the difficulties of dividing cultural assets that the new successor states had then been claiming. Dina Iordanova was among the first to address the arbitrariness of this act regarding Yugoslav cinematography in her introduction to the *Central Europe Review* in 2000. Iordanova claims that in order to adjust the new (national) cinemas to their new political identities, and for new countries to appropriate their new traditions, the formerly shared film history of Yugoslavia had to be split (2000, 5). However, she renders this political move useless:

> The whole rushed undertaking of creating distinct film traditions is particularly artificial because, carried out as it was at the moment when the borders of national cinemas were collapsing and giving ways to increasingly trans-national film-making, building on new national cinemas today is a *causa perduta*.
>
> (Iordanova 2000, 5)

Therefore, despite the political division, Iordanova insists on looking at Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav films as belonging to a coherent tradition. In her later study *Cinema of Flames: Balkan Film, Culture, and the Media* (2001), Iordanova

links the (post)Yugoslav film tradition with other neighbouring cinematographies by defining them as "the Balkan cinema". This analytical move in her writing not only re-positioned the knowledge of (post)Yugoslav film in global cinema studies – i.e. Yugoslav film now being one of the most alluring and yet least explored traditions – but also instated the practice of tracing aesthetic and thematic consistencies in Balkan cinematographies. Iordanova's concept is crucial for mapping the initial point in the researchers' acknowledgement of (post)Yugoslav cultural continuities which go beyond the newly formed political entities in the 1990s.

Another study which is important for introducing the concept of cultural continuity of socialist and post-socialist film traditions is Pavle Levi's *Disintegration in Frames* (2007). Not only does he offer the first comprehensive study that links the new film production to Yugoslav film legacy, but he also presents a theoretical approach to post-Yugoslav film styles. Levi provides sharp critical readings of canonical Yugoslav films which belong to auteur cinema of the late 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. However, the aim that he sets out for his research does injustice to the selection of films from both traditions. Namely, to present a systemic critique of nationalist ideology in film (Levi 2007, 3) Levi compares Yugoslav auteur cinema with several Serbian, Croatian, Macedonian and Slovene films. The central argument posits contemporary outbursts of nationalism in post-Yugoslav societies as a "post-socialist radicalisation of the collectivist resistance to, or denial of, the society as inherently heterogeneous and antagonistic" (Levi 2007, 6). Drawing from such thesis, Levi's analysis creates a partial view of both cinematographies: Yugoslav homogenized intellectual film practice, on the one hand, and post-Yugoslav

cinema as a site of the re-production of social and political power, on the other. Early studies, such as Levi's, which linked post-Yugoslav production with Yugoslav cinematography have done so in regard to the violent breakup of socialist Yugoslavia. Levi's study is therefore representative of what I named 'the war paradigm' in which "post-Yugoslavia becomes a space predominantly defined by the 1990s wars of succession, whereas its cultural production is deemed exciting and valuable only in terms of reproducing or challenging the war narratives." (Đurović 2016, 329). This trend has continued much after Levi's seminal piece was published: e.g. books by Gordana Crnković [2012] (2014), Dino Murtić (2015) or Dijana Jelača (2016). Still, despite relating the experience of Yugoslav cinema almost exclusively to the violent breakup of the country, these studies re-introduced Yugoslav cinematography as a research subject in global cinema studies.

New perspectives on Yugoslav film

The war paradigm in writing about (post-)Yugoslav history and culture changed somewhere around the 2010. Such a shift is noticed in many conferences, articles and studies of post-Yugoslav culture, and particularly in researches on post-Yugoslav cinema. The new approach posits socialist Yugoslavia as equally important for any inquiry into post-Yugoslav culture as actual products of the post-Yugoslav sphere (Đurović 2016, 330). The socialist past is moreover questioned by "exploring the emancipatory potential of its ideas whilst challenging the institutionalisations of such ideas" (Đurović 2016, 330). For Yugoslav cinematography this meant a break with the totalitarian approach and a proliferation of research topics which go beyond the

understandings of Yugoslav cinema as official propaganda, on the one hand, and artistic critique, on the other.

The pioneer of this new approach is the earlier-mentioned Nebojša Jovanović whose many articles map and define the deficiencies in contemporary approaches to Yugoslav film. In "We need to talk about Valter" Jovanović describes the post-Yugoslav condition through its two main ideological features: the anti-Yugoslav and anti-socialist backlashes which reduce Yugoslavia to a sheer totalitarian regime (2015b, 2-3). In "Bosnian cinema in the socialist Yugoslavia and the anti-Yugoslav backlash" he further describes how from this vantage point Yugoslavia was a "dogmatic and corrupt regime [which] tyrannized its subjects by means of top-down repression" (Jovanović 2012a). Thus, when it comes to cinematography, this perspective tells us that "[…] first, Yugoslav cinema was one of the principal propaganda tools of Tito's totalitarian regime, and, second, that it was an arena in which the regime brutally exercised absolute repressive power in order protect its dogmas" (Jovanović 2012a).

One of the most prevalent binaries in writing about Yugoslav cinematography for Jovanović is the 'artist versus regime' cliché:

> According to this nostrum, it goes without saying that the Regime is corrupt, tyrannical and vicious, just as it goes without saying that the Artist is guided by an innate sense of freedom and democracy; it goes without saying that the Regime manipulates and deceives and goes without saying that the Artist knows only the language of truth that simply has to be told.
>
> (2011a, 168)

As numerous post-Yugoslav writings (Munitić 1999; Tirnanić 2008; Škrabalo 2011; Polimac 2005; Pavičić 2003; DeCuir 2010) and film representations of

Yugoslav cinematography (*Cinema Komunisto* 2010, Mila Turajlić) illustrate, films that fit neatly into these two homogenized categories are the ones that can easily be tied to the regime's propaganda apparatus, or its opposing forms: i.e. Partisan and so-called 'Black film'. Again, in many of his articles Jovanović (2011a; 2011b; 2012a; 2015b) not only demonstrates the usage of the term 'Black film' to be inappropriate and ideologically invested, but also how the oppositions of these two poles can easily be dismantled. For instance, by showing that in some cases both Partisan films and 'Black films' depict war themes in a rather complementary manner – emphasizing the "hysterical relentlessness of the Partisans" (Jovanović 2015b, 26).

Drawing on Jovanović's arguments, it should finally be stressed that representations of Yugoslav cinema via totalitarian binaries obliterate the areas of film production which developed in-between the two poles. If film in Yugoslavia existed primarily as the tool of communist propaganda where a few dissidents managed to make films which defied Tito's dogmatic rule, it would be worth asking: where do genres such as youth comedy, horror, science-fiction or animated film belong? Film archives in former Yugoslav republics store enough evidence about the existence of these genres. Thus, the fact that they have not been the object of study indicates the ubiquitous presence of the totalitarian paradigm in the history of Yugoslav film.

The intention in this thesis is to illuminate a strong presence of youth film in Yugoslavia. Numerous examples of Yugoslav youth genre – particularly ones depicting youth subcultures which were formed as a cultural appropriation of Western lifestyles – contradict the dominant writings about Yugoslav

film. Not only do they tell us that Yugoslav cinema was a rich compound of different genres, themes, and cinematic approaches, but also that film in Yugoslavia was much more than a propaganda tool. So far, most studies have focused on Yugoslav auteur cinema (i.e. New Film/Black Film) and to a lesser degree on Partisan film. By contrast, my research contributes to a deficient body of literature (Jovanović 2012c; Gilić 2011; Vojnov 2008; Ognjanović 2008) which centres on genre films from the era of auteur cinema. Focusing on such films offers a wider scope of cinematic practices which go beyond the binary of Partisan Film and New Film.

Finding the youth genre

Almost none of the writing on Yugoslav cinema recognizes youth film as a constituent generic category. As Chapter 1 explains in more detail, not until early 2000s was youth film recognized as a genre in global film studies. Certainly, this explains the lack of a youth category in historiographies of Yugoslav film that were made before the 2000s. Alternatively, the reasons for insufficient writing on youth film could also lie in the fact that most film histories were dedicated either to single Yugoslav authors (Sudar 2013; Šprah 2013; Mortimer 2009) or specific cinematic phenomena like the Black Wave (Tirnanić 2008; DeCuir 2011; Jovanović 2011). Only Daniel Goulding in his monograph *Liberated Cinema: the Yugoslav Experience* [1985] (2002) offers an extensive study of Yugoslav cinematography in which, again, there is no mention of youth film.[1] As Goulding's book illustrates, the cases of films which portrayed

[1] Ivo Škrabalo (1984) and Petar Volk (1986) also wrote notable histories of Yugoslav film. However, their histories are both lacking certain aspects of cinematography's development. While by focusing on material and aesthetic developments of different film periods Škrabalo creates a scarce selection of films to represent the cinema, Volk lacks context for placing the

young Yugoslavs were read either as examples of early educational propaganda or artistic criticisms of the communist system. Given that his book was highly influential in the study of (post-)Yugoslav cinema, it should not come as a surprise that many years after its two editions, youth film is seldom mentioned in pieces about Yugoslav cinematography.

Still, some film critics have pointed to the presence of Yugoslav genre film. This was a first step towards a recognition of the heterogeneity of Yugoslav film experience, a part of which is also youth film. For example, in the volume of essays *Novi kadrovi* (2008), younger critics analyse marginalized authors, topics and trends in Yugoslav cinematography. As the editors Dejan Ognjanović and Ivan Velisavljević explain, in the volume the focus is on the thematic which should have become prominent but ended up unjustly marginalized (2008, 6). Hence, the book includes three essays which focus on horror, crime film and films for children. However, certain contradictions which arise from the selection of essays must be noted. Namely, in his essay on horror film in Yugoslavia, Ognjanović claims that the dominant cultural atmosphere in the country was not conducive to films based on fantastic motifs (2008, 16). He further explains how this specifically targeted the "darker" aspects of fantasy "which would immediately be accused of being 'decadent' trash which was imported from the West to poison the powers of the socialist progressive revolution" (Ognjanović 2008, 16). Indeed, such an assumed communist rhetoric in film criticism sounds as if it could belong to the early post-war period of the communist government. But even if that were the case, Ognjanović's thesis

directors and films that he chooses to include in the canon. Differently, Goulding's study manages to offer both the historical and aesthetic contexts and a thorough list of films.

does not stand, because first film fantasies appeared in Yugoslav cinematography as early as 1950 (*Čudotvorni mač*/*The Miraculous Sward* by Vojislav Nanović) and 1951 (*Kekec* by Jože Gale). Interestingly, this is something Kristina Đuković debates in her essay on children's films in Yugoslavia, an essay included in the same volume (2008, 94). Not only does she mention the two films, but she sees them as the origins of Yugoslav children's film genre. As my third chapter describes, the state's control over film production was highly centralized only during the first years until 1951. But, as we learn from Đuković's accounts (2008), despite its centralized organization, the early years of cinematography offered two film fantasies for children, a fact that Ognjanović chooses to ignore in his argument. Nevertheless, although lacking serious research into the Yugoslav genre tradition and its cultural, political and cinematographic contexts, this volume signals a shift in the interest in Yugoslav cinema towards popular practices outside the war Partisan genre.

Nikica Gilić is one of the few authors who introduces Yugoslav genre film in his historical compendium *Uvod u povijest hrvatskog igranog filma* (2011). He discusses Yugoslav 1960s "populist film" and its generic proliferation in the 1970s, whose important representatives were films for children such as *Izgubljena olovka/Lost Pencil* (Fedor Škubonja, 1960), *Opasni put/Dangerous Road* (Mate Relja, 1963), or *Družba Pere Kvržice/Pera Kvržica's Troup* (Vladimir Tadej, 1970) and *Vuk samotnjak/Lone Wolf* (1972). Gilić's highlighting of the presence of genre films not only breaks with the totalitarian approach, but also opens a possibility for thinking about films for and about young people. In the section where he illustrates the heterogeneity of genres applied by a prominent director Branko Bauer, Gilić mentions Bauer's two

youth comedies *Martin u oblacima* (*Martin's Head in the Clouds*, 1961) and *Prekobrojna* (*Superfluous*, 1962). Clearly, he does not define them as representative of a separate youth genre but describes them as comedies which thematize youth's contemporary problems (Gilić 2011, 55).

By contrast, in his article "My own private Yugoslavia" (2012c), Jovanović not only locates the introduction of the youth genre to Yugoslav cinema, but also presents those films as specifically youth comedies (219). In his analysis of František Čap's *Vrata ostaju otvorena* (*The Doors Remain Open*, 1959) as socialist queer cinema, Jovanović describes Čap's beginnings in Yugoslav cinematography, whereby he posits Čap's *Vesna* (1953) and its sequel *Ne čakaj na maj* (*Don't* Whisper, 1957) as Yugoslavia's first youth comedies. Although Jovanović does not go into details about the emergence of the youth genre in the 1950s – that is, he only mentions the genre as part of Čap's oeuvre – he was the first to locate the beginning of the genre in the film *Vesna*. As Chapter 3 will argue, this film was fundamental for the appearance of the youth genre in Yugoslavia.

Not until Dimitrije Vojnov's article "Dani mladosti" (2008) was there a single piece of writing dedicated to Yugoslav youth genre exclusively. Aiming to outline the film tradition from which contemporary Serbian youth films were drawing, Vojnov offers a brief typology of Yugoslav youth cinema. He discusses three types of films: "the immortal youth" (films about young people's participation in the Second World War), "films of nostalgia" (apart from themes of maturation and coming of age, these films embody political connotations) and "the adults' perspective on youths" (youth films made by older,

experienced directors). Regarding the first category, Vojnov makes some useful observations; for instance, when he explains the main characteristic of war films which feature young characters: "The protagonists' youth is used here to emphasize the sacrifice of young fighters, their innocent dedication to the cause, readiness to escape the typical social formation, a combination of loyalty, chasteness and fragility […]" (Vojnov 2008, 48).

The article in fact presents a formalistic approach to film history, as Vojnov does not contextualize the emergence of the three types but describes their main features via several examples of his choice. Still, his choice of films is questionable, which makes his typology rather loosely defined. For example, in the "immortal youth" type he includes two war films – *Besmrtna Mladost*/*Immortal Youth* (1948, Vojislav Nanović) and *Vetar je stao pred zoru*/*The Wind Stopped Around the Time of Dawn* (1959, Radoš Novaković) – but also films which do not belong to the war genre but feature one or two characters who are the members of the resistance, Partisans, or who are undertaking military service. He therefore lists melodramas such as *Kako su se voleli Romeo i Julija*/*The Way Romeo and Juliet Loved Each Other* (1966, Jovan Živanović) in which the only link to the war topic is the characterization of post-war middle-class youth via its conflict with the generation of war veterans (Vojnov 2008, 49). Such a loosely defined typology would not be so problematic had Vojnov explained what he meant by the youth film category. But with no definition of his main typological criteria, Vojnov creates generalizations such as the "the adults' perspective on youths" type of films which could easily encompass films from the other two categories. To illustrate the point, by the time Živanović made *The Way Romeo and Juliet Loved Each Other*, he

was also an experienced director, which places his film into two of Vojnov's categories.

The listed shortcomings of Vojnov's article demonstrate the issue caused by an insufficiency of critical literature on youth cinema at the time of the article's production. Being the first of its kind, his piece should be deemed a pioneering attempt at mapping the Yugoslav tradition of youth cinematography. This article is moreover the only research conducted on the youth genre in Yugoslavia so far. Thus, although not useful for the development of my argument, Vojnov's brief overview is an important contribution to discussions about Yugoslav cinematography and its films for and about young people. But, as the youth film category still lacks a serious definition and theoretical recognition in global cinema studies, let alone in local film history, there still is no extensive study on youth film in Yugoslav cinematography. Therefore, the exploration of Yugoslav youth genre in this thesis rests predominantly on my own archival and analytical research, which the chapters in this thesis illustrate thoroughly.

The structure of the thesis

This study of youth representations in Yugoslav film of the 1960s and early 1970s presents a multifaceted analysis of several aspects: the political and social history of Yugoslavia; Yugoslav youth culture and cinematography; close analysis of the selected films with regards to the socio-political contexts of their production (including newspaper reviews and critiques of the films); the analysis of symbolic functions of coming-of-age representations in the films. This research is therefore motivated by the following questions. How did the

development of the film industry and social contexts inform the cinematic discourse of coming of age cinema in 1960s and 1970s Yugoslavia? In what ways are young protagonists represented as problematic in selected films, and what discursive processes lie behind their unfavourable representations? What does their specific form of representation reveal about the historical context? As cinematic representations of young people have the power to shape the youth as a social formation, special attention will be given to analysing the degree to which the selected films participate in and challenge the dominant discourses about youth.

This thesis is structured in five chapters, which are preceded by introduction and followed by a conclusion. The chapters consist of one theoretical chapter, two chapters in which I analyse the socio-political context, the youth's ideologization and cinematographic context, as well as two chapters with the close analyses of my selected films.

Chapter 1 introduces the interdisciplinary framework of my approach. The established framework draws on the field of cultural studies whose intellectual practice emphasizes the context as a factor which determines the production of meaning in the object of study, as much as the object of study itself. The framework therefore relies on cultural studies, film, literature and gender studies. Chapter 1 defines the theoretical concepts, methods and analytical categories that will be used in the multifaceted analyses of four films: the two main concepts (coming of age and youth film), concepts related to contextual analysis (ideology and cultural hegemony), and categories of gender, class and sexuality. The methods of narrative analysis of films and discourse analysis of

films in their contexts are explained in relation to theories of representation from which my main hypothesis draws.

Chapter 2 outlines the historical context of the selected films' production. In presenting the contradictory development of political and social circumstances from the forming of socialist Yugoslavia until its last constitution in 1974, special attention is given to the ideological premises of female emancipation and class liberation. Here, the self-management reforms are posited as the main generator of the so-called utopian phase (1963-1974) in socialist Yugoslavia. The chapter particularly focuses on the context of policies to instil communist ideology into young people illustrating, at the same time, the shifting ideal around which Yugoslav discourses about the youth were focussed. Chapter 2 not only highlights the importance of film medium in the Yugoslav Communist Party's discourses on youth's socialist upbringing, but also demonstrates that young people's enjoyment of film reveals various attitudes, different from the ones described and prescribed by the communist officials.

In a similar vein, by looking at the institutional forms and aesthetic developments of Yugoslav cinematography, Chapter 3 explores the broader cinematographic context of the films' production. The chapter focusses on the rapid evolution of the Yugoslav film industry – propelled by the self-management reforms – which laid the groundwork for the emergence of coming-of-age representations in the early 1960s. Using the results of my research pursued in the archives of Yugoslav cinema, this chapter also uncovers the rich history of youth film in Yugoslavia which the selected coming-of-age stories advance.

Chapters 4 and 5 are pivotal chapters in this thesis as they present the analyses of the selected films in their particular contexts of production. That is, the films are analysed against the backdrop of the social, political and ideological contradictions that were being generated around the time of their production. By focusing on the coming-of-age narrative structure and central motifs of maturing in the films, the chapters demonstrate how the outlined sociocultural complexities foster the unfavourable representations of the youth and their coming of age in contemporary Yugoslavia. However, by positing gender as the main organizing principle of social realities and coming-of-age narratives, this thesis offers a comparative examination of female and male maturing in Yugoslav cinema of the time.

Chapter 4 thus explores the theme of becoming a woman in Yugoslavia in the 1960s. By focusing on love and innocence as the core motifs of maturing in Jovan Živanović's *Strange Girl* and Fadil Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love*, this chapter illustrates different ways in which coming-of-age representations challenge the idea of socialist female maturation. The girls' coming of age will be analyzed within the context of Yugoslavia's opening towards Western influences and tensions between conservative and liberal tendencies. Apart from the specific ideological context of the films' production, the chapter also introduces the contrasting poetics of the two directors, which frame the films' different engagement with the dominant discourses about the youth. Additionally, Chapter 4 offers a typology of female characters which selected young heroines advance. The chapter closes with reflections on the film critiques of the time that fail to recognize the conservative and anti-progressive trends in films about Yugoslav girlhood.

Chapter 5 investigates the film reflections of the ideological processes by which boys were becoming men in the early 1970s. In this chapter, the analyses of Milan Jelić's *The Bug Killer* and Vanča Kljaković's *Get it, Man* show how representations of male coming of age challenge the idea of socialist manhood by portraying the (un)successful integration of young men from the lower classes to contemporary modern Yugoslavia. The boys' maturing and the central motifs – sexual travesty and failure – will be analysed against the backdrop of the deficient market-oriented economic reform and the unemployment crisis it generated at the time. As the two films present comical allegories which aim at commenting on the films' social contexts, coming-of-age motifs will be understood as discursive mechanisms for symbolic overcoming of the symptoms of the socio-political crisis. Like the previous chapter, Chapter 5 offers a brief history of male characters which the protagonists advance. The end of the chapter takes into consideration the critiques of the two films, as they avoid class issues in films about boys' maturing in contemporary modern Yugoslavia.

The conclusion of the thesis presents the arguments and insights developed in the two later analytical chapters and in relation to the contextual chapters. Concluding remarks show that social and political changes which led to the utopian phase of Yugoslav socialism also induced new modes of representation of the youth. As part of the new representational mode, coming-of-age cinema was engaging with dominant discourses on youth and progress in Yugoslavia. The conclusion therefore highlights the findings about the strong presence of conservative hegemonic discourses which were reproduced or challenged in the films (as well as in the official reviews and critiques of the films). Nevertheless, by showing how two of the selected films challenge the

dominant conservative beliefs, I also illustrate the spaces of resistance to such hegemonic practices. Yugoslav cinema is therefore shown to have been a heterogenous domain of (re)production of social values. Essentially, the conclusion confirms my initial hypothesis about the subversion of the main postulates of Yugoslav socialist society (female emancipation and class liberation) in the four coming-of-age film stories.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework: concepts, methods, interpretation

This thesis explores film representations of young people and their coming of age in 1960s and early 1970s socialist Yugoslavia. As youth representations convey messages about desirable and undesirable images of young people and their morality, they also disclose hegemonic discourses of the time. To investigate the relationship between selected youth films and society's main ideological premises about the youth – the making of a new socialist man – this research is pursued in an interdisciplinary manner. With respect to various debates which have been emerging about the meaning, purpose and application of the term interdisciplinarity, I primarily use it in its broad epistemological definition, as "a process of answering the question, solving a problem, or addressing a topic that is too broad or complex to be dealt with adequately by a single discipline or profession" (Klein and Newell 1997, 393). However, I also use it politically and rhetorically, following Robert Frodeman's argument that "what we choose to mix is a matter of interest and audience" (2014, 36). In the introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Interdisciplinarity* he notes the shortcomings of disciplinary knowledge: "By focusing on standards of excellence internal to a discipline academics have been able to avoid larger responsibilities of how knowledge contributes to the creation of a good and just society" (Frodeman 2010, 33-4). Precisely this is what my interdisciplinary approach aims to overcome. One of the main claims in my

study is that the analyses of youth representations not only reveal Yugoslav dominant discourses, but expose a degree to which selected films participated, or subverted them. Therefore, the impact of such an approach is twofold. First, it is intended to inform academic researchers and teachers in film studies, as well as in other related disciplines, about alternative approaches to film analysis. Second, it puts into question dominant representations of the youth constructed by these filmmakers. Such an approach could, lastly, help in mapping the continuities in hegemonic practices of representation that are present in post-Yugoslav cinematographies, inasmuch as they originate from Yugoslav film practice.

The choice of theories and methods to be used in an interdisciplinary context is one of the essential stages in this type of research. This is why an interdisciplinary approach calls for a great level of self-reflexivity, or to quote Frodeman again:

> success at integrating different perspectives and types of knowledge – whether for increased insight, or for greater purchase on a societal problem – is a matter of manner rather than of method, requiring a sensitivity to nuance and context, a flexibility of mind, and an adeptness at navigating and translating concepts.
>
> (2010, 32)

Due to the diverse nature of research questions to be answered by my historical, cultural and film analyses, I will be using concepts and methods from cultural studies, film, literature and gender studies. This chapter, therefore, elaborates my interdisciplinary approach for the analyses of selected youth films. It begins by explaining cultural studies as the main framework within which the research is pursued: an intellectual practice

whose methodological weaknesses will be avoided by introducing some of the criticisms from the works of a cultural theorist, Mieke Bal, and a feminist historian of science, Donna Haraway. The chapter then moves on to introducing the main concepts to be used in the analysis of all four films (coming of age and youth film). The third section presents my interpretative framework based on the theories of representation and concepts of ideology and cultural hegemony which are related to such contextual analysis. The chapter closes with the defining of analytical categories and other related notions – gender (femininity and masculinity), class (symbolic and cultural capital, symbolic violence), and sexuality (institutional heterosexuality and heteronormativity) – which are to be used in separate film analyses.

1.1. Cultural studies revisited

In the past decades, theorists have struggled to find a unique definition for cultural studies, as for the most part it is a practice organized around various approaches, theories and objects of study. Broadly speaking, cultural studies is an eclectic, critical and deconstructivist practice. Or as Snježana Milivojević in her monograph *Mediji, ideologija i kultura* (2015) defines it in relation to media studies: „Cultural studies is specific in a sense that it sets up a fundamental task for itself to explore the signifying practice – how are meanings produced, and how are they fixed, conventionalized, exchanged and accepted through the work of media“ (14). The project of cultural studies, however, begins with Richard Hoggart's foundation of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham in 1964. But, as one of its later directors, Stuart Hall, argues, the

institutionalization of cultural studies was preceded by an already established field, initially charted in the 1950s (2005, 3). Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (1957), Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society* (1958) and *The Long Revolution* (1961), and E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) are considered to be "the originating texts, the original 'curriculum', of the field" (Hall et al 2005, 3). These books paved the way for the radical shift in thinking about culture, which in the later works of cultural studies was linked with social structures and hierarchies. Thus, the intellectual discourse of cultural studies was from the very beginning relying on a diverse theoretical heritage. Hall explains this clearly:

> Cultural Studies has multiple discourses; it has a number of different histories. It is a whole set of formations; it has its own different conjunctures and moments in the past. It included many different kinds of work […] It had many trajectories; many people had and have different theoretical positions, all of them in contention.
>
> (1992, 278)

The practice of cultural studies is the main framework for my thesis in the sense that my research relies on some particular insights from this field: defining culture as "a whole way of life" (Williams 1961, 63); re-introducing class as an analytical category, but also disrupting its centrality in the analyses by accepting feminism's insistence on gender; understanding ideology not in a classical Marxist view – as false consciousness – but as a site of class struggle; introducing Antonio Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony as a "temporary mastery of a particular theatre of struggle" (Hall 2005, 24); re-defining popular culture as a site of conflict and resistance of the marginal groups of the society; and, lastly, using context so that it equally defines its object and its practice. Cultural studies offers a variety of theoretical approaches which intermittently

function inside the main framework defined by such understandings. Lawrence Grossberg in *Cultural Studies in the Future Tense* gives perhaps the most suitable definition for my thesis:

> it [cultural studies] is concerned with describing and intervening in the ways cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structures of power. […] It attempts to use the best intellectual resources available to gain a better understanding of the state of play of power as a balance in the field of forces constitutive of a particular context, believing that such knowledge will better enable people to change the context and hence the relations of power.
>
> (2010, 8)

To develop my main argument in this study, I am pursuing analysis which follows the practice demonstrated by the field's principal ideas.

A paradigmatic shift in thinking about culture which the practice of cultural studies initiated is integral to my research because I analyse selected youth films as products of popular culture. As such, these films participate in discursive structures of power, by engaging with Yugoslav hegemonic discourses. Still, to get "a better understanding of the state of play of power" to which Grossberg in his definition refers, a great part of my research is dedicated to establishing contexts – general historical and aesthetic contexts, and interpretative contexts based on socio-political contradictions of the time. This is further in support of some of the criticisms aimed at problematic uses of cultural studies. Graeme Turner, in his book *British Cultural Studies* (1990), warns about the dangers of the uncritical appropriation of cultural studies so that the British problem is the "standard to which the rest of the world provides variants" (5). Similarly, Ien Ang and David Morley argue against

turning British cultural studies "into a free-floating transnational academic paradigm for the field as a whole" (Morley 1992, 2), because "the place and relevance of cultural studies varies from context to context and has to be related to the specific character of local forms of political and intellectual discourse as culture" (Ang and Morley 1989, 135). The gist of their criticism was later articulated in Grossberg's notion of radical contextuality: "the identity, significance, and effects of any practice or event (including cultural practices and events) are defined only by the complex set of relations that surround, interpenetrate, and shape it, and make it what it is" (2010, 20). Thus, cultural studies theorists saw a solution to uncritical appropriation of the field in making the context both its object of study and its practice.

Notwithstanding the importance of such methodological innovations which strengthen the field's legitimacy in theoretical competing arenas, insisting on making the context its equal object of study has often worked against the primary objects of study (films, musical pieces, magazine articles etc.). Mieke Bal's seminal piece *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (2002) not only presents a relevant critique of this and other problematic aspects in cultural studies but offers a solution to overcoming them by suggesting what she calls "cultural analysis" (6).[2] In the book, Bal

[2] Bal is not the only critic of cultural studies. Its theoretical weak points have been a topic of many discussions. Jim McGuigan (1992), for instance, accuses some of the authors in cultural studies of cultural populism – a way of glorifying popular culture, hence taking an uncritical approach to consumerism. Marjorie Ferguson and Peter Golding (1997) criticize the fact that most of the papers in cultural studies work on media artefacts only, instead of exploring culture as a whole way of life like Raymond Williams described it. In their analyses of media artefacts, Ferguson and Golding argue, these authors show no interest in the means of production, but only in structure and its elements. Clearly, different theorists pointed to different methodological and theoretical shortcomings of cultural studies. The focus in this chapter is solely on Bal's insights.

elaborates her approach which anchors the humanities in interdisciplinarity: "namely, interdisciplinarity in the humanities, necessary, exciting, serious, must seek its heuristic and methodological basis in *concepts* rather than *methods*" (2002, 5). Still, because concepts are sites of debate and exchange, there must be some sort of agreement on how to use them. Therefore, in the process of cultural analysis, one must – in Bal's words – agree on the basic rules of the game: "if you use a concept at all, you use it in a particular way so that you can meaningfully disagree on content" (2002, 13). Nevertheless, by coining the term cultural analysis – paying careful attention to the history and epistemology of both of its notions (culture and analysis) – Bal does two things valuable for my research. First, she outlines fundamental problems with cultural studies, which the idea of cultural analysis is sought to remedy. Second, she reinstates the practice of close reading because, as she claims: "No concept is meaningful for cultural analysis unless it helps us to understand the object better *on its* – the object's – *own terms*" (Bal 2002, 8).

Bal begins by stating the major achievement of cultural studies: "By challenging methodological dogma, and elitist prejudice and value judgement, cultural studies has been uniquely instrumental in at least making the academic community aware of the conservative nature of its endeavours, if not everywhere forcing it to change" (2002, 6). She goes on to explain the three problems with the practice of cultural studies, two of which are concerned with their inherently interdisciplinary character and the way it supports predominant power structures at universities. For the purposes of this thesis, I will focus on her first claim about the question of content and practice. The

inter-discipline of cultural studies, as Bal calls it, suffered difficulties in challenging disciplinary boundaries. Despite its great innovation being "to pay attention to a different kind of object" (Bal 2002, 6), cultural studies has not developed "a methodology to counter the exclusionary methods of the separate disciplines" (6-7). Instead, its refusal of rigid methodology led to the neglecting of this different kind of object entirely. Quite the contrary, Bal insists "on the participation of the object in the production of meaning that 'analysis' constitutes" (2002, 9). She calls for the renewal of the former theoretical practice of cultivation of the object and its details, brought about by critical approaches to literature in previous centuries (i.e. New Criticism, literary hermeneutics or *explication de texte*). In other words, Bal reintroduces the practice of close reading, not in its original meaning, but as a return to the careful analysis of the object. Both of her arguments have a valid place in my research. Namely, by defining concepts of coming of age and youth film so that they are suitable for my study, I am not only relying on their capacity to explain certain types of objects and processes, but also enriching and transforming their content (*disagreeing* with earlier conceptualizations). My cultural analysis will thus generate new sets of knowledges about ideas which have historically surrounded these concepts. To this end, my interdisciplinary involvement with concepts of coming of age and youth film is via close engagement with the object of my study: analysing films by using both narrative and discourse analysis.

It is, finally, useful to introduce the last type of methodological intervention in my cultural studies' framework – Donna Haraway's concept of

situated knowledges which she develops in her article "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective" (1988). In a similar fashion to Bal's cultural analysis, Haraway's concept is valuable for thinking about the use of context in cultural studies. But, while Bal focuses on the methodological issue of the (eluding) object of the analysis in cultural studies, Haraway is interested in epistemological aspects of scientific objectivity in general. Haraway's quest for a novel epistemological positioning of the sciences touches upon the issue of radicalness of social constructionists, which cultural theorists like Grossberg also find problematic. Namely, as Grossberg explains in his book, cultural studies' radical contextualization is embodied in the concept of articulation: "Articulation names both the basic processes of the production of reality, of the production of contexts and power (i.e., determination or effectivity), and the analytic practice of cultural studies" (2010, 21). That is, articulation is cultural studies' version of constructionism. But, in contrast to such approaches, he argues, cultural studies recognizes the real in the constructed, hence it does not deny the material reality in the discursive (2010, 23).

In a similar way, Haraway criticizes the social-constructionist perspective on science:

> From this point of view, science – the real game in town – is rhetoric, a series of efforts to persuade relevant social actors that one's manufactured knowledge is a route to a desired form of very objective power. […] Here, artifacts and facts are parts of the powerful art of rhetoric. […] History is a story Western culture buffs tell each other; science is a contestable text and a power field; the content is the form; Period.
>
> (1988, 577)

Still, Haraway offers an alternative to such "epistemological electroshock therapy" (1988, 578), as she metaphorically describes it. For her, radical social constructionism is an attempt at overcoming the episteme of objectivity: a "conquering gaze from nowhere," the unmarked category (social and historical positions of white men) which claims power to represent while escaping the representation (581). However, such radical perspective is for her not acceptable, because one simply cannot live according to deconstructivist postulates of thinking in binaries or denying the possibility of any kind of truth that would "[lay] us out on the table with self-induced multiple personality disorder" (578). Haraway's solution lies in what she calls the situated knowledges – a kind of objectivity based on self-reflexivity and bridging of the split between the subject and the object of knowledge production. In this way, produced knowledge makes the knower answerable for what they see, i.e. what they learn how to see (583). In other words, feminist objectivity – which is about limited location and situated knowledges – reduces the space of accountability of what is known, for the subject also becomes the object of knowing.

For my research, this means several things. In approaching my selected Yugoslav youth films, I must keep in mind what my cultural and feminist take on these films entails. Such analysis requires a use of theoretical notions which were relatively recently developed in humanities and social sciences and are often at odds with earlier historical contexts. This epistemological conflict necessitates the involvement of cultural studies' principle of radical contextualization (exploring power relations in Yugoslav reality of the time in

its social, political and aesthetic formations) but also employing categories of gender and class for the historization of the represented youth. The latter task, as feminist historian Joan W. Scott explains in her influential article "The Evidence of Experience" (1991), is "a way of exploring how difference is established, how it operates, how and in what ways it constitutes subjects who see and act in the world" (777). As a reaction to orthodox histories which take representational categories at face value, historization is in fact Haraway's quest for limited location and situated knowledge. Finally, self-reflexivity as the fundamental element of Haraway's feminist objectivity is present in my research in mindful uses of certain cultural categories, such as normality, virginity, innocence, etc. In the text, this will be marked by single inverted commas to indicate the awareness of their sexist and classist uses throughout history.

1.2. Overarching concepts

Concepts of coming of age and youth film are crucial for the arguments I am developing here. To elaborate and defend the main claim about coming of age in Yugoslav cinema, I must employ concepts that deal with notions of maturing, transition, integration, and ideas surrounding the issue of film representation of such notions. The following subsections present explanations of these overarching concepts in my thesis.

1.2.1. Coming of age

Depending on the field of enquiry, the coming of age can be defined in a variety of ways. The notion belongs equally to medical, psychological, legal and cultural fields. Still, all definitions share the narrative of transition and

transformation, when a young person enters a new life domain. In broad terms, they share a narrative of development and maturation. According to *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, coming of age means the reaching of adulthood by a young person. But, the reaching of adulthood in the medical sense focuses on biological changes such as sexual maturity, while psychological definition includes a whole set of behavioural characteristics aiming at achieving emotional maturity. In its broadest sense, legal definition of the term in modern Western societies assumes a convention according to which a young person after a certain age (usually 18 or 21) stops being considered a minor and gets recognized by the law as an adult accountable for their actions. Cultural appropriations of the term are not only manifold but combine all other definitions. They can include traditional understandings of maturing in some societies – this is usually followed with the rite of passage rituals; social perceptions of youth and adulthood which are grounded in medical, psychological and legal norms; identity formations, such as adolescent cultures and subcultures; literary and cinema works based on the coming-of-age narrative, which also form a popular youth genre.

Even though my thesis explores youth films, coming of age is in my research conceptualized as a social issue, and not as a film (sub)genre. There are several reasons for this, and they are closely linked to the context in which my selected youth films were made. Coming-of-age film as we know it today is a product of modern cinema industries, and Hollywood in particular, which relies heavily on the rules of the so-called formula films. Formula film is "a motion picture which has used familiar plotting devices and tested subject

matter in the development of a film story" (Beaver 2006, 106). Such films therefore imitate the previously successful works, through copying the elements which made those films original at the time (106). A film which could be deemed the prototype of American coming-of-age films is, for instance, George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973): it proved to be a successful coming-of-age formula used in films like *The Lords of Flatbush* (Martin Davidson and Stephen Verona, 1974), *Cooley High* (Michael Schultz, 1975) or a television sitcom *Happy Days* (Garry Marshall, 1974-1984). Still, this is not to say that all American coming-of-age films are formula films. There is a great variety of films which go beyond the formula, but they are being made within the American independent film market. Another issue is that textbooks in film studies, such as *AS Film Studies: The Essential Introduction* (Benyahia, Gaffney and White 2006), explain coming-of-age film as "often a sub-genre of the teen movie" (271). Moreover, in his theoretical guide, *Film Studies* (2005), Andrew Butler makes no mention of coming-of-age film whatsoever but talks about the teen film which he defines as every film made after the 1950s that is directed at youthful audiences (153). So, when in film studies coming-of-age film is defined as a genre, it is predominantly qualified in relation to its profitable mode of production or youthful audiences with whom these films strike a resonant chord.

The Bildungsroman

Coming of age as a social issue which *Strange Girl*, *Three Hours for Love*, *The Bug Killer* and *Get It, Man* portray, will thus be explored though the means of the coming-of-age narrative. In other words, these films will be analysed as coming-of-age film stories. Since the coming-of-age story resists any precise

definition in literary history, it is useful to reach for the novelistic *Bildungsroman*, for they both reside on narratives about maturing. Classical Bildungsroman, or the novel of personal development and education, originates from the 18th century German literary tradition. A novel paradigmatic of the genre is Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* from 1796. The plot in the Bildungsroman revolves around a young (male) protagonist who experiences an actual and metaphorical journey of maturing, and thus after a number of misapprehensions and disappointments 'makes his peace' with the world. Petra Rau (2003), in her literary essay for an online reference work *The Literary Encyclopaedia*, explains this further: "Initially the aim of this journey is reconciliation between the desire for individuation (self-fulfilment) and the demands of socialisation (adaptation to a given social reality)". However, as Jürgen Jakobs and Markus Krause stress in *Der deutsche Bildungsroman: Gattungsgeschichte vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (1989), the final reconciliation is depicted in this novel with a sense of irony, as throughout the journey the protagonist is usually aware of his quest of finding his own place in the world (38). The irony at the end of the journey comes from the protagonist's true realization of the place in the world which he acquires. Lastly, the classical Bildungsroman is closely linked to the context in which it originated, because the term *Bildung* connotes German traditional cultural values of the time. Or, as Rau concludes: "Merging education, development and formation, Bildung became synonymous with a bourgeois ideal of subjectivity as a possibly open-ended process" (2003).

Since the 18th century, the Bildungsroman has undergone many modifications, appropriations and revisions. It was particularly criticized and re-modified by feminist literary scholars in the 20th and 21st century. For instance, arguing for the foundation of a female Bildungsroman in literary history and theory, Ellen McWilliams (2009) notes a change of perception in the genre: "In the process of the Bildungsroman's naturalization into English it has taken on a new meaning, partly removed from the ideology of its past" (11). Therefore, the genre today is globally recognized "as a synonym for exploring aspects of human progress and development" (12). In a similar way, Abel, Hirsch and Langland (1983) in their introduction to *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development* observe how apart from psychological and social factors in the original form of the genre, the Bildungsroman has successfully integrated many other historical and cultural variables, except gender (4-5). They state that gender is omitted as a pertinent category "despite the fact that the sex of the protagonist modifies every aspect of a particular Bildungsroman: its narrative structure, its implied psychology, its representation of social pressures" (5). This is why they suggest the transformation of the genre into a more flexible category which gains its validity from being a useful conceptual tool (14). One example from their edited volume is Marianne Hirsch's analysis of the character of Antigone, which takes the Bildungsroman as a process that valorises progress, social involvement, heterosexuality and 'normality'.

Drawing on such accounts of the Bildungsroman, my research uses the narrative which is at the centre of the genre: a journey of maturing, filled with

obstacles and disappointments which ends with the protagonist's assimilation into society. The narrative is thus a tool for analysing both the problematic coming of age of the young protagonists, and society which renders it problematic in the first place. Selected youth films not only reconstitute the narrative characteristics of the Bildungsroman, but also some of the themes such as the generational conflict, sexual awakening, a search for work or a profession etc. Still, having in mind the contextual specificities of the youth films in question, coming of age in these films is best described as a journey during which young protagonists encounter the uncertainties and the delights of modern city life.

1.2.2. Youth film

Although studies of youth film are gaining greater popularity across the globe, to which a growing number of books and articles on the subject from the 2000s onward is a testament, an actual consensus on defining the category of the youth film and its development in cinema history is still missing. Film scholars, nevertheless, agree about one thing: youth film is a rather vague notion. It can go under a number of different categories – teenpics, teen entertainment films, coming-of-age films, cinematic Bildungsroman – which do not necessarily designate the same type of cinematic work. This is why youth film as a distinctive category of narrative film is absent from most of the major critical compendiums, general film histories and introductory books to the study of cinema. Indeed, scholars became interested in adolescent cinema only just in the 1980s, with books like *The Cinema of Adolescence* by David Considine (1985) and *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in*

the 1950s by Thomas Doherty ([1988] 2002). Still, Matthew Schmidt's (2002) doctoral thesis on coming of age in American cinema is so far the only comprehensive study on the history and aesthetics of modern youth films which deal with coming of age. In the thesis, he notices that youth films are widely rejected as a contemporary genre, and offers a thorough research in the published criticism and histories of American cinema: apart from a few general surveys of the history of cinema by Robert Sklar (1993) and Mast and Kawin (1996), two introductory textbooks for film studies by Graeme Turner (1993) and Louis Giannetti (1993), and Emanuel Levy's (1999) critical survey of the narrative independent film, no other publication recognises the youth film as a distinctive genre (Schmidt 2002, 68-9). Since Schmidt's doctoral thesis, Timothy Shary has published a monograph *Generation Multiplex: The Image of Youth in Contemporary American Cinema* (2002), which was followed by his several other works on youth film and a co-edited volume with Alexandra Seibel *Youth Culture in Global Cinema* (2007). Shary's publications on youth film resulted in a broader recognition of the youth genre in film studies: e.g. a third revised edition of Barry Keith Grant's *Film Genre Reader III* ([1986] 2003) finally included Shary's article on youth film as representative of film genres.

Here I am foregrounding only the sharp edge of a quite complicated history of youth genre. According to Shary in *Generation Multiplex* (2002), the genre of youth film originates in the 1950s Hollywood film industry. During the 1950s, American adolescent youths were recognized as a new kind of market: they were constructed as a novel social formation to be appropriated and re-shaped by the film industry. Namely, at the beginning of the 20th

century, there was no general consensus around the very notion of what is meant by the term 'youth' (Shary 2002, 3). Children in the United States would go to school until the age of 14, after which they would either find a job, or get married and have children by the age of 18, when their childhood period would formally end (3). After the Second World War, public debates about the age between childhood and adulthood enriched the understandings of youth, hence also childhood and adulthood (3). It was then that the figure of a teenager appeared as a socially recognized category. The fast economic recovery after the war allowed American teenagers to become independent – a possibility to work and study at the same time granted opportunities for earning extra money which they could spend on entertainment outside their homes (3-4). Additionally, the automobile industry which was inducing teenagers' desire to travel across the country, and the youth's reception of rock'n'roll music contributed greatly to this new social formation (3). Perhaps the best film representation of the 1950s teenager is the protagonist Jim Stark from Nicolas Ray's *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). According to both Shary and Schmidt, this film marks the beginning of the youth genre, in terms of the industry's fresh confrontation with the plight of the youth.

Narrative approach

Roughly speaking, one can distinguish several types of films for and about young people: films for children, youth comedies, youth melodramas, teenpics and modern youth films. Due to youth film's ambiguity and a lack of critical response in film theory, scholars across various disciplines approach it in different ways. For instance, Thomas Doherty in his research of American teenpics, *Teenagers and Teenpics* (2002), looks at the relation between the film

production, its "exploitation formula" (7) and profitable topics that kept certain thematic cycles of teenage films perpetuating for several decades. To quote Doherty: "A movie is said to 'exploit' an audience when it reflects on screen the audience's expectations and values" (5). He is, consequentially, interested in juvenile audiences and the creation of a specific post-World War Two youth market, and particularly their economic relevance for the entertainment industry. In a different vein, Shary (2002) offers a model of youth genre studies based on social types. In "Teen Films: The Cinematic Image of Youth" (2003b) he defines youth films by the ages of the films' characters and not by their subject matter, whereas its sub-genres fall along the lines of young characters' ranges of experience: school, relationships, delinquency (492). By focusing on the image of the youth exclusively, Shary also distinguishes narrative motifs through which "cultural attitudes towards teenagers and [...] teenagers' fantasies about themselves" are being represented (Shary 2003a, 39). However, both Doherty and Shary base their research on teenpics – films that exploit teenagers' fears and joys rather than probe them critically – insisting on looking at the youth film as a unique genre, to which degree they define it in terms of its juvenile audiences.

Only Schmidt moves away from the genre approach and offers a narrative categorization which brings together a number of film stories that:

> [...] organize their dramatic action around young protagonists and dramatize situations and events that bear upon the child's initiation into new domains of social and psychological experience and the adolescent's and postadolescent's encounters with the pleasures and perils of modern life.
>
> (2002, 6-7)

Schmidt's conceptualization of the American youth film category bases on finding a common narrative focus in experiences and psychological states which are generally associated with childhood, adolescence and post-adolescence (Schmidt 2002, 75). According to him, this term "loosely connects a number of more specific kinds of narratives ranging from seriocomic entertainments to iconoclastic comedy-dramas, social problem films to more personal, quasi-autobiographical works by modern directors, encompassing a wide sweep of character types, conflicts, actions, and milieus" (Schmidt 2002, 6). Youth films included by Schmidt's category range from go from *Rebel Without A Cause* (1955), *To Kill A Mockingbird* (Robert Mulligan, 1962), *Splendour in the Grass* (Elia Kazan, 1961)*, Hud* (Martin Ritt, 1963), to *The Graduate* (Mike Nichols, 1967), *The Learning Tree* (Gordon Parks, 1969), *The Last Picture Show* (Peter Bogdanovich, 1971), *American Graffiti* (George Lucas, 1973), *Mean Streets* (Martin Scorsese, 1973), or *Welcome to the Dollhouse* (Todd Solondz, 1995). Drawing on labels that film critics and audiences have attached to these films – "coming-of-age films", "rites-of-passage films" or "cinematic Bildungsroman" – Schmidt recognises that a leitmotif of self-development is central to youth films (2002, 76-7). He roughly distinguishes between four types of developmental motifs that can be found in American youth films: childhood initiation, coming of age in adolescence, Bildungsroman youth films, and romance and sexuality. Therefore, the motifs of loss, separation and abandonment dramatize the childhood initiation in relation to the child's emotive connections with the family (Schmidt 2002, 83-7). Similarly, adolescents in youth films wish to liberate themselves from their unconscious identification with parents as they come of age, and this is usually

represented via romantic relationships or generational conflicts (Schmidt 2002, 87-92). Youth films as the Bildungsroman aim for the reconciliation of the (post)adolescent's transformed self with political and social antagonisms in society (Schmidt 2002, 92-104), whereas motifs of romance and sexuality generate the popular coming-of-age scenario based on adolescent's discovery of love and sex which initiates his/her struggle to acknowledge the meaning of moral responsibility (104-111).

All developmental motifs centre on moments of a protagonist's personal crisis after which (s)he "achieves – or sometimes fails to realize – a greater self-understanding and knowledge of the world, a more mature identity" (Schmidt 2002, 82). This is what fundamentally separates Schmidt's approach from other genre and audience approaches: by focusing on narrative structure (young protagonist's narrative voice and cinematic point-of-view) and its central motif, he creates a more flexible and inclusive category than ones in film genre studies. This allows Schmidt to discuss films which are not necessarily intended for the young but do dramatize processes of maturing that are telling of the adult world into which these protagonists grow up. Moreover, it allows him to talk about both mainstream and auteur films, for what brings them together is not the means of production or distribution, but a set of cinematic and literary narrative conventions. Therefore, Schmidt's defining of youth films as a family of modern narrative types enables me to pursue film analysis so that it moves away from the problematic of authorship and audience approaches, and focuses on narrative and discourse analysis.

1.3. The transformative power of (youth) cinema

One of the most provocative subjects in cinema studies is the issue of authorship. This complex question is grounded in the cinematic medium's precondition for collaborative work between the author/director, screenwriter, production team, film editor, sound editor, production designer, actors and the rest of the film crew, where only the figure of the director is given the credit for the overall production. Although this problematic deserves a serious theoretical reflection, possibly by a sociologist of art or researchers in the field of cultural industries, for the purposes of this research the issue of authorship will be contested by recognising that all art is produced collectively. Janet Wolf, in her book *The Social Production of Art* (1993), notes the collective nature of art production: while the film medium necessitates a direct collaborative work, the collective nature of artistic 'individual activity' resides in the indirect involvement of a number of people, from teachers and innovators in the style to critics, art dealers and publishers (119). To that end – and in light of Roland Barthes' proclamation of the death of the Author – this research draws on the tradition of thinking which sees all works of art, films included, as "[…] the products of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in the given conditions [which] therefore bear the imprints of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of these groups" (Wolf 1993, 49). The author, as Wolf argues, thus becomes a figure that is constituted in language, ideology and social relations (1993, 136). Similarly, Marcia Landy in *British Genres: Cinema and Society 1930-1960* (1991) assumes films, and genre films in particular, to be "speaking in a language of conflicting attitudes and values that provide insights into British culture and ideologies" (5). In this

way, films function as arenas of acceptable social attitudes and values which can be articulated, ignored or subverted (Landy 1991, 28). In her attempts at mapping the ways exemplary British genres become instrumental in forming the culture's conception of itself, Landy illustrates how genre production functions as a power in cultural representations, as it negotiates images of gender, sexuality, family, class, race, nation and history (1991, 13-4).

What lies behind this approach is the conviction that cinema has a transformative power and a role to play in social changes. By producing cinematic representations of social groups and categories films are also fixing certain ways of looking at and thinking about these groups and categories. Or, put differently, films construct images and ideas about groups and categories which they represent. By doing so, they also participate in multiple discursive processes that have already been shaping the ways of regarding the social groups and categories in question. But, not only are films intervening in the power dynamics of everyday social relations, they also have the ability to influence how members of represented social groups identify themselves and how they perceive the world around them. As Michael Pickering stresses in his study *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*:

> public representations have the power to select, arrange, and prioritise certain assumptions and ideas about different kinds of people, bringing some to the fore, dramatizing and idealising or demonising them, while casting others into the social margins, so that they have little active public presence or only a narrow and negative public image.
>
> (2001, xiii)

Thus, the politics of representation include both the power to speak of and for others, and a part of the transformative approach to cinema is also analysing

the repercussions of providing images of others for structures and relations of social power (see Pickering 2001).

For all these reasons, this research relies on two main methods. Films will be analysed by using narrative analysis and critical discourse analysis. Analysis of the film's narrative will be based on sequences of events, characters and/or narrators, and cinematic point(s) of view. In the structure of a coming-of-age story, the main focal point and a narrative voice are given to the young protagonist as it is his or her consciousness that structures the dramatic action. Critical discourse analysis will be pursued with particular focus on concepts of power, hegemony, exclusion and representation. Discourse as the logic of the relationship between the message (the youths' coming of age), the media (youth film) and society is at the core of my discursive approach.

Drawing on the insights of social constructivism which sees reality as made via signifying practices of naming, defining and interpreting (see Berger and Luckmann 1966), this research takes communication as one of the main processes through which reality is being constructed. By producing meaning through language, representation links language with culture (Hall 1997), and if language is understood as a semiotic practice of visual, textual or sound articulation, then language is also constructing and organising social reality (Tonkiss 1998). Following on poststructuralist claims about discourse as inherently political – it involves a struggle over meaning, status, power, resources – Paul E. Corcoran defines language as "a complex of intersubjective, public and appropriative practices that privilege some and exploit others" (1990, 70). Moreover, language in the broad sense is "inevitably political

because it prescribes, constraints, socializes, reinforces and conserves the status quo" (Corcoran 1990, 70). Taken as a social process, communication reveals continuity in representational practices: one can recognize a repetition of certain circumstances which favour specific significations and meanings against all other significations and meanings (Milivojević 2015, 27). Over time, such circumstances turn into cultural patterns according to which the signifying practice in one society is being regulated (Milivojević 2015, 27). Finally, the discursive approach in Hall's words

> […] examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and subjectivities, and defines the way in which certain things are represented, thought about, practiced and studied.
>
> (1997, 6)

My analysis of selected youth films will thus reveal narrative mechanisms through which the films' engagement with dominant discourses lies on the spectrum from reproducing to subverting them. As such, it will point to the existence of continuities in representational practices – or the lack thereof – so that the question of problematic youth and their maturing unveils the conflicting social relations of power, which fuelled the dominant discourses in the first place.

1.3.1. Ideology and hegemony

Certainly, all approaches to the study of the transformative power of cinema are inextricable from the way notions of ideology and hegemony are understood in this study. As the concept of ideology has been in the centre of attention in many critical traditions – from Marxist, functionalist, and

psychoanalytical, to neo-Kantian, Weberian, structuralist, and postmodernist theories – it seems impossible to speak of one acceptable definition. Still, to answer the methodological requirements of this research, I will be relying on the analytical model of ideology Siniša Malešević suggests in his study *Ideology, Legitimacy and the New State: Yugoslavia, Serbia and Croatia* (2002). Drawing from several theories of ideology, both accepting and rejecting certain postulates, Malešević's model recognises social reality as discursively constructed, with privileged participants in social changes whose interpretations of social reality frame the symbolic hegemony in one society or a historical period (2002, 47-8). Ideology is thus seen as a set of beliefs and practices which are politically oriented towards a certain conceptual organisation of a society (51). However, ideology should be approached by separately looking at its 'normative' (formulated in the official doctrine) and 'operative' (expressed through its functioning in institutional structures of everyday life) modes of functioning (1). It follows that cinema and cinematic representations belong to the operative rather than the normative mode of ideology. Cinema presents us with ideas and practices expressed in visual form which – in the realms of social reality – symbolize certain moral norms, individual or group interests and their powerful knowledge that aim at justifying the existing (or potential) ideological social action (see Malešević 2002).

In its original Gramscian sense of the word, hegemony stands for the consensual ruling of a particular social group (class) who are managing to impose their own interpretation of the world in a way that the subordinate

groups accept it as 'natural' and grounded in common sense (see Gramsci 1971). What provides the base for such cultural hegemony is the existing ideology. Gramsci's concept has also been highly influential in studies about gender, class and sexual identities (see Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) in which it explains the same kind of hierarchical ruling of the privileged gender, class or sexual social groups. (For instance, the concept of hegemonic masculinity explains how a white male manager in neoliberal cultures of the 21st century embodies more social power than a black or a white blue-collar worker.) This approach allows for deconstructing directors' concealed hegemonism. But it also aims at exploring films whose representations engage with hegemonic patterns by challenging certain ideas, values and norms that resonate with dominant ideological discourses in Yugoslavia.

1.4. Mapping representations

Roughly speaking, the aim of this research necessitates a twofold approach. The thesis, on the one hand, explores the means by which young people in selected youth films are represented as problematic, and analyses different ways through which the youth's maturation speaks of the films' contexts, on the other. At the centre of both tasks is narrative analysis of the films with a particular focus on young protagonists and their maturation. Therefore, in individual film analysis, I rely on categories of gender (femininity/masculinity), class (symbolic and cultural capital, symbolic violence), and sexuality (institutional heterosexuality and heteronormativity). My research is also intersectional (Crenshaw 1989; Anzaldúa 1987; Anzaldúa

and Keating 2002): the analytical categories constitute each other in multiple processes of shaping the protagonists' identities; therefore, processes of identification cannot be understood in their full complexity if categories are employed independently. To illustrate, the analytical focus on class differences inevitably shifts us towards gender regimes, for belonging to a certain social class entails performing certain male and female roles. Class distinction, in this way, secures the path of manifesting one's gender identity, and the other way around, being a man or a woman affects how one recognizes one's own class belonging.

1.4.1. Gender

To conceptualize gender as analytical category central to my film analysis, I must first introduce the originating ideas of gender theory which are closely related to the history of this field. These are the feminist assumptions of gender, sexual difference and patriarchy. All three ideas originate from Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* [1949] – perhaps the most influential feminist classic – and they outline the scope of my interest in using gender as an analytical category. De Beauvoir's fundamental claim that "one is not born a woman, but rather becomes, a woman" ([1949] 2010, 283) is the basis of emancipatory (the so-called second-wave) feminist theses about women's history and their status in contemporary societies in the 1960s and 1970s, when women's/gender studies programmes were first institutionalized. This is, in fact, what constitutes the definitions of gender – the idea that women are not determined by biology, but by social and historical circumstances. A 'woman', as much as a 'man', presents a set of gender roles which society

assigns, and a person acquires, through the effects of social institutions of everyday life.

By examining women's representation throughout history, as well as investigating how women see themselves, De Beauvoir defines the source of women's oppression and outlines mechanisms which kept it alive for centuries. According to her, sexual difference between men and women is the essence of every comparison, evaluation and analysis of the hierarchical systems of power. Or, as Iris van der Tuin notes:

> De Beauvoir demonstrates that social structures, psychological processes, moral values, and representations are structured according to these mutually exclusive oppositions. Then she goes on to show that each such binary opposition is, in fact, gendered. [...] The third step in de Beauvoir's argument then consists of showing that gender-specific connotations are not simply structured as binary oppositions, but are organized hierarchically. Masculinity, de Beauvoir sustains, is always valued higher. [...] The scheme of gendered oppositions […] still forms one of the pillars of contemporary feminism and of gender studies as a discipline.
>
> (2009, 13)

The system of values that supports and generates the reproduction of sexual difference in culture – inasmuch as in everyday life – and which turns female and male human beings (sex) into women and men (gender) is patriarchy. Patriarchy, as appropriated and explained by the emancipatory feminists Katheen Gough and Adrienne Rich, is male power consisting of characteristics such as denying women their own sexuality, forcing male sexuality upon them, commanding or exploiting their labour to control their produce, controlling or robbing them of their children, confining them physically and preventing their movement, using them as objects in male transactions and cramping their creativeness (Rich 1980, 639).

Given that in later developments in feminist thought these concepts were criticized in the second-wave feminist writing for their essentialist definition – thinking that there is a solid identity of a woman, which separates her from a man – the re-conceptualizations made by feminist theorists after the 1980s are also taken into consideration here. Novel approaches to such concepts called for the more radical social constructivism, the acknowledgement of heterogeneity of experiences (abandoning thus the identity politics and embracing the politics of difference), and the intersectionality of living conditions. However, theoretical shifting in gender studies which was inspired by poststructuralist thinking tendencies is not part of my conceptualization of gender as the category for narrative film analysis. As Sophia Phoca in *The Routledge Companion to Feminism and Postfeminism* ([1998] 2006) points out:

> Contemporary feminism has employed deconstructive strategies in order to destabilise a binary model inscribed in the masculine/feminine dyad. […] Rather than trying to reverse this so that the feminine will be privileged over the masculine, as emancipatory feminism has striven to do, these feminists have attempted to destabilise the foundational structures on which binarism relies.
>
> (46)

The concept of gender was hence expanded to mean the very deconstruction of the notion of a woman. That is, the 'woman' in these novel theorizations of gender becomes a fictional entity to be inscribed with meanings. Although highly important for contemporary theoretical thought, such feminist rethinking of gender and sexual identities is not suitable for my analysis here because I use these notions as tools for structuring protagonists' relationships with other characters, their own identities and dominant discourses inherent

to patriarchal systems of power. My goal is thus not to theorize gender and sexual difference by analysing selected youth films, but to read these films via gender methods.

In her article on the uses of gender in historical analyses, Joan Scott puts the question of methodology: "How does gender work in human social relationships? How does gender give meaning to the organization and perception of historical knowledge? The answers depend on gender as analytical category." (1986, 1055) Because the uses of gender include a range of theoretical positions, Scott believes it is essential to define an approach which is most suitable for one's object and aim of study. She comes up with a definition based on two interrelated propositions: "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Scott 1986, 1067). Drawing on Scott's accounts, gender in my analysis is conceptualized as an organizing principle. On the one hand, by forming the hierarchies of social power in everyday life, gender organizes the social order. On the other hand, gender inevitably also organizes narratives which construct stories about everyday life, such as the coming-of-age narrative.

Namely, in various cinematic and literary narratives about growing up and maturing, boys and girls not only encounter different obstacles on their metaphorical journeys but are assimilated into society on strikingly disparate grounds. Possibly the best literary examples of this are coming-of-age novels *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951), by J. D. Salinger, and Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963). While in different moments of growing up, Salinger's protagonist goes

through rebellious episodes when he hurts other people, Plath's heroine is extremely vulnerable in her life disappointments and, at one point, even ends up sexually assaulted. The narrator in Salinger's novel implies the possibility of the protagonist spending some time in a mental health institution – as he has "fallen sick" at the end of the novel – the whole second part of Plath's novel is explicitly dedicated to her heroine's painful experiences of electro-shock therapy intended to help her recover at a mental health institution. It follows, thus, that gender also organizes narrative strategies which structure the plot. The organization of narrative strategies in this way discloses the ideology behind the structure, revealing at the same time discourses that are being engaged.

As R. W. Connel states in her study *Masculinities* (2005), concepts of gender roles are inherently relational – masculinity does not exist except in relation to femininity (68). Additionally, hegemonic femininity and masculinity are the ones that occupy most social power in society at a particular time whilst also subordinating all other forms of femininity and masculinity (Connel and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). But, "the hierarchy of masculinity is a pattern of hegemony not a pattern of simple domination based on force" (Connel and Messerschmidt 2005, 846). My selected films reveal that, contrary to the official ideology, hegemonic gender roles assume traditional cultural roles, such as the figure of a socialist mother, or a violent male breadwinner. Thus, according to such gender hierarchies, young protagonists acquire their social positions in the adult world.

1.4.2. Sexuality

Comparably to gender, theories of sexuality include a variety of approaches – from researching sexuality in terms of one's experience of their body and sexual desire, to social aspects of sexuality, such as sexual identities and forming of social and moral hierarchies. In his study, *Sexuality* ([1986] 2005), sociologist Jeffrey Weeks begins his quest by emphasizing the ambiguity of the term 'sex' which refers both to the category of a person (gender), and an act of sex (practice) (3). The former use of the term dates to the 16th century, whereas the latter meaning – with a prescriptive note of physical relation between the sexes – originates from the early 19th century and is still dominant today (Weeks 2005, 3). Weeks observes that "[t]he extension of the meaning of these words indicates a shift in the way that 'sexuality' (the abstract noun referring to the quality of being 'sexual') is understood in our culture" (3). Early theories of sex and sexuality emerged in the late 19th century, as a 'science of desire' – sexologists such as Krafft-Ebbing, Havelock Ellis, August Forel, Magnus Hirschfield or Sigmund Freud sought to determine the meaning of sex (4). However, Weeks stresses that despite sexology's positive contribution to broadening our knowledge of sexual behaviours, it predominantly codified 'sexual tradition' as a set of assumptions, beliefs, norms and methods of scientific investigation to be studied in the domain of nature and biology, hence the norms of 'normal' and 'deviant' sexual behaviours (4-5).

Contrary to essentialist approaches in sexology, Weeks understands sexuality as a historical construction "which brings together a host of different

biological and mental possibilities – gender identity, bodily differences, reproductive capacities, needs, desires and fantasies – which need to be linked together" (5). Similarly, Véronique Mottier (2008) in *Sexuality: A Very Short Introduction* defines sex as a cultural object, which then links sexuality to conceptualizations of gender: "Sexuality is shaped by social and political forces and connects in important ways to relations of power around class, race, and, especially, gender" (2). These constructivist assumptions are closely related to the idea of sexual politics, "a struggle over the present and future of sexual difference and sexual division," as Weeks describes it in its broadest sense (2005, 88). In the narrow sense, the politicization of sexuality that was at the hearth of the second-wave feminist movement, dismantled essentialist beliefs in female sexuality by insisting on detaching intercourse from reproduction and reproduction. This, clearly, had immense impact on the changes in attitudes towards both female and male sexuality, and sexual freedoms in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, sexual oppression was seen by the emancipatory feminists as the central area of male power over women, which is why the private domain became for them an arena of political struggle for emancipation (Mottier 2008, 58).

It is within this context that feminist notions of compulsory heterosexuality and, later, heteronormativity, emerged as attempts of explaining how power in patriarchal societies pivots around the privilege awarded to heterosexuality. In her essay "Compulsory heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" (1980), Adrien Rich suggests heterosexuality to be studied and recognized as a political institution that is founded in, and executed

through, everyday forms of male power. Male power manifests itself through compulsory heterosexuality in various forms in culture, which convinces women that marriage and sexual orientation towards men are inevitable, even when they oppress them (Rich 1980, 640). Some of the cultural phenomena she recognizes as instruments of compulsory heterosexuality are: "The chastity belt; child marriage; erasure of lesbian existence (except as exotic and perverse) in art, literature, film; idealization of heterosexual romance and marriage" (640). Drawing on Catharine A. MacKinnon's study *Sexual Harassment of Working Women: A Case of Sex Discrimination* (1979), Rich illustrates the effect of compulsory heterosexuality on women in their working environment. Not only are women payed less and hold inferior positions in the workplace, but their sexualization is also a part of the job:

> Economically disadvantaged, women – whether waitresses or professors – endure sexual harassment to keep their jobs and learn to behave in a complaisantly and ingratiatingly heterosexual manner because they discover this is their true qualification for employment, whatever the job description.
>
> (Rich 1980, 642)

Following Rich's quest for studying heterosexuality as a political institution, Stevi Jackson in "Heterosexuality as a Problem for Feminist Theory" concludes how identities which are available to women emerge from deeply heterosexual relations – wife, girlfriend, daughter and a mother (1996, 25). In terms of heterosexual desire, she explains that the way it is socially constructed, such desire is necessarily gendered: "it is premised on gender difference, on the sexual 'otherness' of the desired object" (1996, 27).

Question of sexual politics in patriarchal societies is inextricable from the notion of heteronormativity which emerges as a reaction to writing about the politics of heterosexuality. Understood as a set of seemingly natural presumptions about sex and gender, heteronormativity describes symbolic codes and cultural norms that organize societies, so that the heterosexual cultural model occupies the highest position in the hierarchy. Celia Kitzinger defines it clearly in her article "Heteronormativity in action":

> These include the presumptions that there are only two sexes; that it is "normal" or "natural" for people of different sexes to be attracted to one another; that these attractions may be publicly displayed and celebrated; that social institutions such as marriage and the family are appropriately organized around different-sex pairings; that same-sex couples are (if not "deviant") a "variation on" or an "alternative to" the heterosexual couple.
>
> (2005, 478)

Seeing heterosexuality as compulsory institution which functions as ideal cultural model according to which social relations are formed and reproduced, helps in mapping traditional patriarchal discourses and practices which selected films reveal.

1.4.3. Class

Gender and class are central analytical categories in my interpretations of how, on the one hand, girls were becoming women and how, on the other, boys were becoming men in Yugoslavia. But the omnipresence of class should also be read through its disparate effects in each of the films. Therefore, in this section Pierre Bourdieu's notions of symbolic/cultural capital and symbolic power/violence are the main explanatory concepts, for they have the analytical potential to grasp subtleties of injustice that the contradictory

system of Yugoslav socialism was generating. To properly introduce these concepts, I must briefly outline Bourdieu's theory.

Broadly speaking, Bourdieu's theory aims at reconciling social structures with human agency. In "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", he explains:

> it becomes necessary to study the laws that determine the tendency of structures to reproduce themselves by producing agents endowed with the system of predispositions which is capable of engendering practices adapted to the structures and thereby contributing to the reproduction of the structures.
>
> (Bourdieu 1973, 72)

The way Bourdieu approaches the laws which regulate the reproduction of structures is via a set of critical tools: habitus, field, capital. His main theoretical concept, *habitus*, is defined as a set of dispositions which drives agents to operate in certain ways; habitus is, thus, the internalized set of rules for producing 'regular' practices, perceptions and attitudes (Bourdieu 1991, 12). Or, in Bourdieu's words: "Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor" (1990, 53). That is, the body itself becomes a repository imbued with dispositions, which makes certain ways of behaving and reacting seem 'natural'. Still, practices are not products of habitus per se, but "the product of the relation between the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or 'fields' on the other" (Bourdieu 1991, 14). A field (market or game, as Bourdieu also names it) is a competitive system of social relations that follows its own rules. Agents that operate in the field use various strategies for

achieving legitimacy, strategies which are enabled by the field's habitus. As Toril Moi notes in her essay "Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture" (1991): "The right to speak, *legitimacy*, is invested in those agents recognized by the field as powerful possessors of capital" (1022, original emphasis).

This brings us to notions of symbolic and cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, the former denotes accumulated prestige and honour, whereas the latter assumes knowledge and other skills exemplified by educational qualifications (1986, 47). It is thus crucial to note how powerful possessors of symbolic capital become utilizers of symbolic power, and hence of the symbolic violence, too. Symbolic power is, nevertheless, an aspect of all forms of power used in social life, and its symbolic form gives it legitimacy which, for instance, physical power in everyday life would never have. This is why Bourdieu describes this type of power as 'invisible' and 'misrecognized', as its exercise is founded on a shared belief that the hierarchical relations of power are a 'natural way of things'. Put differently, those who benefit the least from the use of power "fail to see that the hierarchy is, after all, an arbitrary social construction which serves the interests of some groups more than others" (Bourdieu 1991, 23). In fact, symbolic power and violence stimulate the habitus because the dominant classes try and force their own definitions of the social world on others and present them as universal, which in turn "contributes to the fictitious integration of society as a whole, and thus to the apathy (false consciousness) of the dominated classes" (Bourdieu 1991, 197, as quoted in Moukarbel 2009, 160).

Bourdieu's ideas of different types of capital and power are still among the most influential insights in theorizing class. Feminist sociologist, Beverly Skeggs, in her seminal piece *Class, Self, Culture* (2003) draws on Bourdieu's thesis about the misrecognition of power. Her observation is also useful for analysing delicate processes of symbolic oppression of the lower classes. Arguing that class is always made by and in the interests of the powerful and the circuits of symbolic distribution, Skeggs inverts Bourdieu's argument so that it also works the other way around: "those at the opposite end of the social scale are also misrecognized as having ascribed and essential characteristics" (2003, 4). It is the access to systems of symbolic domination that allow the powerful to "impose fixity onto those from whom they draw and claim moral distance" (4). Thus, class struggle is fundamentally about the everyday positioning, judgements and relations which are engaged on a personal basis (2003, 173).

1.5. My theoretical framework and the Yugoslav context

This chapter presented my interdisciplinary theoretical framework for addressing the central claim in my thesis: the selected youth films which depict girls' and boys' coming of age in Yugoslavia during the age of utopian socialism subvert society's main ideological premises about gender and class equality. To support this claim, my analytical approach to the films is multifaceted: it consists of historical (social, political and cinematographic contexts), film (interpreting coming-of-age film narratives) and cultural (establishing symbolic functions of coming-of-age representations) components. At the centre of such analyses is the representation of young Yugoslavs and their

maturing as a descriptive and prescriptive symbolic practice, with the focus on gender and class as organizing principles of coming-of-age narratives. As integration of young protagonists to society reveals socio-cultural and ideological complexities of the time, the aim of my analyses is to disclose different ways through which the selected films engage with dominant discourses, and to map their engagement on the scale from reproducing to subverting the hegemonic patterns. That is, the aim of this thesis is to examine political, social and cultural processes which discursively shape Yugoslav youth as a problematic category in selected youth films. Nevertheless, before closing this chapter, I will sum up in several points how my theoretical framework is brought to bear on the Yugoslav context.

Firstly, the definitions of coming-of-age film in film studies that I touched upon in this chapter do not correspond to the conditions of production of my selected Yugoslav youth films. Floating between the statuses of art and industry, and at the time when the first film on which I focus was made (1962), Yugoslav cinematography simply did not have the material capacity for creating formula films about growing up in Yugoslavia. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, although youth films were among the most popular genres, the film market in Yugoslavia was still not profitable enough for producers and directors to make youth formula films. Additionally, the period of fifteen years – from 1947 when the first fiction film *Slavica* (Vjekoslav Afrić) was made, until 1962 when the first coming-of-age film was produced – is not enough time for one cinematography to create a commercial base that could test and pursue a successful film formula. Therefore, coming of age is in my

research a narrative tool and not a genre. In early post-war Yugoslav cinema, young people were idealized for educational purposes: as representatives of the Yugoslav antifascist struggle, or of the communist idea during the reconstruction period. By contrast, the films I analyse portrayed the youth as problematic. For the first time in Yugoslav film history young Yugoslavs were depicted critically – as lazy, lethargic, cynical and unethical. As one of the aims in my thesis is to show how such portrayals are closely related to the sociocultural context of the self-management reform and the economic and political crises it produced, coming-of-age narrative will be used as an analytical tool for dismantling discursive mechanisms which constructed the youth as problematic. By interpreting my selected films as coming-of-age stories my analysis will focus on the process of the protagonists' maturing in socialist Yugoslavia. This approach will then allow me to illustrate social mechanisms for adapting the young hero to the new level of experience.

Secondly, in my thesis the category of the youth is understood as an ideological ideal around which the dominant discourses in socialist Yugoslavia were pivoting. The analysis of the role of the celluloid youth and their 'problematic morality' in the 1960s and early 1970s Yugoslavia challenges the Marxist-Leninist premise about the new socialist man, from which Yugoslav ideologues traced their conceptualizations of educational and cultural policies. What the youth ideal in Yugoslavia assumed and prescribed is illustrated in Chapter 2. By questioning representations of the youth constructed by these filmmakers, ones that mobilize different hegemonic (patriarchal, heteronormative, classist) social patterns which further reproduce the

inequalities, my research will illustrate problematic outcomes of the dominant standpoint of Yugoslav filmmakers. A strong presence of hegemonic discourses (most often conservative and oppressive ones) will be further supported by newspaper criticisms of the films in question.

Thirdly, the way notions of gender, class and sexuality are used today is at odds with the Yugoslav context. Particularly, gender and class as tools for dismantling unjust social hierarchies in Yugoslavia might seem contradictory given the socialist ideology which nominally made Yugoslavia a society of gender and class equality. But, by pointing to social groups affected by deeply entrenched hierarchies in a supposedly equal socialist society, I will render their existence as 'the others' of that particular historical period. Questioning the prevailing notions of Yugoslav socialism therefore opens up a way to gender and class-conscious interpretations of Yugoslav youth films, which contradicts dominant idealized interpretations of the time. Moreover, as I discuss in separate analytical chapters, the selected youth films display contemporaneous ideals of Yugoslav femininity and masculinity, i.e. different types of womanhood and manhood that serve as desirable social models to which young protagonists conform, or fail to do so, at the end of their journeys. Because gender organizes Yugoslav social reality and the films' narrative order equally, my analysis will illustrate how the dominant types of Yugoslav femininity and masculinity hierarchically structure social relationships in the films. Similarly, in *Strange Girl* and *The Bug Killer* class will be the means of organizing moralities of different Yugoslav strata, but in *Three Hours for Love* and *Get it, Man* class is the source of oppression of the lower strata. Contrary

to official ideas about class struggle in Yugoslavia, youth films which are selected for my analysis depict an everyday struggle for power that happens at the level of personal experiences. My analysis therefore aims at juxtaposing discrepancies between proclaimed class equality and lived, yet 'invisible', domination of the upper classes in socialist Yugoslavia. The category of sexuality and, more importantly, compulsory heterosexuality and heteronormativity are in my thesis crucial for the analysis of particular films – *Three Hours for Love* and *The Bug Killer*. These films tangentially deal with the effects of Western sexual revolution on Yugoslav youth culture, revealing Yugoslav patriarchal discourses which newly won liberal practices were supporting. Such analysis will, once again, challenge the dominant ideas about equality in socialist Yugoslavia, particularly in relation to women in the workplace.

The following chapters develop my argument and answer the research questions by establishing historical (political and social) and cinematographic contexts, and thus by positing coming-of-age film analysis at the backdrop of these contexts.

Chapter 2: Yugoslav utopian phase and the role of the youth

The period from the early 1960s to the early 1970s could be described as the period of Yugoslav utopian socialism. This was an interval between (and around) the 1963 Self-management Constitution and the 1974 Constitution of decentralization, the two fortifying pillars of what Yugoslav communists believed was their unique road to socialism. This was also a time of Yugoslavia's fast opening to the Western world, which liberalized intellectual thought and media practice. Therefore, the loosening of political control over public opinion allowed for various novel perspectives on Yugoslav daily life and its representations in arts, culture and media to emerge. Selected youth films show how the process of winning new liberties over that course of time fostered many ideological contradictions in representations of coming of age in Yugoslavia: from traditionally patriarchal and progressively modern socialism, socially stratified and yet united socialist subjects, to social systems which undermine its socialist premises, conservativism that pervades liberal discourse and corrupted socialist equality. Ideological antagonisms thus also shaped the unfavourable representations of youth in the films. As the listed contradictions are closely related to specific years of the films' production, they will be part of interpretative contexts in the two analytical chapters (Chapters 4 and 5). This chapter places them in two broader contexts. First, the history of building Yugoslav utopian socialism: from the forming of Yugoslavia to its last constitution

in 1974. In providing a blueprint of the period, special attention will be given to the historization of two main ideological tendencies: female emancipation and class liberation. Second, the context of communist ideologization of youth that outlines the shifting ideal around which discourses about youth were pivoting. I will also describe how despite various socio-political changes, the official morality that was being instilled among the youth continued to be highly gendered, i.e. discriminatory against young women. To illustrate the significance that film had for the youth's upbringing in the eyes of Yugoslav communists, the last section will describe the Party's anxieties over the influence of Western films on youth's self-identification. I will thus also comment on young people's agency as reflected in their enjoyment of films as a leisure activity.

2.1. From realist to utopian socialism

The political and ideological consolidation of Yugoslavia after the Second World War was a comprehensive project of advancement of the entire society. It was imagined and implemented as an attempt to overcome the depravities of capitalism through the means of democratization, industrial progress and social justice. This was epitomized in the first Constitution from 1946 which reinforced the equal status of all six republics in Yugoslavia, nationalized large land properties and banks, and introduced regulations concerning state, collective and (limited) private ownership. The first period of the communist regime was marked by the post-war reconstruction of the country that was supported with plans for massive industrialization, technological progress and education. Education was furthermore perceived as a rational enlightenment

project. As Mari-Žanin Čalić observes in her history of Yugoslavia in the 20th century, these plans were not typical features of communist governments but rather "core ideas of European industrial modernity stemming from intellectuals and social reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (2019, 173). Social reform, also modern values and norms were believed to emerge from precise state planning, scientific research and expert knowledge (Čalić 2019, 173). Therefore, in this first period, educational and cultural policies complemented the needs of the modern industrial society. To emancipate people from traditional and patriarchal worldviews and lifestyles, and to attract them to socialist revolutionary ideas, Yugoslav education initially consisted of communist agitation and propaganda elements. Still, following the argument made by Carol S. Lilly in her study of ideology and rhetoric in early post-war Yugoslavia, it should be noted that "propaganda" and "agitation" did not bear pejorative connotations among the communists (2001, 9). Quite the contrary, these terms were legitimate aspects of politics and not the spreading of falsehoods which was meant to distract the public from totalitarian policies (Lilly 2001, 9). Her findings illustrate that in most cases Yugoslav communist propaganda correctly reflected the Party's short-term and long-term goals (Lilly 2001, 9). She explains:

> The party's long-term vision for the future, which involved the transformation of society and culture, required that all Yugoslav citizens learn and adopt Marxist-Leninist ideology as a way of understanding the world, a vision for the future, and a program of action.
>
> (2001, 4)

Therefore, as part of this long-term vision, the agitation and propaganda in culture and arts were pursued by strongly focusing on the motifs of

Yugoslavia's National Liberation War and the communist revolution. This certainly corresponded to people's experiences of life during and immediately after the war, giving the early communist propaganda another form of legitimacy. Nevertheless, the most important achievements of the post-war period were the effects of massive education: the fight against illiteracy, introduction of compulsory primary education, teaching about health care and hygiene, and forming the large infrastructure necessary for people's universities, libraries and cultural organizations.

The Soviet Union's trustworthy ally, in 1948 Yugoslavia was expelled from the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) due to an international crisis in which Tito countered Stalin's geopolitical interests in the region. This introduced a major shift not only in Yugoslavia's foreign policy – by forcing the leadership to turn to Western countries for economic help – but also in the country's internal governing style. To fully separate themselves from Stalinist practice, Yugoslav ideologues came up with a new concept of socialist theory and practice, by designing the workers' self-management system. The utopian ideal of such a system was the abolition of private and state property through the workers' control of their own production. The first law on self-management, introduced in 1950, prescribed that the workers' councils (consisting of the employees) were to manage the "socially owned establishments". But, as Gal Kirn concludes in his article on self-management in culture and arts, it could be said that as political invention which fostered democratic relationships in production, self-management was created to maintain strong popular support for Yugoslavia's independent path to socialism (2014a, 110).

The period of the 1960s in Yugoslavia was, therefore, a time of dynamic changes which evolved from economic and political decisions that were passed after the 1948 split from the Soviet Union. This set of progressive resolutions steered the country's course towards decentralized socialism, which allowed more jurisdiction to republics and local/municipal communities. The overarching aim of the resolutions was dismantling the bureaucratic monopoly of political and economic power (Kirn 2014a, 111). The reform soon expanded from economic and political to social, cultural and educational institutional levels, creating grounds for omnipresent decentralization of power to come. Thus, after the sixth Congress of the Communist Party held in 1952 and the Third Party's Plenum in 1954, the Soviet cultural model was finally rejected, and the Party allowed a freer importation of Western literature, films and comic books. Still, as Branka Doknić stresses in *Kulturna politika Jugoslavije: 1946-1963*, cultural pluralism was at the time primarily acknowledged to improve the country's international position (2013, 92). What therefore followed was the opening toward West European markets in the mid-1950s – West Germany and later Italy as the most important trade partners – and economic aid from the US and other international lenders which by the mid-1960s turned Yugoslavia into a more prosperous place to live. Yugoslavia's living standard was at the time higher than anywhere else in Eastern Europe (Lampe 2000, 265-6). The economic reforms moreover created foundations for the emerging vision of consumer abundance (Patterson 2011; Dimitrijević 2016). In his book *Potrošeni socijalizam* (2016) Branislav Dimitrijević argues that the phenomenon of consumer abundance has, in return, led to forging of the new utopian vision of Yugoslavia. He goes on to explain how the "consumerist

utopia" was strengthening the spirit of collective progress whilst emphasizing the importance of achieving personal pleasures (Dimitrijević 2016, 108). Public representations of socialism had therefore gradually turned from the world of production to the world of consumption – magazines, newspapers and films were now promoting desirable socialist lifestyles (Dimitrijević 2016, 83).

The period of the 1960s was also imbued with open dissatisfaction with Yugoslav politics. Coinciding with paradigmatic self-management transformations, intellectual and media freedoms were by that time fully acknowledged by the state (Lampe 2000, 266) and public discourses were thus reflecting this new pluralistic reality. Academics and artists were organising public talks and lectures, but also publishing articles and brochures in which they openly criticised discrepancies between the theory and practice of Yugoslav self-management (Klasić 2012, 7). The fact that the new economic policies were unequivocally encouraging the principle of personal consumption over the principle of investment became obvious not only to the "conservative" wing of Yugoslav leadership but also to younger "urban" generations (Dimitrijević 2016, 34-5). Thus, inspired by political and cultural events in Western countries, 1968 student demonstrations at Universities of Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb acknowledged a growing problem of class segregation. Students protested against the unfair accumulation of wealth among certain strata of people, the high unemployment rate among the youth, and were calling for the abolition of social differences (Kanzleiter 2009; Popov 1990).

A veneer of affluence which Yugoslav every-day life in the 1960s created started unveiling its weaknesses by the end of the decade – the slowing of

the economic growth, the rise of the unemployment and growing differences between the republics. On this note, Čalić observes the paradox of socialist policies of development, and particularly the market economy, promoting national consciousness in Yugoslavia:

> Granted, industrialization, urban culture, higher education, regional mobility, and modern mass communication did indeed further the spread of ethnic tolerance, cosmopolitan attitudes, and supranational identities, as had been predicted by both Western theories of modernization and by Marxism. However, simultaneously these same processes created new competitiveness between peoples, particularly when institutions and power were being distributed according to the "national key," namely criteria of ethnic proportionality.
>
> (2019, 225)

The late 1960s therefore saw a set of political resolutions that supported nationalist tendencies in Yugoslav republics. In 1968 Bosnian Muslims were officially recognized as a nation, while Albanians in Kosovo won certain national concessions – the use of their language and forming of the Albanian University in 1969. As this was the atmosphere in which differences rather than similarities were demanded and maintained, the Serbo-Croatian language in Yugoslavia became a disputed category between different fractions who emphasized the symbolic function of language denoting a national identity. What thus emerged was a conflict about the rights to language uniqueness in Croatia, where more than 140 intellectuals and eighteen cultural organizations demanded a recognition of a separate language, and to which a group of Serbian writers reacted by signing a petition for the delineation of the two languages (Čalić 2019, 234). A similar debate happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina where in 1971 the linguists started an initiative to prove the existence of a unique regional Bosnian-Muslim language (Čalić 2019, 235). Such awakening

of national spirits also generated a conflict inside the Yugoslav League of Communists in 1971, when Croatian communists accused the League of performing "unitarian-centralist politics". Essentially, the Croatian section of the Party demanded greater economic and political autonomy for Croatia, which became an impetus behind the so-called "Croatian spring" (Jakovina 2012; Lampe 2000; Jović 2011). However, as Marko Zubak states, this was not simply a consequence of the rising nationalism: "The term, Croatian spring, denotes the process of democratization, liberalization and national enthusiasm that overcame Croatian communist party politics and was consequentially widely felt in public life at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s" (2005, 191). Such tensions called for constitutional changes, which resulted in the 1974 Constitution that consolidated the radical decentralization reforms from the second half of the 1960s.

Revolutionary transformations during this decade for some researchers indicate Yugoslavia's transition from the concept of *brotherhood and unity* (thus also the ethnic concept of Yugoslav identity) to the utopian concept of the self-management and decentralized socialism (Wachtel 1998; Jović 2003). As Dejan Jović stresses in his book on the effects of Yugoslavia's 1974 Constitution:

> Decentralization was not an expression of necessity to which reality exposed the Yugoslav communists. It was an expression of the vision which contradicted reality. Decentralization was a result of [the ideologist Edvard] Kardelj's diagnosis (which was mostly a correct analysis of the current trends) that centralism could once again grow strong, especially after he and Tito die.
>
> (Jović 2003, 140)

Therefore, as Jović argues, the 1974 Constitution also fortified the central ideological notion of Yugoslav self-management – *the withering away of the state*. This utopian political act had weakened the state functions to such a degree that the state could not confront the internal and external challenges of the following years (Jović 2003, 14). That is, the Yugoslav state could not resist the ideological alternatives that appeared towards the end of the 1980s, which culminated in the country's violent disintegration in the 1990s. The two most important Yugoslav constitutions have therefore had an adverse impact on the country's development: making Yugoslavia a modern socialist state, whilst rendering it too progressive for its actual socialist capacities.

2.1.1. Female emancipation

As one of the cornerstones of communist ideology, female emancipation was a strong impetus in designing social, economic and legal policies in post-war Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, policies regarding women's legal status and work rights had not dramatically changed between the 1946 and 1963 Constitutions which led to a certain standstill in this process. Hence, I will focus not only on the forming of legal and social frameworks which enabled female emancipation, but also on social and cultural processes which negatively affected women's total emancipation in Yugoslavia.

Literature on Yugoslav gender regimes stresses how women's participation in the Second World War allowed their easier and faster emancipation after the war (Sklevicky 1996; Pantelić 2011a; Batinić 2015). Namely, already during the war, Yugoslav women attained social recognition and political subjectivity, as they performed various roles in the Yugoslav National Liberation

Front: from nurses, carers for the elderly and the children or organisers of various activities for children, to military fighters equal to men (Sklevicky 1996; Pantelić 2011b). In 1942, the Anti-Fascist Women's Front (Antifašistički front žena – AFŽ), the women's section of the Communist Party, was established and it operated during and after the war, redesigning its aims to correspond to different social and economic circumstances. For instance, in the post-war period their activities were mainly focused on the recovery from the war and on humanitarian work (Pantelić 2011a, 83). Scholars, however, hold different opinions on the Party's motivation to form the AFŽ. Some argue that Yugoslav communists needed the political and military support, which is why they instrumentalized the question of the women's liberation (Jancar-Webster 1990), while others saw it as a continuation of the pre-war tradition of feminist organizing (Sklevicky 1996; Božinović 1996; Batinić 2015). Despite such disagreements, it cannot be denied that AFŽ operated as a body which allowed Partisan women to organize themselves and activate many women in the occupied territories through literacy courses, political classes or Partisan mobilization.

A concrete statutory law on women's equality with men was introduced in 1946 with the first statute of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: "Women are equal to men in all spheres of state, economic, social and political life. For completing the same work, women are ensured the same pay as men and enjoy special insurance when employed" (Article 24 of the Yugoslav 1946 Constitution). As Ivan Simić argues in his book *Soviet Influences on Postwar Yugoslav Gender Politics* (2018), the Soviet model was the foundation of

Yugoslav gender policies after the war. Yugoslav communists saw the adaptation of the Soviet 1936 Constitution as an instrument for transforming the patriarchal and traditional society which they inherited from the monarchist regime. A showcase example of women's pre-war status in the Kingdom of Serbia is the 1844 legal act that was introduced as part of the Serbian Civil Code (in effect until 1946) in which the working rights of a married woman equated that of "profligates, crooks, mentally deranged, and over-indebted individuals who face bankruptcy" (as quoted in Božinović 1996, 29). However, as Simić notes, the process of adjustment of the Soviet laws to the Yugoslav context was not straightforward, as many new policies were not calmly accepted (2018, 49-50). Gender policies at the state level were therefore limited by two major issues: the gendering of the political sphere within the Communist Party by which communist women were excluded from decision-making, and the Party's expectation of women's exclusive engagement with social issues (Simić 2018, 50). Such devaluating ascriptions to women's political activity, which was perceived as inherently feminine, is one of the reasons why women in Yugoslavia remained unrepresented in all governing institutions (Simić 2018, 50). Nevertheless, Simić stresses how AFŽ was active in creating and implementing the Party's family and reproductive policies and has thus contributed to the efforts of designing a new legal framework (2018, 50). By guaranteeing women the right to vote, the right to education and to civil marriage, the Yugoslav socialist legal framework secured women's economic independence and their self-empowerment.

One of the main ideas behind Yugoslav labour policies was that women should work together with men. Still, as Simić notices, the policies were also influenced by the notions of motherhood and women's weaker physical strength, which resulted in the Party's patronizing position towards female workers (2018, 91-2). For instance, while in the early post-war period women were encouraged to work in industry (and were moreover able to get the necessary qualifications), during the economic crisis after Tito's conflict with Stalin, many women were removed from industrial jobs (Simić 2018, 91-2). Similarly, anthropologists Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Marina Blagaić in their case study on women workers at Jugoplastika factory argue:

> [t]he rapid reconstruction and industrialization could not be possible without a symbiosis of the early socialist culture of competition, (self-) discipline and (self-)correction of human flaws with the patriarchal heritage that praised the pre-modern female gender role and female virtues, such as readiness to sacrifice and to take responsibility for the prosperity of the family and the community as a whole.
>
> (2013, 42)

Deeply patriarchal beliefs about women's roles as nurturers and servants were difficult to instantly overcome given pre-war attitudes towards women. This was also evident in resistant attitudes of male shop-floor workers towards female employment (Simić 2018, 99-104). Therefore, even a quick look at roles that most women performed in the war indicates a strong presence of traditional 'female values' which were simply enhanced with novel emancipatory potentials a socialist woman was supposed to represent (Sklevicky 1996, 42-7). Women were placed in a difficult position: "[they] enthusiastically supported the socialist ideological and working agenda within the public sphere, but within the family sphere they had difficulties in negotiating between their

patriarchal and non-discriminatory roles" (Kirin and Blagaić 2013, 58). However, although the number of women in heavy industry decreased in the early 1950s, the percentage of women employed in manufacturing industry grew by the 1960, when they also started getting jobs in the administration and service trades (Kirin and Blagaić 2013, 55).

In 1959 President Tito gave an interview for the women's magazine *Žena danas* in which he criticized the ongoing re-domestication of women:

> It is common nowadays to say a woman voluntarily returned to kitchen. No, she did not do it voluntarily, but because she was conditioned. She did it because she has a family and is not able to get to all places she could, had she not had the family. She cannot participate in social life the way she would, had she not had any children. That is a fact. But, for women's position today men are also responsible. Many of our good people say to women: "You contributed so much in the war, and now, after the war, you should occupy a position that belongs to women." They forget that our woman does not deserve to occupy the place she had in old Yugoslavia. Because she fought against it. If we questioned this, we would show that the revolution did not bring what we all fought for, the communists and other progressive people together.
>
> (1977, 111)

Tito's observation comes shortly after the figure of "the new socialist woman" became the pivot of women's media representations in the 1950s. In contrast to early portrayals of women in the magazines which promoted the ideal of a strong woman who is a fighter and a comrade, from the beginning of the 1950s other notions of femininity based on sexual attractiveness were introduced. Magazines such as *Naša moda* (1946-1950) and *Svijet* (1953-) in Zagreb followed the latest world fashion trends (Kirin and Blagaić 2013, 60), while in 1952 the Belgrade newspaper *Politika* introduced a specialized women's page with articles on housekeeping, food recipes, or advices on fashion and cosmetic products (Gudac-Dodić 2007, 201). As Kirin and Blagaić conclude in

their article, the 1950s shift to the commercialization of femininity was "accompanied by the depolitization and passivization of women, the degradation and commodification of their symbolic representations" (2013, 61). Accordingly, the commercialization shifts also introduced erotic magazines and soft-porn magazine sections – a less-welcomed, yet very present form of entertainment in the 1970s. As Biljana Žikić (2010) argues in her article on nudity and pornography in the socialist press, in the liberalized context of the late 1960s and beyond, sexual liberation was semantically linked with socio-political liberalization and progress. Coinciding with such world-wide phenomenon, naked female bodies became the symbols of Yugoslavia's progress. A perfect example of this is magazine *Start* which was published as part of the Zagreb's state-owned daily paper *Vjesnik* and regarded a high-quality paper for families and all citizens. In 1969, *Start* instituted a cover-page female nude as its 'trademark' (Žikić 2010, 58).

That women had not accomplished full equality to men became obvious to the Yugoslav officials as well. Correspondingly, there were serious efforts on behalf of the Party to improve women's freedoms in the 1950s and 1960s. One such achievement were the abortion debates that flared up several times, around the beginning of the 1950s and in the mid-1960s. What is particularly important here is that Party officials were pushing for the loosening of the strict abortion laws, which a majority in the medical profession resisted. Namely, doctor Franc Novak, who was also a Partisan fighter and a member of the Party, revealed that all gynaecologists who were asked for their expert opinion in 1948 suggested a ban on abortions (1956, 12-3). Therefore, the

result of the first debate was the 1951 Penal Code in which abortion was sanctioned (with certain exceptions envisaged for specific medical reasons). Still, compared to the 1936 Soviet abortion law that was being copied here, the Yugoslav Penal code removed the stipulation that punished women for having a medical procedure of terminating a pregnancy (Simić 2018, 74). In 1953, another debate developed at a large gynaecologist congress where medical doctors asked that abortion be criminalized. The debate was closed by Vida Tomšić, the leader of the AFŽ, managing to mediate the 1951 law to stay untouched (Simić 2018, 75). One more illustrative attempt occurred in 1967 at the Federal Parliament when the Council for Social and Health Issues promoted a new Law to ban abortion, while the Legislative Committee declared it unconstitutional (Klasić 2012, 36). This parliamentary discussion was so turbulent that it attracted the attention of the London magazine *The Economist* which described it as an example of opposing attitudes inside the Yugoslav government (Klasić 2012, 36). Therefore, it could be said how despite manifold conservative forces operating within and outside society, Yugoslav communists sought to improve women's social position the best they could at the time. Hence, although it could be argued that socialism in Yugoslavia failed to fully liberate women, it cannot be denied that it also supported them with practices and discourses which were used to challenge patriarchal gender orders.

2.1.2. Class liberation

In the initial period of unification after the war, Yugoslavia was moulded on premises about liberation from fascism, class oppression and

underdevelopment. The laws, policies and political rhetoric therefore reflected such liberationist momentum, either by dealing with the residuals of the monarchist regime or by designing the new social reality.

Still, the task of class liberation that was to be pursued on the Soviet model was hardened by Yugoslavia's social structure at the time the Communist Party took over. As reported by socialist activist Hal Draper in 1948, Yugoslavia was perceived as the most agrarian country in Europe. He notes on the condition right after the war:

> Among its 15½–16 million people (10½ million on the land) there are two million separate peasant holdings, it is a land of small peasants. Only every second one of them even owns a plow of his own, the overwhelming majority of them own the land they work – 92.5 per cent of the area under cultivation belongs to the peasants who till it. […] Now pre-1917 Russia, as is well known, was also a predominantly peasant land, but it would be deceptive to equate the two. Russia had its sector of big industry, its giant plants, in which the revolution incubated. Yugoslavia does not.
>
> (Draper 1948)

Yugoslav peasants were not a class subject in the Marxist sense of the word because they owned the means of production and did not have to sell their labour-power to the employer, which contradicts with fundamental features of the proletariat. Yugoslav ideologues therefore had difficulties in declaring a class of workers whose interests should be primary in the defining of society. This is why the 1946 Constitution does not posit the notion of working people but talks about general people's authority and property, alongside the abolition of all privileges. To transition from predominantly agrarian to the industrial society, and hence establish a class of workers, the Party instated the concept of collectivization of agriculture. Their motive for this was that the rural

economy was not efficient enough for the accumulation of the capital that was necessary for industrial development (Fuček 2011, 502). The essence of the collectivization was the merging of peasant holdings into Peasants' Work Co-operative. The campaign lasted until 1953 when the policy went back to promoting the idea that "the land belongs to those who work it" (Fuček 2011, 503). It could thus be argued that the collectivization efforts were part of a general incentive of 'the production of the proletariat' via increased industrialization and urbanization of the country. Such efforts brought about the constitutional changes in 1953. Coinciding with the self-management paradigm, these changes introduced the concept of the working people to the political realm.

With the 1953 constitutional regulations and the 1963 Constitution, self-management had liberated what the Marxist theory refers to as the means of production and decision-making in all economic sectors. Still, a definite course towards reforms was defined with the 1963 Constitution. Not only has this constitution brought a new name for the country, adding a socialist component to it (SFRY), but it also fortified self-management as Yugoslav socialist signature (the constitution was also called *Povelja samoupravljanja/Self-Management Charter*). Having in mind that the constitutional regulations from 1953 introduced the notion of the working people, the 1963 Constitution should have pushed workers' rights to the forefront as it secured that the "working people and peoples of Yugoslavia exercise their sovereign rights" (1963 Ustav SFRJ). The practice, however, contradicted such political discourse: due to a lack of experience and expertise in operating within a

decentralized economy, the self-management constitution turned out to be rather ineffective (Horvat 1969, 99). Even with the central state apparatus fifty percent smaller, the core of the reformed system was left unchanged, as the most important political decisions were still being cascaded from the top to the bottom (Lampe 2000, 265). Perhaps the greatest effect on Yugoslavia's social re-structuring in the 1960s and beyond was the 1965 economic reform that fostered the so-called "market socialism". The market reform was pursued in the name of broadening of the workers' self-management rights, whereas in fact this meant that in the sphere of production bureaucracy was simply replaced by technocracy. As Gal Kirn observes: "production units increasingly followed market criteria, which meant the maximisation of surplus value, which not only produced stronger competition among production units, but also between workers" (2014a, 112). Therefore, with an opening towards market economy, the reforms created grounds for major class stratification in society. The second half of the 1960s saw the largest differences in personal income ever since the beginning of the socialist regime.

Class stratification

In *Potrošeni socijalizam* (2016), Dimitrijević illustrates how market-oriented reforms generated a class stratification that corresponded to the new economic and consumerist powers of the technocratic stratum. Drawing on the early-1970s research carried out by Belgrade's Institute for social sciences, Dimitrijević reinterprets the four defining social strata in Yugoslavia. Namely, at the end of the 1960s and early 1970s, they were the political and economic managers, the economic experts, intelligentsia and administrators, the producers, and finally the private entrepreneurs (Dimitrijević 2016, 65). As this

research was based on the criteria of one's exposure to political power, by introducing the element of economic/consumerist power Dimitrijević translates the second and the third strata to the middle and the working class (2016, 65). Middle-class agents – experts, intelligentsia and administrators – formed their lifestyles by adopting behaviours and values from the middle classes in capitalist countries (Dimitrijević 2016, 66). However, the fourth stratum of private entrepreneurs (which consisted of agricultural workers and craftsmen) is most difficult to classify considering their economic power. As Dimitrijević explains, this was the time when the "transitional stratum" of peasant-workers was first recognized by social sciences and ideologists (2016, 66). The issue with "transitional strata" was that it existed on the periphery of the socialist system: "somewhere between the ideologically disputed term 'lumpen-proletariat' and some new socially dynamic stratum, powered by possibilities of making small profit in grey-zone areas of economy and commerce" (Dimitrijević 2016, 66). Indeed, as Dimitrijević stresses, the lumpen-proletariat in socialism was the unwelcome social surplus (2016, 66).[3] Therefore, such restructuring of society not only contradicted the early impetus for liberation from class oppression, but also rendered the lowest stratum of workers invisible and socially 'undesirable'. In a similar fashion to the premise of female

[3] Marx invented the term lumpen-proletariat in *The German Ideology* where the prefix 'lumpen' connoted a person in rags (the word "lumpen" means rags). In the *Communist Manifesto* and *Class Struggle in France*, Marx began using it for talking about "dangerous classes". Lumpen-proletariat describes the class of outcasts with no class consciousness. As an independent power structure, they are prone to making dangerous collaborations with the elites in winning the class war and gaining material interest. The term includes "beggars, prostitutes, gangsters, racketeers, swindlers, petty criminals, tramps, chronic unemployed or unemployables, persons who have been cast out by industry, and all sorts of declassed, degraded or degenerated elements". More importantly, "in times of prolonged crisis (depression), innumerable young people also, who cannot find an opportunity to enter into the social organism as producers, are pushed into this limbo of the outcast". See the glossary of terms in *Encyclopaedia of Marxism* (https://www.marxists.org/glossary/terms/l/u.htm)

emancipation, class liberation was an ideological and economic impetus by which the Party sought to modernize Yugoslavia, making it a just society of equal opportunities. Still, the country's fast economic and political development, fostered by ideological motifs of socialist uniqueness, generated different unwanted phenomena. Instead of seriously dealing with such issues, Yugoslav communists were re-adapting the ideology so that it continues to correspond to the country's independent image. As analytical chapters in my thesis aim to illustrate, this often worked against the foundational ideals of female emancipation and class liberation.

Class terminology

As ideological consolidation of Yugoslavia after the war rested on Marxist-Leninist postulates that were later upgraded with utopian tendencies found in the self-management system, Yugoslav daily life was imbued with notions about class which do not necessarily correspond to the Western theoretical class vocabulary. My use of the terminology associated to class in this thesis draws from Inka Tomić-Koludrović's and Mirko Petrić's article „Class in Yugoslav Socialism and in the Post-Yugoslav Societies: Toward a Bordieuan Repositioning of the Issue (Part 1)" in which they interpret the highly ideologized terminological alternatives for the concepts of class in socialist Yugoslavia. Namely, standard Marxist terminology was intertwined with a number of atypical denotations for social actors, organizations and practices that were "introduced by the vocabulary of a socialist system particular to Yugoslavia that went under the name of 'self-managing socialism'" (111). Hence, in the first period of Yugoslav socialism, key ideological notions were "working people" ("working class" was avoided as it could not encompass the

peasant-worker, the most common type of workers in post-war Yugoslavia), "one-class" and "classless" society (114). The term "working people" included all people employed at what was called "socially owned" establishments, while those who were not working in such establishments were considered to be "the remnants of the bourgeois and other formations" (114-5). Cases which contradicted the notions of "classless" and "one-class" society were categorically described as "deformations of the classless society" (115). Apart from "working people", there was also a term "counter-class" developed by Yugoslav ideologist Stipe Šuvar in the 1960s, which denoted „people who live[d] off other people's surplus work" – intelligentsia that is not included in productive work, administrative personnel, professional managers and the governing political elite – who could also be labelled "middle class" (117). The early-1960s theorizations of class in Yugoslavia also saw notions of „transitional work strata" like „private owners" (of small businesses) who were not seen as exploiting other workers and peasants since they were involved with productive work (115).

In order to adapt my class-centred film analysis to the Yugoslav context, I will be using notions of the working/middle class, working-class peasantry and upper/lower class. Therefore, what in my thesis stands for middle- and upper-classes are the Yugoslav strata of managers, intelligentsia and political elites. The difference between my uses of the two strata is in their class distinction – the middle class was appropriating Western middle-class lifestyles (love of pop and consumerist culture), whereas the upper class – most usually intelligentsia – cared for the elitist (modernist) culture. Lastly,

the working-class peasants are in my research what Yugoslav ideologists called “other workers” or “working peasantry”.

2.2. Yugoslav youth

For the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party young people were crucial for the work of imagining and building socialist society. During the war, and particularly after 1945, Yugoslav communists followed the Marxist-Leninist premise about “the making of the new man”. The communist political order was supposed to enable conditions for bringing up the new generation who could lead towards the *withering away of the state*. As in the rest of post-war policymaking, the Party followed the Soviet example in developing the infrastructure dedicated to youth and organizing activities intended to mould the future socialist citizens. Apart from educational and political short-courses, one of the basic forms of developing the “new man” in the early phase of socialism were the Youth Work Actions. Voluntary youth labour was in the focus of much research (Hofman 2013; Nametak 2014; Selenić 2005; Matošević 2015), which appears to be in agreement on their twofold purpose: to build the country’s industrial infrastructure (roads, factories, hydroelectric power plants etc.) that was necessary for establishing the socialist planned economy, and to mould the profile of the new man who will build and defend Yugoslav socialism. The process of shaping of the new socialist man at these work actions included not only hard physical labour but also cultural and instructional activities meant to ideologically and politically educate the youth. As historian Igor Duda (2014) notes:

> In the formative phase of socialism, it was expected that such a person should be physically and morally healthy, brave and creative, have a rich inner life and an openness to new ideas, as well as be ready to love his or her own country while showing respect for other nations.

At the construction sites, young workers were educated in accordance with the ideals of shock-work: they were motivated to perform their labour exemplarily, to surpass the work norm and thus increase productivity. Early Work Actions therefore produced the first generation of communists who were properly educated on the shock-work ethic, many of whom later found work in industry (Simić 2018, 189). However, after the first wave of mass federal Youth Work Action was over in 1953 (Goldstein 2008, 436), the task of informal socialist upbringing was predominantly given to mass social organizations, such was the official Youth Organization.[4] With this shift which corresponded to the self-management paradigm, the youth ideal, now under a greater influence of Western culture, also changed.

Like other communist countries in Eastern Europe at the time, Yugoslavia had a pioneer and a youth organization that were designed to enable public activities in which children and young people wished to participate. Through facilitating public activities, the pioneer and the youth organizations would agitate and instil the norms of Yugoslav communist morality to the youth, and hence police their appropriation. The pioneer organization was formed by the

[4] The Party's organizing of young people in Yugoslavia has had different forms. Coinciding with constitutional and socio-political transformations, the Youth Organization changed its name three times. From the initial Unified League of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia operating during the war, to People's Youth of Yugoslavia from 1946 until 1963, and then the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia which stayed the official youth organization until the break-up of Yugoslavia. All three names refer to the federal youth organization which consisted of six separate youth organizations from each of the republics. For the purposes of my thesis, and for the ease of reading, I will consistently use the term Youth Organization.

Communist Party in 1942. Its members were children between the ages of 7 and 15, a social group that has not been touched by other ideologies and is ready to be included in the socialist upbringing from the very beginning. Once pioneers turned 14 or 15, they would enter the Youth organization. The pioneer and the youth organizations were thus closely tied during the initial socialist period but were separated under different jurisdictions in the early 1950s (Duda 2014). Still, the process of "making of the new man" started with the pioneers and continued with adolescent and post-adolescent Yugoslavs as members of the Youth Organization. In this regard, the history of the Youth organization goes back to the inter-war period when in 1919 a communist youth organization named SKOJ (Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije) was formed as a recruiting centre for the Communist Party. As such, SKOJ was essential in recruiting young people during the war, and until 1948 they acted as an independent militant youth organization whose purpose was to influence the young generation to stay loyal to the regime. Members of SKOJ would perform various types of tasks for the Party: from educating young people at Work Actions or acting as labour "volunteers", to chasing smugglers and securing the city at night (Šarić 2015, 245-6). Nevertheless, parallel to the political and economic transformations of society after 1948, the official youth infrastructure also changed. Not only was SKOJ merged with the Youth Organization but also the organization's statute was amended several times to adapt to the new political course regarding youth.

In his article "Generational transition and revolutionary tradition in Yugoslavia, 1945-1960" (2015a), historian Marko Fuček talks about a transition

between the so-called revolutionary generation and the generation of mature socialism. For him, the transition reflected major social, political and cultural changes in Yugoslavia in the 1950s. By generation Fuček assumes "a reflection of common experiences and discourses about them" (2015a, 642), and the two generations of young Yugoslavs are outlined by the criteria of membership to the Youth Organization, i.e. ages between 14 and 25. Fuček's findings are useful here not only because they illustrate the transformation of the youth ideal on the verge of the 1960s, but also because he points to opposite discourses through which the Party engaged with the youth of the two generations. Namely, the revolutionary generation experienced some of the country's constitutive events – war and revolution, post-war reconstruction, socialist industry (Fuček 2015a, 643). Discourses that were disseminated via education, mass media and popular culture disclosed a unified narrative of National Liberation, intended to homogenize the youth's formative experience (Fuček 2015a, 643). Accordingly, the discourse about National Liberation was based on a glorification narrative which – as the next chapter shows – was highly present in the early youth cinema. Even the discourse that accompanied early Youth Work Actions resembled that of war and military endeavours (Fuček 2015a, 645). By contrast, the generation of mature socialism was linked with new utopian expectations, and the revolutionary discourse was therefore reduced to the performative dimension. In other words, the very participation in the revolutionary discourse displayed belonging to the socialist society, while personal identifications with that participation were not as important, and as a result more fluid and diverse (Fuček 2015a, 646). Correspondingly, the narrative about National Liberation was by the mid-1950s being presented via

more personal and nuanced discourses in popular culture: the war had a human and tragic dimension and the motifs of divided loyalties and personal distinctions between the Partisans and the enemies became frequent representations (Fuček 2015a, 647).

Perhaps the most telling difference between the two generations was the importance of consumerism for lifestyles and discourses of the generation of mature socialism. As Fuček stresses, consumerism was present in a sense of an aspiration and the youth's acceptance of consumerist values that modernized Yugoslavia promoted (2015a, 647). For instance, in 1955, the youth press was disseminating ideas about expectations and plans of going to the seaside for a vacation, even though most youth at the time could not afford it (Fuček 2015a, 647). Similarly, a new role was ascribed to youth fashion – American jeans which for the revolutionary generation were the symbol of subcultural belonging, for the new generation represented consumerism itself (a new system of values in which the Americanness of the jeans stood for their authenticity) (Fuček 2015a, 647).

The alterations to the way in which the Party addressed the youth, and the youth's identification with the country, was clearly a reflection of economic and cultural changes initiated by Yugoslavia's opening to the West. On the one hand, heavy industry had by the mid-1950s lost its priority for the development of the economy, as the newly established connections with Western countries allowed for the advancement of light industry (Duda 2005, 46). Prioritization of the light industry and merchandise for mass consumption had in return induced consumerist desires among the Yugoslavs, and particularly

among the youth who were first to copy the Western lifestyles. On the other hand, the forming of cultural links with Western countries, and specifically the United States, liberalized the imports of cultural products such as Hollywood films. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 1, the 1950s were a time when the figure of a teenager emerged as a socially recognized category in the United States. Popular culture and consumerism shaped the lifestyle of the American teenager to which young people in Yugoslavia were introduced via imported products of American culture (see Vučetić 2012) and their appropriations in Yugoslav cinema (see Jovanović 2012) and literature (see Kolanović 2011).



Figure 2. 1. Zdenka Vučković and Ivo Robić, "Moja mala djevojčica", Opatija 1958.

On this note, historian Igor Duda takes the 1958 song "Moja mala djevojčica"/"My little girl" – that was known for its chorus "Tata kupi mi…"/"Daddy buy me…" – as the harbinger of Yugoslav consumerism. The song, which won the first prize at the music festival in Opatija and became

immensely popular afterwards, was performed by the famous singer Ivo Robić and a fourteen-year-old girl, Zdenka Vučković (Figure 2.1.). In the song, the young girl lists various products that she wants the father to buy for her. Such perspective of a teenage girl is therefore not only an indicator of Yugoslav consumerism, but also an illustration of the youth's new image, soon to be embraced by the consumer market. Still, how this new image of Yugoslav youth was appropriated by youth cinema will be described in the next chapter. Chapter 4 will furthermore show how in the 1960s attitudes towards such new image of youth changed over time: from female representations of appropriated Western immorality to depictions of emancipative practices.

2.2.1. Gendering Yugoslav morality

In contrast to the Youth Organization's duties of building and securing the newly formed socialist realm, the new statute from 1949 declared it as an "independent, fighting, democratic, and unique" organization (Statut Narodne omladine Jugoslavije 1949, 39). The organization included working, peasant and student youth of ages between 14 or 15 and 25. Moreover, the 1951 statute amendment noted that membership was voluntary, but also an opportunity for young people to become cadres of the state's administration, management or mass organizations (Statut Narodne omladine Jugoslavije 1951, 39). Another landmark showing that policy concerning youth was becoming moderate is the early 1950s policy about youth's voluntary labour. In an interview given to the youth paper *Omladina* in 1952, the Yugoslav official Đuro Pucar Stari explains that contrary to the early post-war practice when a high presence of youth was needed at the construction sites, young volunteers are

now not as necessary – they would only compensate for the missing number of workers that state-owned enterprises must provide (Nametak 2014, 441). Still, in keeping with this decision, the officials also reduced the number of girls to participate at Work Actions, as revealed in Pucar's interview (Nametak 2014, 441). It was decided that it in such situation it is more practical to invite adults and strong boys exclusively (Nametak 2014, 441-2). This points to the Party's strongly gendered perspective towards physical labour and female work, as was discussed earlier in the section about female emancipation. Despite the liberalization of paternalist treatments of youth that Youth Organization followed through, gender inequality which was instituted in new communist morality continued to exist in different forms.

To illustrate the steady rise of social anxiety over girls' work emancipation among the Party's and youth's representatives, I will here briefly describe gender relations at Youth Work Actions. Arguably, gendered perspectives on youth morality continued to exist in the Youth Organization's later operation, outside the context of Work Actions. I will thus outline the presence of traditional beliefs about women's abilities and duties that existed from the initial attempts of forming the communist morality among the youth, and which continued to exist in later policing of youth activities. Namely, from the very beginning of the youth's volunteering work, girls could not participate in the activities the same way boys did. Despite official doctrine proclaiming gender equality on all levels, girls were joining youth labour brigades in considerably smaller numbers because parents were not eager to let their daughters participate (Nametak 2014, 441-2). Accordingly, parents were also not encouraging

their daughters to join the Youth Organization. As reported in the analysis of the development of the Croatian Youth Organization in 1948, dominant attitude towards girls' participation was that "they will become morally corrupt, and that politics is not something girls and women are supposed to do" (as quoted in Fuček 2011, 526).

However, it cannot be said that officials showed no effort in trying to instil the idea about gender equality among the youth. Ivan Simić's analysis of gender policies towards youth at Work Actions (2018) is thus a useful source of such examples. As he states in his book:

> Surpassing religious and class notions, the Party expected its young members to be amongst the most progressive in terms of communist morality and gender relations, and therefore the Youth Organization was designed to facilitate and police such ideals – just as the Soviet *Komsomol* was presented in the Yugoslav press.
>
> (Simić 2018, 184)

The Party had different ways of introducing gender norms at Work Actions: young men and women from different parts of the country, with diverse upbringing, worked together, lived in camps and played sports together (Simić 2018, 185). The youth press distributed ideas about young shock-workers in the Soviet Union – their enthusiasm, readiness to adapt to new work conditions and loyalty to the Party (Simić 2018, 185). Most importantly, the Party worked hard to demonstrate the 'normality' of female labour: for instance, young women who distinguished themselves through their performance were praised publicly (either alone or together with their comrades from the brigades) because the visibility of working women was a means of changing men's perception about female labour (Simić 2018, 186).

Despite efforts to normalize gender equality at Work Actions, the Youth Press promoted a highly masculine discourse on the new socialist man who could achieve anything and is ready to sacrifice (Simić 2018, 186). Not only did this make it more difficult for women or other men who worked less to identify, but it also set men's productivity norms for women to achieve (Simić 2018, 186). Moreover, when women succeeded in becoming shock-workers, they were praised for being humble, pleasant and not bragging about their accomplishments (Simić 2018, 186). Related to this is also a traditional division of labour in everyday life at the camps. While young men were expected to perform physical work, young women were assigned to domestic work and educational activities (Simić 2018, 186). Surprisingly, this also included women from AFŽ who were sent to youth camps to work in the kitchen or wash laundry (Simić 2018, 187). In sections of the camps which did not have women activists from AFŽ, the Party still recommended that instead of working at the construction site, once a week a certain number of female volunteers stays to cook and wash laundry for everyone (Simić 2018, 187).

Still, regardless of all these issues, it cannot be denied that for some young women living and working at construction sites, outside of their homes, introduced a great change compared to their earlier patriarchal upbringing. Traditional beliefs about gender orders were indeed hard to overcome, not only by young male volunteers who were expected to get used to their female associates but also by Party officials who built their shock-work policies on the Soviet masculine paradigm. It should not then come as a surprise that the Party insisted on practices regarding female emancipation through work, but

completely overlooked the issue of domestic labour, which was still traditionally considered a woman's maternal duty, and hence a feminine one. As in the research by Yugoslav sociologists of the 1980s (Berković and Dinkić 1980; Burić 1980), the normalization of domestic labour was one of the cornerstones of women's failed emancipation in socialism. Therefore, by unintentionally instituting such norms in youth's morality, the Party halted the possibility for young women's total emancipation, whilst promoting the image of a highly masculine man as a desirable cultural model. However, my analytical chapters illustrate how such norms of youth's morality were challenged in social commentaries that some of the films were making. My selected film representations of coming of age in 1960s and early 1970s question both the masculine ideal of manhood and the image of domestic womanhood as desirable models of adulthood in Yugoslavia.

Sexual morality

Gendered perspectives on youth's morality were not only a matter of the division of labour at Youth Work Actions, but also a pattern of ordering young people's desirable and undesirable behaviour. On this note, the prominence of youth's sexuality in the 1950s public debates on popular culture revealed both the officials' anxiety over youth's woken sexuality and their highly misogynist discourse. Yugoslav officials believed that youth's enjoyment in Western popular culture caused their unacceptable behaviour and, more importantly, induced their sexual desires. This is how the 1955 official document entitled "Moral Education of Youth" described the youth's undesirable morality: "Bad student, a lover and a philistine, usually just synonyms for the same type of personality" ("Moralno vaspitanje omladine," Arhiv Jugoslavije 11-72). Thus,

what is particularly important in the quoted illustration of bad morality is the officials' rebuke of the awakened sexuality epitomized in the subject of a lover. This document stressed how young people enter love relationships too easily, which is why they quickly break-up and look for another one, what consequentially leads to "their forming of a habit of constant searching for love adventures and erotic outbursts" ("Moralno vaspitanje omladine," Arhiv Jugoslavije 11-72). Additionally, the officials concluded that there exists a highly regarded belief among the University youth that a young woman should not get married before she "gets twice disappointed," and that "before anything, young people must first obtain much experience to be able to enter marriage" ("Moralno vaspitanje omladine," Arhiv Jugoslavije 11-72).

As Simić notes in his book, in the 1950s youth organizers did not have the requisite vocabulary to openly discuss youth's sexuality. However, their talks about "primitive dances" to Western (jazz) music, "bourgeois decadence" that distracts the youth from everyday reality, or a seemingly widespread "moral debauchery" in the schools and Universities, all refer to young people's extramarital sexual relationships (Simić 2018, 191). Simić's exploration of such discourses finds that women were always at the centre of the debates. Their sexuality was considered a form of "unofficial prostitution" because their sexual relationships did not always result in marriage (Simić 2018, 192). The "unofficial prostitution" in fact translated as young women's intention of gaining material good from having sexual relationships (Simić 2018, 192). The fact that such discourses focused on women exclusively illustrates society's double moral standards by which young women were the initiators and the symbols

of immorality in which young men equally participated. Further evidence in support of the officials' gendered attitudes was the practice of close monitoring of female high-school students. Not only were all pregnancies disclosed to the upper levels of youth organizations, but all reported young women were also expelled from schools or moved to different ones (Simić 2018, 193). The repressive moral code regarding sexuality, in general, and female sexuality, in particular, was slightly relaxed at the beginning of the 1960s. In such a liberalized atmosphere, for the first time in Yugoslav cinema, Jovan Živanović's *Strange Girl* in 1962 presented a semi-nude young woman. In 1963, the popular women's magazine *Praktična žena* published a young woman's confession about her love adventure at Youth Work Actions, the first love story to openly talk about young women's sexual desire. Nevertheless, as my analytical chapters show, conservative beliefs about female sexuality and prostitution continued to permeate the liberalized discourses on sexuality in the 1960s and early 1970s.

2.2.2. Youth's morality and film

The Party's ideologization of youth was practiced through paternalist discourses and official organizations. Still, such hierarchical structuring of the youth's morality and their treatment disregarded the power of the youth's agency. Social and political agency of young Yugoslavs points to the wide scope of youth practices and cultures that go beyond official rhetoric and practice. The proliferation of young people's lifestyles, fashions and self-expressions in public is closely related to the country's opening towards Western influences. The process of the rejection of the Soviet cultural paradigm, which started

soon after the 1948 split with Stalin, can best be illustrated by looking at policies towards importing the Soviet and the American films. Film repertoires in Belgrade cinemas in 1949 showed a greater presence of American films (19) than Soviet works of cinema (18) (Marković 1996, 443). Only a year after, zero Soviet films were imported for distribution in Yugoslav cinemas, and thus American films became dominant in the repertoires (Vučetić 2012, 86). In 1951, for the first time after the war, strict rules about the importation of films from the West were liberalized, specifically regarding Hollywood films (Paramentić 1995, 287). As young Yugoslavs were the most common visitors to film theatres (Janjetović 2011, 209), and as film was the essential tool in Cold War rivalries between East and West, it should not come as a surprise that the Party expressed worries about Western films negatively influencing the youth.

Ivana Dobrivojević's (2010) findings about the youth's everyday life in the 1950s confirm both the effects that Hollywood films had on young Yugoslavs and the Party's anxieties over that. Namely, the Party had at the time regularly organized conferences about the youth and their morality. Their discussions were imbued with generalizations and, as Dobrivojević notes, these generalizations would subsume whole generations under vague explanations – for instance, a conclusion about youth's life aims being easy money and "pleasing the life's passion" (2010, 128). About the Party's concerns over young people's new morality she observes: "Because the majority of films did not suit Yugoslav educational standards in the 1950s, Party officials blamed film for all unwanted phenomena – the rise of underage delinquency, alcoholism, fights and sexual liberation" (Dobrivojević 2010, 130). Party representatives commented

how young people imitate their film heroes by jumping from benches, improvising cowboy-style shooting from guns or copying dressing styles (Dobrivojević 2010, 130). Youth's "decadent behaviour", as officials would characterize it, was found in their wearing of tight trousers, Tarzan-like hair styles, earrings, in dyeing their hair or performing exhibitionist moves at public dances (Dobrivojević 2010, 130). Such practices that contradicted the official morality indicate not only the Party's discomfort about youth's undesirable behaviour but also a great level of youth's social agency.

Yugoslav officials' anxieties about films affecting the youth's morality also became institutionalized in the form of the Council for Film and Youth. Council meetings were held three times, in 1956, 1961 and 1962. Representatives of various official bodies participated in the meetings – e.g. the Council of Societies for Child and Youth Care, Youth Organization and the film section of the youth press – and they discussed the role of film as an educational factor (*Omladina i film* 1961, 8). In the 1961 meeting, the president of the Council of Societies for Child and Youth Care, Branka Savić, concluded how the film press degrades Yugoslav film culture as it pushes the youth in a sensationalist direction, by copying foreign Western articles about film stars (*Omladina i film* 1961, 9). Western melodramas were particularly rated as bad, because they "induce young people's daydreaming and a desire for an empty life" (*Omladina i film* 1961, 9). However, the results of surveys that were presented at the 1961 meeting showed that young people enjoyed seeing Yugoslav films, which was recognized as a highly positive trend (*Omladina i film* 1961, 9). The largest number of those who loved Yugoslav films did so because they related to the

topics (*Omladina i film* 1961, 17). Others enjoyed them because they were useful and educational when they thematized the National Liberation War or more general war topics (*Omladina i film* 1961, 17). By contrast, those who had negative opinions said they did not watch Yugoslav films because of the monotony of film themes and their overall bad quality and acting (*Omladina i film* 1961, 17). Given that 86.14% of the questioned youth said they enjoyed Yugoslav films, it could be said that Yugoslav cinema at the end of the 1950s succeeded in attracting youthful audiences, despite an ever-growing presence of Hollywood films in cinema repertoires. As Chapter 3 of my thesis explains in depth, this corresponds to the thematic, stylistic and material changes in Yugoslav cinema that the self-management reforms generated. What is also significant for the change of perception of Yugoslav youthful audiences is that among the most popular films in the 1950s was František Čap's youth comedy *Vesna* (1953), which the Council representatives complimented (*Omladina i film* 1961, 18). This not only shows young people's interest in contemporary youth topics, but also their attraction to classical Hollywood cinema. As a Hollywood-style comedy about Yugoslav high-school youth, Čap's *Vesna* gained its popularity for adapting American cinema to Yugoslav contemporaneity. This, again, feeds back into the Party's concerns about Hollywood influencing youth's morality, but it also shows their lack of anxiety in cases where Yugoslav films appropriated Western imagery. As the next chapter describes, from the 1960s and beyond, Yugoslav cinema presents numerous examples of entertainment films which glorified Western lifestyles.

Various film sections in the weekly federal youth magazine *Mladost* indicate that film was considered both as an important element of young people's leisure time and as a space for their youthful identification. Film sections consisted of manifold types of texts: critiques and reviews, different surveys on youth's film tastes, interviews with Yugoslav and foreign actors, or competitions for best essays on Yugoslav films. Importantly, the interviews with actors were far from sensationalist representations of their lives – as Party officials worried. For example, on April 25th in 1962 they published an interview with Anthony Perkins who was in Zagreb for a film shoot. Journalists asked about different things, from his experience of working on a film set, to Oscars and Yugoslav cinema. The interview closes with Perkins giving advice to the young readers: "Youth is beautiful, and one should not play with it and ruin it with vain things which do not bring spiritual enjoyment. Being young means earning knowledge capital for future, mature years." (D. J. and P. J., "Ne treba se igrati sa mladošću," *Mladost*, 1962, 289, 8) Furthermore, film sections in *Mladost* often presented youth surveys in which young people shared their opinions on film issues. One such article was questioning the problem of censorship of films intended for youth. In the January issue of the year 1962, this article presented summarized youth opinions on censorship. A young female worker said that the youth should be able to watch everything because that is how they would learn to differentiate the good from the bad (B. Iljenko, "Treba naučiti ljude da gledaju filmove," *Mladost*, 1962, 276, 8). A young clerk explained how prior to going to cinema he selects films he wishes to watch instead of going directly to the film venue, which he also advises to other young people (B. Iljenko, "Treba naučiti ljude da gledaju filmove," *Mladost*, 1962, 276,

8). He, moreover, believes that such approach to film repertoires would help in avoiding discussions about censorship for the youth. However, a quarter of surveyed youth believed that some films should be banned, and most of them posited immorality on the screen as the reason. Interestingly, as the article stresses, the moral argument was used by young men twice as much as by young women (B. Iljenko, "Treba naučiti ljude da gledaju filmove," *Mladost*, 1962, 276, 8). The authors conclude by stating how the results of the survey indicate that young people have unclear criteria for differentiating moral and immoral behaviour, which is why schools, social organizations, youth educators and film clubs should work more on teaching young Yugoslavs how to watch and understand films (B. Iljenko, "Treba naučiti ljude da gledaju filmove," *Mladost*, 1962, 276, 8).

Selected examples of the contents in the magazine's film section therefore illustrate the editorial board's understanding of the significance that film had for youth's official and unofficial upbringing. Young people's opinions and reactions which the magazine articles reflect show the diversity of young people's attitudes and worldviews not only regarding film taste but also their own identification with film stories. However, coinciding with greater levels of liberalization of public discourses, on the one hand, and young people's greater attendance to commercial values, on the other, *Mladost* had over time changed its repertoire to include youth's leisure and film as its constitutive part. In the late 1960s, the magazine changed its focus from film to popular music (rock, jazz and folk), only to completely switch to television as the central site of the youth's identification in the 1970s. As the next chapter discusses, this shift to

television programme corresponds to the crisis that Yugoslav cinema was going through at the beginning of the 1970s. Film in the 1970s was therefore no longer the essential tool for educating the youth, nor were young people enjoying going to cinema as much as they did in the 1950s and 1960s.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the contradictory development of Yugoslav utopian socialism, poised between the communist East and the capitalist West. I illustrated political, social and economic changes that have occurred from the initial period of Yugoslav consolidation after the war until Yugoslavia's last constitution in 1974. The conflict between Tito and Stalin in 1948 was posited as the central shift which steered the course of the country's development towards the utopian phase. The self-management reform, the product of the political crisis, not only generated manifold economic, social and cultural transformations, but also positioned Yugoslavia as the ostensibly most liberal socialist country in Eastern Europe in the 1960s. Still, as the chapter showed, the reform also introduced laws and practices that contradicted socialist ideology, and as such it added to an already problematic development of two of the country's important ideological tendencies: female emancipation and class liberation.

Contradictory developments in Yugoslav utopian society were moreover found in the communist ideologization of youth. I described how the youth ideal shifted from the early revolutionary and hard-working youth, to the Westernized and liberal youth in the late 1950s and 1960s. The chapter also linked the halted female emancipation with gendering of communist morality

that was being disseminated and regulated among the youth. At the centre of gendered perspectives on youth's morality were the conservative views on female labour and sexuality. Special attention was finally given to illustrating the significance of the film medium in the Party's paternalist discourses on youth's socialist upbringing. However, by analysing film sections in the *Mladost* magazine, I showed how youth's enjoyment and understanding of the film medium revealed different attitudes, some of which coincided with official views on censorship and film's educational role, while the others disapproved of such outlooks. Essentially, the chapter aimed at answering two questions. What socio-political processes led to creating ideological antagonisms that selected youth films reveal in their representations of youth? How did such processes change the youth ideal, i.e. the official perception of the youth, so that unfavourable portrayals of young people become prominent film representations? In a similar fashion, the next chapter will outline the main trends in Yugoslav cinema that developed with the self-management reform, and which allowed for youth films and the first representations of coming of age to emerge.

Chapter 3: Yugoslav cinematography and the emergence of the coming-of-age theme

Youth films which thematize the coming of age of young Yugoslavs appeared for the first time in the early 1960s as a result of the fast and contradictory development of Yugoslav cinematography in the previous decade. One factor was predominant in conditioning the advent of coming-of-age films in Yugoslavia – the self-management reform. Not only did the reform change the manner of financing and distributing films but also shaped the uncertain institutional status of coming-of-age film stories which created space for their subversive potential. As this chapter discusses in detail, by pushing a centralized and state-financed cinematography towards a decentralized system based on box-office success, the 1950s economy generated the rise of various popular genres, including youth films. Nested between producers' commercial aspirations, directors' individual poetics and the ideological impetus of the self-management reform, early-1960s youth films introduced coming-of-age narratives as the new form of youth representation. Therefore, as films for young people, coming-of-age stories belonged to the commercial production which targeted youthful audiences by appropriating their lifestyles. However, as narratives about the socio-cultural phenomenon of maturing, these films represented the *new* society by problematizing the integration of young heroes to the official, adult world. Quite differently from other types of youth films, coming-of-age

narratives have the capacity to critically probe the youth phenomena that is being represented. In other words, youth films about growing up in Yugoslavia could be regarded as commodities that were made and distributed by the film industry, whereby they (re)produced mass fantasies about modern life in Yugoslavia. Yet, these films could also be deemed art forms whose usage of coming-of-age narratives reflects the authors' individuality, in the way they construct film stories about contemporary everyday life in Yugoslavia. Certainly, such an elusive cinematographic status of the coming-of-age narrative could not have appeared in Yugoslav film practice had there not been for the market incentives in cinematography.

In building a film context for the analysis of selected youth films, I rely on theory about the mutual interdependence of the modes of film practice and film styles, which David Bordwell, Janet Staiger and Kristin Thompson develop in their book *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style and Mode of Production to 1960* ([1985] 2005). By positing Hollywood cinema as a "distinct artistic and economic phenomenon" (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson 2005, xvi), these authors show how specific modes of film practice (such as Hollywood's integral system of film workers, production rules, machinery, institutions, theoretical concepts etc.) induce their own cinematic styles, as the authors note:

> A mode of film practice, then, consists of a set of widely held stylistic norms sustained by and sustaining an integral mode of film production. Those norms constitute a determinate set of assumptions about how a movie should behave, about what stories it properly tells and how it should tell them, about the range and functions of film technique, and about the activities of the spectator. These formal and stylistic norms will be created, shaped, and supported within a mode of film production—a characteristic ensemble of economic aims, a specific division of labor, and particular ways of conceiving and executing the work of filmmaking.

(Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson 2005, xvii)

I therefore argue that the contradictory status of the Yugoslav film industry in the 1960s and early 1970s, but also the ambivalent status of coming-of-age youth films, created space for diverse (often subversive) representations of modern Yugoslavia and its socialist youth. The selection of youth films in this thesis aims at mapping such different approaches to coming-of-age narratives during the richest period of Yugoslav cinematography – from 1962 until 1973. The chosen sequence not only overlaps with the era of Yugoslav utopian socialism, but also corresponds to the emergence of the first youth film to depict growing up in contemporary Yugoslavia. By looking at cinema's organizational forms and aesthetic developments (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson 2005) this chapter outlines the conflicting evolution of Yugoslav cinematography, before and during the period in question. In establishing material and aesthetic conditions for the emergence of the first coming-of-age film story, the chapter also presents a short but diverse history of youth films that preceded the four selected films.

3.1. The conflicting development

In 1966, a well-known film critic and publicist Vicko Raspor wrote an article for *Filmska kultura*, regarding the twentieth anniversary of Yugoslav cinema. In the article, he notes the discrepancy between the financial necessity of cinema systems and ideological expectations of artistic practice that generated a context in which Yugoslav cinematography found itself lacking the state's support both as film industry and film art (Raspor 1988, 6). Such an observation comes at a time when Yugoslav cinema already experienced multiple

reorganizations, legislative amendments and aesthetic innovations. Thus, twenty years after it had emerged as an organized system of production and distribution, Yugoslav cinematography lost its economic priority in the eyes of the state. This change in the officials' perception of Yugoslav cinematography indicates two things. On the one hand, it points to a rapid development of cinematography's material base, in which Yugoslav communists invested greatly. On the other hand, because so many resources were being placed in the development of the film industry, even at times when the country was experiencing serious financial hardship, the Yugoslav leadership eventually realized that state cinema is an overly expensive project. The film historian Daniel Goulding was therefore right to link the ambivalent status of Yugoslav cinematography to the conflicting context of market-oriented socialism:

> As a result, Yugoslav cinema often suffered from contradictory pressures and ideological limitations imposed, on the one hand, by relying on box-office returns to define success (as in the commercial cinema of the West) and, on the other, by the imposition of socio-political definitions and restrictions on artistic expression (as in the more heavily centralized, bureaucratically managed film systems in the former East Bloc countries).
>
> ([1985] 2002, x)

Still, Yugoslavia not only established a large and complex film industry from the ruins of a war-devastated country, but also formed a rich film tradition that went hand in hand with cinematographic developments in other European countries, as well as in the United States. Hence, if aesthetic innovations follow cinema's modes of production (film infrastructure, legislative regulations, studio or independent production etc.), then the evolution of Yugoslav stylistic approaches, genres and thematic interests was advancing correspondingly to the fast development of the film industry.

Although histories of Yugoslav cinema (Liehm and Liehm 1977; Munitić 1978; Goulding [1985] 2002; Volk 1986) differ in terms of exact chronological boundaries of the periods of cinematographic development, they agree on its scheme of classification, one which Yugoslav film theorist Dejan Kosanović developed in 1976. According to Kosanović, Yugoslav cinematography before and during the years 1962-1973 could roughly be divided into three periods: the administrative period (1945-1951), the period of decentralization (1951-1962) and the period of republic funds (1962-1973).[5] Each of the periods is characterized by the specific mode of film practice (Bordwell, Staiger and Thompson 2005) in which developments of film studios, film theatres, cinema laws and financial structures fostered the types of films that were being made.

It should finally be noted here that I will not be touching upon the issue of censorship in Yugoslav cinematography. Censorship of cinema production was not something inherent to communist cultural systems alone. For instance, in 1912 the British Board of Film Censors was formed in the interest of political control, and it comprised of the representatives of industry and government (Landy 1991, 27). Similarly, Hollywood's Motion Picture Production Code (1930-1968) presented moral guidelines for the industry, guarding the acceptable and unacceptable forms of behaviour to be depicted. However, to what degree were scenarios of Yugoslav films changed by censoring mechanisms of "prevention filters" is difficult to know, as there still are no studies

[5] For the purposes of this thesis, the development of Yugoslav cinematography will be presented in a synoptic manner. For the same reason, I will not be talking about primary forms of cinema organization which evolved from propaganda film sections of Partisan units during the war. For more detailed general accounts on Yugoslav cinema see Liehm and Liehm 1977; Munitić 1978; Škrabalo 1984; Goulding [1985] 2002; Volk 1986;

which examine this specific issue. Investigating this issue would surpass the limits of this thesis, as well as the needs of my argument.

3.1.1. Administrative period

The administrative period, during which cinematography was systematically organized for the first time after the war, reflects the centralist federal scheme on which the early Yugoslav economy was founded. Based on the Soviet model, the organizational scheme assumed a hierarchical structure of one federal institution and several republic institutions underneath it. Hence, the emergence of the two central institutions of this period: the Film Enterprise of the Federation of the People's Republics of Yugoslavia and the Committee for Cinematography. While the former aimed at producing and distributing domestic films, as well as importing foreign films for domestic film theatres, the latter was the highest government organ responsible for the development of film. Between 1946 and 1948, both institutions established republic networks of film enterprises and film committees: Avala film (Belgrade, Socialist Republic of Serbia), Jadran film (Zagreb, SR Croatia), Triglav film (Ljubljana, SR Slovenia), Bosna film (Sarajevo, SR Bosnia and Herzegovina), Vardar film (Skopje, SR Macedonia) and Lovćen film (Budva, SR Montenegro). Although the Committee for Cinematography managed all film enterprises, approved screenplays and appointed people to work on film projects (Škrabalo 1984, 123), the established republic networks in fact anticipated the following decentralized organization in the 1950s. The Committee was disbanded in 1951 which also marks the end of the administrative period.

Another important aspect of development in this period was the extensive effort to create a network of film theatres and film projection halls "which would provide an average of one film-showing facility for every ten thousand inhabitants" (Goulding 2002, 6). Not only did Yugoslav officials repair film theatres inherited from the previous regime or those destroyed during the war, they also built new ones and provided the so-called mobile cinemas (Raspor 1988, 13). Mobile cinemas were used in the most underdeveloped regions and served as a way of bringing film culture closer to the people. In this way, the number of cinemas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo became twice higher than the number of projection halls before the war (Raspor 1988, 13). However, as cultural historian Zoran Janjetović notes in his monograph, despite the officials' strong efforts, the pace at which cinema networks were developing could not follow the growing demands of Yugoslav audiences in this initial period (2011, 56). Related to this was also the issue of insufficient technical equipment in the film theatres: film projectors were old and often broken, which made the watching of domestic films particularly hard, as the sound was incomprehensible and the picture too dark (Janjetović 2011, 62). Yet, compared to pre-war conditions with few privately-owned projection halls (Raspor 1988, 13), the state-owned network of cinemas founded in this early period presented a great advancement, and an equally solid basis for future progressive developments to come.

One of the greatest challenges during this initial phase was the fact that film workers in Yugoslavia had no tradition to draw upon. For this reason, many of them went abroad to study film, others entered the newly founded

film schools in the country, while the rest had to learn from practice – mostly by making short documentaries and news reels, the most common film formats of this period. A tell-tale case in this early practice was the making of the film *V gorah Jugoslavii*/*In the Mountains of Yugoslavia* (Abram Room) in 1946. This Soviet film about the Liberation War was originally meant to be a coproduction with Yugoslavia, which is why many Yugoslav film workers participated in its making. Among them was also a Partisan theatre actor Vjekoslav Afrić who would direct the first Yugoslav fiction film *Slavica* a year later (Gilić 2011, 39-40).

Considering the lack of experience and scarce film knowledge, a total number of thirteen feature films and more than 192 documentaries during the first five years of production has to be seen as a remarkable result. Clearly, these films could not have been anything but technically amateurish and simple in their narrative structure. Nevertheless, this pioneering crudeness of early Yugoslav cinema was noticed by the film community, as they organized a conference in 1949 to discuss the problems in Yugoslav filmmaking. The participants talked about such issues as screenplay writing, film themes, directing, photography, acting, music and editing (Raspor 1988, 18). Commenting on the conference, in his speech at the first congress of the Union of Film Workers, Raspor notes the greatest difficulty to be the quality of screenplays, for instead of focusing on one specific topic, the writers aimed to cover a whole theme, e.g. the National Liberation War (1988, 18). This, he explains, forces the directors to simply "retell the story" and not develop the details or subtly characterize the protagonists (Raspor 1988, 19). The pioneering film community was thus

fully aware of the deficiencies of cinematography in Yugoslavia, which is why they insisted on public discussions about finished cinema projects, as well as on broadening the spectre of genre and thematic interests in the future.

Poetically and thematically, the first Yugoslav films were limited to their propagandistic purpose demanded by the cultural policies in the early post-war period. Therefore, it could be said that these films were made in accordance with socialist realism, the most consecrated aesthetic at the time. Still, some argue that the administrative period was marked more by the gradual development of classical narrative style than by the aesthetic laws of socialist realism. In describing the influence of socialist realism during the first several years of Yugoslav film production as tangential, I rely on Nebojša Jovanović's (2014) insights on early Yugoslav cinema. Jovanović explains how the dominance of socialist realism in this period is rather disputable – as some critics underplay its influence and others exaggerate it, all of them posit it in pejorative terms "as a priori intertwined with propaganda" (Jovanović 2014, 15). In Jovanović's words:

> I believe that it is safe to say that the socialist realism cinema shaped Yugoslav cinema several years after the Stalin–Tito face-off, gradually falling from grace (at least to some extent and in some circles), i.e. in Raymond Williams's terms, the status of socialist realism shifted from the hegemonic to the residual.
>
> (Jovanović 2014, 16)

He, therefore, suggests that instead of talking about the Yugoslav variant of socialist realism cinema, researchers discuss the early/immature classical style of Yugoslav cinema (Jovanović 2014, 16). Nevertheless, it was Hrvoje Turković who initially made the critical grounds for Jovanović's claim. In his

article on 1950s Yugoslav cinema, Turković explains how the Soviet populist film art, i.e. the poetics of socialist realism, in fact draws from the western populist cinematography – the classical (Hollywood) narrative style (2005, 126). So, despite the level of influence of socialist realism, the very beginning of Yugoslav cinematography was also the initial phase of the classical narrative style.

As in the rest of the world's cinematographies of the time, Yugoslavia's early classical style introduced various themes and genres. Three general groups of themes were present: Partisan antifascist struggle during the war, post-war socialist contemporaneity and historical themes. Films set in World War Two were constructed in different genres – from social (*Slavica*, Vjekoslav Afrić, 1947) and epic dramas (*Živjeće ovaj narod*/*This People Will Live*, Nikola Popović, 1947), to proto-thrillers (*Besmrtna mladost*/*Immortal Youth*, Vojislav Nanović, 1948) and children's films (*Dečak Mita*/*The Boy Mita*, Radoš Novaković, 1951). Post-war contemporaneity films mostly belong to what Jovanović labels „the cycle of renewal and construction" of the country devastated by war (2014; 2015). This group of films introduced the socialist melodrama (Vladimir Pogačić's *Priča o fabrici*/*Story of a Factory*, 1949, and Radivoje Lola Đukić's *Jezero*/*Lake*, 1950) and the first comedy (*Plavi 9*/*Blue 9*, Krešo Golik, 1950). As the next section of this chapter shows, this group of films is particularly important for thinking about youth film in Yugoslavia because young people were the prominent figures in film stories about post-war reconstruction and the revolutionary socialist élan: i.e. a story about the magnificence of youth labour brigades, *Život je naš*/*Life is Ours* (Gustav Gavrin, 1948) and *Blue 9* (Krešo

Golik, 1950), a comedy revolving around young football players, their sport ethics and socialist morality. Less popular than the previous two thematic categories, historical films were either adaptations of domestic classical realist novels – *Sofka* (Radoš Novaković, 1949) and *Bakonja fra Brne*/*Monk Brne's Pupil* (Fedor Hanžeković, 1951) – or fantastic stories based on South Slavic folklore (*Čudotvorni mač*/*The Miraculous Sward* made in 1950 by Vojislav Nanović and Jože Gale's children's film *Kekec* from 1951). Importantly, *The Miraculous Sward* and *Kekec* were not only first fantasies but also the first films to target youthful audiences. Despite the overall scarce qualities, the administrative period created the foundations for classical and modernist cinema in the following two decades, as well as for the youth genre that will soon proliferate in many diverse forms.

3.1.2. Decentralization period

Following the self-management reform that was being implemented on all institutional levels, the 1950s introduced legislative and organizational changes in cinematography whereby processes of film production, trade and distribution evolved towards more decentralized forms. This coincided with the officials' pragmatic acknowledgement that for a country which was still recovering from war, state-funded cinema was a luxury (Škrabalo 1984, 150). Therefore, the 1950 Law on Self-management instituted a new legal arrangement according to which film production was defined as economic activity with "special cultural significance", film trade as domestic or international commerce and film distribution as a service activity (Goulding 2002, 35). The new legal arrangement divided the film production into three different categories.

They were the owners of film technology (film enterprises and workers handling the technical bases), owners of the finished film (film studios) and the free association of film workers (film artists such as directors, editors, cinematographers etc.) (Goulding 2002, 35-6). Essentially, film artists had now gained a freelance working status – they could be employed on whichever project and with any film studio they wished. In practice, however, this meant that managers in film enterprises were left with all rights to allocate the money and decide about film projects, whereas film artists entered a precarious working state in which they had no social benefits or secure working conditions (Škrabalo 1984, 155). Although with this new law Yugoslav officials tried to correct the earlier practice of overburdened budgets, they opened a new set of problems. Not only did film artists have to compete and prove their skills based on no established criteria, but also cinematography continued to depend on state subsidies which were now in the form of grants that film enterprises obtained from republic budgets.

To remedy the consequences of early decentralization, in 1956 officials introduced a Film Law which replaced the system of state subsidies with a system of taxes. That is, the 1957 regulation Film Law established a mandatory contribution for the advancement of Yugoslav films which film theatres had to supply by contributing 17% from the sale of admission tickets (Škrabalo 1984, 182; Goulding 2002, 37). Put differently, films were supposed to finance their own cost of production by becoming "box-office" successes. Thus, with this transformation of cinematography's legal and financial schemes, twelve years after the war, began yet another phase of Yugoslav film: the so-called

producer's cinema. Central to this mode of practice was the figure of a producer (most usually the manager of the film enterprise) who replaced the role of the state in the processes of film production. Instead of state organs allocating film funding, there was now an automatic system of financing the producers according to the level of the financial success of their films (Škrabalo 1984, 183).

Indeed, for the first time since Yugoslav cinema was formed, organizational changes ensured the legal security of domestic film and formed the economic base for further development of Yugoslav cinema. However, the phase of the producer's cinema could not have lasted long, as such market incentives were not adequately adapted to the Yugoslav film industry. Namely, the money from the taxes on ticket admissions still followed a centralized scheme of distribution. Commissions all went to the Federal fund, from where they were automatically divided among the producers. Not only had this generated an unprecedent rise in the number of films made, but also the competition for resources from this single fund stimulated cheap productions (Škrabalo 1984, 185). It soon became obvious to film critics that such hyper-productivity negatively affected the overall quality of Yugoslav cinema. For instance, in 1957 Raspor describes the state of film art as "the surge of technology and organizational machinery of producer houses (often illustrative of unartistic atmosphere, and awry understandings of industrial and 'business' components of cinema)" (Raspor 1988, 53). Similarly, for Kosanović, a trend in producer's cinema fostered the "commercialization" of Yugoslav cinematography which was illustrated in the general depreciation of "the social functions and artistic value

of films" (Kosanović 1985, 29). All this had once again led the officials to introduce another legislative framework in 1962, by which film contributions were finally decentralized under the jurisdiction of separate republics.

As Turković notes in his article, the 1950s were the „golden era of development" for Yugoslav cinema (2005, 122). Not only has the classical narrative style matured during this period, but also in parallel to the classical style individual styles began emerging as proto-modernist heralds of the next phase. The classical style – characterized by realistic narrative motivations, image composition and editing – brought to the surface directors such as Branko Bauer, Branko Belan, Krešo Golik, and Veljko Bulajić, whose films quickly achieved higher narrative standards (Turković 2005, 126). Therefore, the possibility of continuous individual production in the 1950s allowed the individual styles of these directors to emerge. However, what is particularly interesting here is not the classical style itself, but the fact that individual directors developed their classical style by working in different genres. For instance, one of the most popular directors of the time, Bauer, moved from films for children (*Sinji galeb*/*The Grey Seagull*, 1953, and *Milioni na otoku*/*Millions on an Island*, 1955), war melodramas (*Ne okreći se sine*/*Don't Turn Round, Son*, 1956) and contemporary melodramas (*Samo ljudi*/*Only Human*, 1957), to youth comedies (*Martin u oblacima*/*Martin in the Clouds*, 1961, and *Prekobrojna*/*Superfluous*, 1962). The critics praised Bauer's individual classical style, which brought him several awards for the best film at the first Yugoslav Film Festival in Pula (for *Don't Turn Round, Son* and *Superfluous*).

Nevertheless, what stands for the stylistic peculiarity of this period is its proto-modernist tendency, recognized in innovative films that move away from classical, objective narration, towards a more subjective form of expression. These stylistic innovations, which Turković describes as „modernist 'revisions' from the margins" (2005, 128), concern two specific films from the 1950s: Belan's *Koncert* (*Concert*, 1954) and Bulajić's *Vlak bez voznog reda* (*Train Without a Time Table*, 1959). Interestingly, critics back then marked Belan's *Concert* negatively because of its episodic construction, but complimented Bulajić for his neorealist approach which they considered to represent a new and different cinematography (Turković 2005, 128). Still, given that both cases present unique divergences from the dominant mode of production, film historians take them as heralds of the modernist

style.

Thematically, in this period Partisan and World War Two films began to lose their dominance to films with historical and contemporary settings. More importantly, from the mid-1950s onward, modern contemporary themes proved to be of great interest to the audiences, which the producers – the new centres of power in the industry – took seriously. By further developing this trend, the producers generated a stream of popular films which were labelled as "commercial entertainment" genre (Raspor 1988; Boglić 1962; Kosanović 1985). Therefore, in 1961 the production counted thirty-two films, which marked the quantitative peak in the Yugoslav cinematography (this level was reached again in 1967 which indicated a strikingly disorganized production) (Goulding 2002, 64). Being mostly "easy" musical comedies, which

centred around domestic celebrity pop culture, these films are a testament to the paradoxical development of Yugoslav cinematography.[6] Namely, the decentralization of the industry forced the importers and distributors to focus on financial gain, as they were not entitled to state subsidies the way film production was (Janjetović 2011, 181). The repertoire politics therefore reflected such financial imperatives (Janjetović 2011, 181), by showing commercial foreign films which then shaped the audiences' tastes. Conversely, by catering to audience demands, domestic producers engaged in making "easy" commercial films, which the critics categorically discarded as bad (Raspor 1988; Boglić 1962).

As part of this commercial tendency towards everyday contemporary topics the first youth films emerged which portrayed the modern life of young people in Yugoslavia. As the section on youth films illustrates in more depth, Srećko Vejgand's *Igre na skelama* (*Scaffolding Games*, 1961), Bauer's *Superfluous* and Jovan Živanović's *Strange Girl* in 1962, launched a series of films about youth's pleasures and perils of life in contemporary Yugoslavia. Although these films belonged to different genres and styles, they converged in their representation of Yugoslav modernity via stories about young people.

3.1.3. The period of republic funds

The turbulent period that followed the further decentralization in 1962 was a junction of previous contradictory developments in the film industry and art.

[6] As listing all films which could be deemed the commercial genre would surpass the scopes of my thesis, I will here mention the ones in which musical pop stars actually participated: *Ljubav i moda/Love and Fashion* (Ljubomir Radičević, 1961), *Nema malih bogova/There are No Small Gods* (Radivoje Lola Đukić, 1961) and *Velika turneja/Grand Tour* (Žorž Skrigin, 1961).

Therefore, the thematic and stylistic abundance of the period – ranging from a populist renewal of Partisan war themes to modernist revisions of narratives about the war experience or life under socialism – does not come as a surprise. In film historiographies, Yugoslav cinema of the 1960s and early 1970s pivots around the politics of *auteur cinema* only. However, for the purposes of my argument, this period should be approached from two perspectives. On the one hand, this was an era of more flexible processes of production in which large studios were often replaced with smaller production units of "film working associations" (*filmske radne zajednice*). On the other hand, this was a time of modern Yugoslav cinema that emerged under the label of "new film" (*novi film*). Certainly, both aspects shape this era of cinematography, and both are important for mapping the ambiguous status of coming-of-age film stories that this period generated.

With regards to cinema's organization, the 1960s were marked by the shift towards greater republican autonomy in dissemination of financial resources. A result of this shift were two newly formed centres of film production, in the autonomous regions of Vojvodina, Neoplanta film (Novi Sad, 1966), and Kosovo, Kosova film (Priština, 1970). But, although improved and decentralized, the film industry underwent several crises that resulted in a general reduction of feature film production in the early 1970s. From its extremely ambitious film production (the highest peak was reached in 1967) to a constant decline in the number of film viewers (whose number dropped by 71% between 1961 and 1971), the industry was in a dire state. As Goulding explains: "Film production enterprises often overextended their credit and the

availability of 'self-managed social resources' and several newly established film enterprises folded for financial reasons" (2002, 64). This gave rise not only to smaller independent production houses but also to new modes of production. It should, however, be noted that a parallel presence of the old-style large studios and novel independent productions allowed for the continual coexistence of light entertainment films (musicals and comedies), films of traditional classical style (e.g. Bauer's and Bulajić's films) as well as experimental avant-garde films (documentaries and animated films) and works of auteur cinema.

Perhaps the most important date for the development of the new mode of production was 1967: from this year onward, the process of obtaining film funding included a competition between the film authors (most commonly film directors) who applied directly with their projects (Škrabalo 1984, 258). Through this change, the author became a dominant factor in deciding about themes, screenplays, actors and other parts of film production. In fact, this was an embodiment of revolutionary insights fashioned by a group of film critics and publicists in various film journals in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Partly inspired by the ongoing trends in French cinematography of *nouvelle vague*, and partly stimulated by the problems in Yugoslav cinematography, these critics, theorists and authors were promoting the concept of *New Yugoslav Film*. New film was supposed to increase the individual and collective artistic expression, to foster stylistic experimentation and link film more closely to contemporary topics (Goulding 2002, 66). Films which were usually presented as heralds of the New Film were *Ples v dežju*/*Dance in the Rain* (Boštjan Hladnik,

1961) and *Dvoje*/*Two* (Aleksandar Petrović, 1961), contemporary love stories shaped in the modernist film language. Early works of New Film were officially criticized for their "ideological and aesthetic straying" which in the eyes of Yugoslav ideologists such as Veljko Vlahović were linked to Western practices of new wave revolutions in world cinematographies (as quoted in Goulding 2002, 71).

However, despite such objections from state officials, the most prominent New Film directors began conquering domestic and international film festivals, and quickly gained much support from the film community. As Turković notes in his article on modernism in Yugoslav cinema, 1965 marks a watershed in the history of New Film, because that year Pula Film Festival counted a higher number of modernist films than those of producer's cinema or classical film styles (2009, 95), including Dušan Makavejev, Aleksandar Petrović, Živojin Pavlović, Kokan Rakonjac, Puriša Đorđević, Vatroslav Mimica, Ante Babaja and others. Towards the end of the decade, films by some of these authors (and other younger directors such as Želimir Žilnik) came under public scrutiny, after a series of attacks on behalf of the official film critique that belittlingly labelled their work "black film/Black Wave cinema" (Boglić 1968; Čolić 1968; Jovičić 1969).[7]

The quest for new cinema aesthetics is nevertheless fundamental for mapping the ambivalent valuation of coming-of-age youth films in this period.

[7] New Film is perhaps the most researched aspect of Yugoslav cinematography. As this vantage of the 1960s and early 1970s film is not crucial for my argument, I present it in broad strokes. For more comprehensive accounts see Novaković 1970; Volk 1986; Goulding 2002. For specific accounts on individual authors see Sudar 2013; Šprah 2013; Mortimer 2009. For information on the „black film" affair see Tirnanić 2008; DeCuir 2011; Jovanović 2011.

Namely, as part of their arguments, the proponents of New Film were critically attacking the commercialism of the producer's cinema (particularly, future well-known authors like Vatroslav Mimica and Dušan Makavejev). This is how Jovanović explains this process: "In the name of the modernist developments and often with the zeal of the Young Turks, this new generation persistently criticized their predecessors, in the film press and other public forums, as the Yugoslav version of *cinéma de papa*, as it were" (2014, 26). Still, their unconditionally pejorative labelling of commercial films turned these popular films – as well as their constitutive, entertaining musical parts – into symbols of kitsch and cheap production. As my analytical chapters show, this cultural process had a strong impact on the way certain youth films were regarded. For example, coming-of-age stories like Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love* which critically appropriate musical aspects of youth culture were simply written off as attempts at commercial cinema. However, from a different angle, these cultural processes stand as illustration of the fact that coming-of-age youth films which are selected for my analysis cannot be classified via the aesthetic standards of the time. In other words, *Strange Girl*, *Three Hours for Love*, *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man*, rare examples of coming-of-age cinema in this decade, resist clear definition either by their modes of production or by aesthetic norms. In terms of production, these films could be regarded as works of auteur cinema because each of these directors led their film projects from the beginning until the end (some even had to apply twice for the finances as they were rejected in the initial rounds of applications). But, concerning the directors' awareness of young audiences, these popular youth films could also be deemed examples of the producer's cinema. They depict youth's leisure

activities in a way that they also promote these lifestyles: by inducing young people's identification and fostering their desires for such ways of life. As I illustrate in the following section, my selected films rely on early youth films (ideological films about the youth's role in society and youth comedies) as much as they coincide with New Film's appropriations of the youth in their critical representations of everyday life.

Even a quick look at the way the historiography of Yugoslav cinema presents the directors of the four films indicates their ambivalent position. For instance, in *History of Yugoslav Cinema* Petar Volk finds *Strange Girl* to be an exception in Jovan Živanović's total oeuvre, which he describes as "a constant fluctuation between auteur and commercial cinema" (1986, 182). Volk furthermore characterizes the majority of Hadžić's films as "feuilletons", even though he acknowledges Hadžić to be a great creator (mostly in the domain of socially engaged cinema) (1986, 278). Similarly, *The Bug Killer* is for him "one of the most interesting films in 1971", which brings to the surface the talent of Milan Jelić, while at the same time this film stands as a symbol of cinematography's „wandering and uncertainties, and overall doubts in the possibility of auteur cinema" (Volk 1986, 225). Finally, about Vanča Kljaković's films and particularly his *Get it, Man*, Volk states that they show Kljaković's skill, but they also indicate his "inability to gain a unique identity and practice" (1986, 280).

Therefore, in the context of 1960s Yugoslav cinema, my selected youth films deconstruct the binary of producer's and auteur cinema, i.e. the mainstream and the art film. Moreover, such an ambivalence in the selected coming-of-age film stories indicates the level of youth's commodification at the time,

which is also a testament to the shift in the officials' understanding of youth as social and socialist formations.

3.2. Youth film in Yugoslavia

As in the rest of the world's cinematographies, in Yugoslavia youth films presented a rich conglomerate of themes, genres and cinema styles. I am here only sketching this prolific tradition: from early ideological stories about the youth's symbolic role in Partisan resistance or the country's post-war recovery, to classical youth comedies, "easy" entertainment films and modernist perspectives on youth. As I explained in the previous chapter, in the early post-war years Yugoslav communists saw the youth as a pivotal symbol in the socialist imaginary. Young people therefore had to be part of the early cinematography. Clearly, their presence was strictly metaphorical – either as symbols of revolutionary morale during the war, or allegories of socialist future that was being built in the reconstruction period. But, over time, the youth's appearance on film adjusted to various changes in cinematography, while also corresponding to a gradual liberalization of society and young people's greater social independence. The advent of the coming-of-age theme at the beginning of the 1960s is a manifestation of such social transformations, because for the first time in Yugoslav cinematography these films treated the youth as autonomous subjects. Given that a full list of youth films which appeared from 1947 until 1973 is offered in Appendix 1, I am here focusing on films that were important for the development of coming-of-age stories in the early 1960s. In other words, I shall try to illustrate those films which initiated certain trends

inside the youth genre, be it the means of representation, youth themes or film genres.[8]

3.2.1. Early youth representations

Early post-war cinematography is essential for exploring youth films in Yugoslavia for several reasons. Firstly, the youth was crucial for the official ideology in this period; hence, their function of representing socialist reality in-the-making, social progress and the revolutionary struggle. These films instituted the type of young characters who are revolutionaries with the highest moral standards, prepared to sacrifice their lives for the greater good, or willing to prioritize communal values over individual desires and needs. This character type is a foundation which the following young protagonists advance, or from which they diverge. Secondly, these early films offered the first symbolic spaces for the self-identification of young Yugoslavs. As I noted in Chapter 2, literary and cinema themes that were related to the National Liberation War or the post-war reconstruction corresponded to experiences of the early post-war youth generations. Therefore, despite the metaphorical function of young protagonists, these film stories struck a resonant chord with the younger audiences, as they echoed with young people's memories and everyday lives.

The first Yugoslav feature film, *Slavica* (1947), introduces the first young protagonist. This Partisan melodrama is illustrative of ideological

[8] Yugoslav cinematography also counts a great number of films for children. Different genres of children's films appeared as early as in 1951. Because this genre is not part of my research, I will not talk about it in this section. It should only be stressed that apart from the officials' shifting of their interest in youth, Yugoslav communists changed many policies regarding children, which domestic cinematography followed in its proliferation of children's genres and themes: from films that focus on children's sacrifices during the National Liberation, to adventures and fantastic stories.

glorifications in representations of war themes. The eponymous Slavica is a poor peasant girl who falls in love with a local fisherman, Marin, and the two become emblematic of the pre-war proletarian resistance. The lovers join the fishermen's co-operative in its struggle to fight the local capitalist who holds the monopoly over fishing from their island. This is why the local fishermen name the boat after her, the same boat in which she dies heroically, trying to save it from German bullets at the end of the film. Still, contrary to the patriarchal norms of the melodrama, Slavica is the pivot of revolutionary action in the film. In his research on early Yugoslav cinema, Jovanović takes this aspect of *Slavica* as indicative of gender emancipation that the new socialist order fostered, and which early cinema reflected:

> A far cry from the proverbial virginal purity, which has to be sacrificed at the altar of Revolution, she is actually a prime mover of the action, most notably in the first part of the film, which is set in the pre-war period and centred around the building of *Slavica.*
>
> (2014, 91)

Not only does Slavica initiate the couple's joining the fishermen's co-operative but also suggests the romantic relationship after she and Marin kiss. More importantly, through falling in love with Slavica, Marin realizes the necessity of the Partisan resistance (Jovanović 2014, 91). As I will show in the first analytical chapter, such gender dynamic in love relationships has by the 1960s almost totally vanished from Yugoslav (youth) cinema. The romantic norm in later representations of heteronormative love suggests that if a woman is ideologically self-conscious, this is only possible through her falling in love with the right man. As the centrifugal force of the film's action, Slavica therefore institutes the figure of an emancipated young woman who is in control of her

own life to such an extent that she willingly sacrifices it for the greater good. Such a protagonist reflects the early post-war morality and the state's policy of promoting gender equality as the socialist imperative.

Nevertheless, several other protagonists are also indicative of this revolutionary morality. For instance, a young couple from *Besmrtna Mladost* (*Immortal Youth*, 1948) who join the resistance in occupied Belgrade: a young man Rade is a respected member of the Communist Youth, whereas young Vera comes from the upper classes but embodies a surprisingly high level of ideological consciousness. Similarly, in *Zastava* (*Flag*, 1949) a brave young ballerina Marija abandons the National Theatre in Zagreb and joins the Partisans where she learns about the communist revolution and the necessity of the national liberation. Indicatively, all these young heroes endure some sort of sacrifice for the cause of liberation from the German occupier: they lose either their professions or their lives.

In addition to war films about brave young Yugoslavs, early classical cinema instituted contemporary stories about hard-working youth who personify exemplary socialist morale. The first such film was *Život je naš* (*Life is Ours*, 1948), a story about the most famous event of the post-war renewal of the country – the construction of the so-called "youth railway" (from Šamac to Sarajevo) which was the symbol of youth working actions in Yugoslavia. The plot revolves around a young volunteer, Milan, who gets badly injured while working on a machine that drills the tunnel for the railway. Milan's unquestionable dedication to the cause, as well as his loyalty to his youth brigade, force him to escape from the hospital and finish repairing the drill so that his

youth group completes the task on time. In a different vein, the first Yugoslav comedy *Plavi 9* (*Blue 9*, 1950) posited the first contemporary young hero who represented the socialist ideal outside the context of war or youth labour brigades. The film's didactic story about socialist morality in sports is based around the contrast between two young heroes: the footballer Fabris, an individualist who gets carried away in his fame, and Zdravko, a hard worker at the shipyard who recreationally plays football for his factory's team. At one point, Zdravko gets moved to the first-league football team, Dinamo, where he gets the number "Blue 9". The crisis in the film's story sets Zdravko a moral question when he must choose between taking part in an important working task and playing in an international football match. Zdravko undoubtedly chooses to help his colleagues at work, for which he gets rewarded by the officials in the club and in the factory, who allow him to participate in both activities. At the same time, Zdravko's reward serves as the motif for teaching Fabris a moral lesson: the coach bans him from playing at the international football match, in which Zdravko scores a goal that brings Dinamo a victory.

Blue 9 was educating the youth about the true values of hard work and camaraderie, and hence the socialist system which treats those principles with respect. Nevertheless, as Jovanović's analysis of gender politics in early Yugoslav cinema shows (2015), the didactic story of *Blue 9* conjoins a desirable socialist moral code with patriarchal understandings of romance. That is, in the film's romantic plot Zdravko transforms Nena (a student apprentice at the shipyard who is also the most successful member of their swimming team) from an ideologically disinterested girl into someone who acknowledges the

importance of the collective (Jovanović 2015a, 38). Thus, contrary to Slavica who initiates a proletarian adventure with her lover, *Blue 9* instates the trend of young female characters whose socialist individuality depends solely on their male counterparts. As we shall see in the following pages, this is particularly important when thinking about *Strange Girl* which draws from this trend. On a different note, *Blue 9* laid the groundwork for future films that were to depict the youth's leisure time. This contemporary comedy is filled with scenes where kids play football on the street or go swimming, young people go to dancing, play pool or go to sport's games.[9] More importantly, leisure here also serves to negatively characterize Fabris, as he is the one who strives for a Western lifestyle by going to jazz dances and playing pool, whereas Zdravko only works and plays sports. The use of leisure for revealing bad socialist ethics will be a common narrative strategy in later youth films, and particularly in *Strange Girl*.

3.2.2. Youth genre

Arguably, the youth genre begins with the first film that depicted the life of young Yugoslavs without making them metaphors for socialist morality. In other words, the genre starts with films that not only portray young characters, but also construct stories about their everyday reality, lifestyles and points of view. This was done either through setting the plots of different genres in environments that represent the youth culture (school, university, dances, fashion shows, etc.), or by closely focusing on the plight of youth

[9] Perhaps this is why the film gained such popularity, to a degree that a grocery store in Zagreb (Škrabalo 1984, 141) and a popular decorative candy box were named after it.

(following young characters in their struggles with their parents' generation, sexual awakening or search for employment).

In that respect, the first youth film was a youth comedy, *Vesna* (1953), directed by an experienced director, a Czech *émigré*, František Čap. If *Blue 9* introduced the form of classical pre-war comedy, *Vesna* initiated the practice of youth's representation via Hollywood aesthetics: from costumes and the *mise-en-scène*, to comic motifs and mature narrative style, this romantic comedy about secondary-school troubles and first loves leaves an impression of the 1950s Hollywood cinema (Figure 3.1.). The film continued the trend of depicting leisure activities, only with no didactic incentives; music, fashion, airplanes and parachuting are all part of the youth's everyday activities. It does not then come as a surprise that *Vesna* was the first film to generate hysteria among the youthful audiences (Figure 3.2.). The papers reported on the film's premiere: the crowds of young people had to be secured by the police, people waited from six in the morning to buy tickets, and two glass windows at the box office were smashed (*Filmski Vjesnik* III, 1954).

The sheer success of *Vesna* – which brought Čap the award for the best director at the Pula Film Festival in 1954 – is thrown into relief by the somewhat more modest reception of the film's 1957 sequel, *Ne čakaj na maj*/*Don't Whisper.* This film introduced the same group of young characters, but in a more glamourous and attractive manner, highly representative of Western lifestyles. The sequel was clearly not as successful, given that *Vesna* was the first film of its kind and that it presents a unique social phenomenon of its time. In 1959, Čap directed another youth film, *Vrata ostaju otvorena*/*The Doors*

Remain Open. This melodrama about a young delinquent Rade presents not only a shift in the types of young characters that were being represented on film, but also a moment of sudden proliferation of the youth genre.



Figure 3. 1. Hollywood style: the acting crew from *Vesna*.



Figure 3. 2. The youth's hysteria: Actress Metka Gabrijelčić who played Vesna, signs autographs at the Belgrade premiere.

As detailed accounts of all the youth films that were made from the 1950s onward would surpass the limits of this thesis, I am here offering a categorization of youth films according to novel trends and themes that were being established. I have already explained earlier how Yugoslav cinema at the beginning of the 1960s saw a complete decentralization of film production and distribution, and an even greater dependence on ticket sales. This brought about a series of "easy" entertainment films, a trend which was introduced to youth cinema by the film *Love and Fashion* (1960). Radičević's *Love and Fashion* is a musical comedy about a group of young people, members of the aviation club, who organise a fashion show in order to collect money for their

aircraft parade and a summer vacation. As researchers argue, far from representing the everyday contemporaneity of its time, this film was a projection of a desired image, based on the influence of Western popular culture on Yugoslav everyday culture (see Dimitrijević 2016). Coinciding with Yugoslavia's speedy opening to the West, Radičević's film remains a unique example of the producer's cinema that treats the youth theme as a symbolic resource for the promotion of modern, westernized urban life. A case of proper "exploitation formula" (Doherty 2002, 7), *Love and Fashion* fostered desirable images of Western youths' middle-class lifestyles: the presence of musical pop stars, fashion shows and Vespa motorcycles remain unmotivated in the story to such a degree that it seems their sole purpose was advertising.

The following year brought a few novelties in terms of youth narratives and film styles. Bauer's youth comedy *Martin's Head in the Clouds* (1961) revolves around a housing issue, a serious contemporary problem that young people were experiencing at the time. The same year also presented Petrović's drama about two young lovers*, Dvoje*, heralding the arrival of New Film in Yugoslavia. However, it is important to note that in the early 1960s there were four films which focused on older adolescents (i.e. University students) and all of them were made before *Strange Girl*. Apart from *Love and Fashion*, there were also *Superfluous* (1960), *Scaffolding Games* (1961) and *Nočni izlet/Night Excursion* (Mirko Grobler, 1961). While *Superfluous* portrays University youths as a counterpart to the rural youth in labour brigades, *Scaffolding Games* ascribes utter cynicism and disinterest in real life matters to Zagreb University students. *Night Excursion* pivots around a youthful prank at a party

and the consequences of their supposedly innocent games. These films therefore introduce two images of the youth which coming-of-age stories selected for my analysis try to problematize: the image of urban youth as a symbol of the new, modern, westernized era in Yugoslavia and early 1960s youth as cynical individuals who are not ready to become responsible members of society.

Youth films that appeared after the first contemporary coming-of-age story, continued to introduce novelties. For instance, in 1962 the youth drama *Peščeni grad*/*A Sand Castle* (Boštjan Hladnik) was the first to depict mental health issues among the youth who are tormented by their earliest war memories. *Glasam Za Ljubav*/*I Vote for Love* (Toma Janić, 1965) and *Višnja na Tašmajdanu*/*A Girl in the Park* (Stole Janković, 1965) are not only the first films to portray the troubles of teenagers, but also the first to use central motifs from the modern youth genre – intergenerational conflict, teenage angst and rites of passage. The years 1965 and 1966 brought several films about the plight of the rural youth: Bauer's *Doći i ostati* (*To Come and Stay*, 1965) and Obrad Gluščević's *Čovik od svita* (*Man of the World*, 1965), as well as Dragoslav Lazić's *Tople godine* (*Hot Years*, 1966) which introduce the theme of young people working abroad. The second half of the decade launches another twist, in the way youth was used as a symbolic resource. A series of films posited a young individual against the world, questioning the philosophical conflict between the individual's freedom and social demands; such as *Каде по дождот*/*Where to After Rain* (Vladan Slijepčević, 1967), *Kad budem mrtav i beo/When I am Dead and Pale* (Živojin Pavlović, 1967), *Gravitacija ili fantastična mladost činovnika Borisa Horvata*/*Gravitation, or Fantastic Youth of the Clerk Boris*

Horvat (Branko Ivanda, 1968) or *Bez*/*Without* (Miloš Radivojević, 1972). In a similar vein, films like *Rani Radovi*/*Early works* (Želimir Žilnik, 1969) and *Mlad i zdrav kao ruža*/*Young and Healthy like a Rose* (Jovan Jovanović, 1970) used youth as a symbolic resource for socially engaged commentaries on Yugoslavia's ideological and material straying from its Marxist foundations. Furthermore, the problem of delinquency was also more openly present in the cinema of this decade (1965 drama *Ko puca otvorice mu se*/*Those Who Shoot Will Have the Door Opened* by Marko Babac, Fadil Hadžić's *Divlji anđeli*/*Wild Angels* from 1969 and *Pjegava djevojka*/*The Freckled Girl* from 1973 by Mirza Idrizović). The last theme that youth cinema established in this period was idleness and a moral wandering of the youth. The films which are representative of such a trend are *Horoskop*/*Horoscope* (Boro Drašković, 1969), *Nedelja*/*Sunday* (Lordan Zafranović, 1969) and *Bube u glavi*/*This Crazy World of Ours* (Miloš Radivojević, 1970).

In twenty years of youth cinema in Yugoslavia (1953-1973), fifty-one films were made in various genres and styles. This figure testifies to the existence of a tradition of youth film comparable to other cinematographies in the world. This variety of forms and content influenced my four selected coming-of-age film stories, either directly or tangentially. Instead of simply illustrating the emergence of the modern urban youth, *Strange Girl*, *Three Hours for Love*, *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* question the youths' moral code whereby they also portray the antagonisms of the adult world. In their attempts to capture the complexity of maturing in a society torn between a socialist ethic and consumerist aspirations, these films unveil the patriarchal and classist bias of

Yugoslav socialism. Thus, each in its own way, the four films reflect the contradictions of the Yugoslav youth genre, such as between commercial and auteur cinema, or the use of the youth for its metaphorical purposes and their representation as social subjects. Moreover, by sharing the narrative of maturation, my selected films are valuable for the study of representations of young people and their coming of age in modern Yugoslavia. They allow me to test my interdisciplinary method of positing coming of age as a social phenomenon, on the one hand, and as a common film narrative, on the other. The four films' contemporary setting furthermore participates in the representation of modern life during the utopian phase in Yugoslavia. This, finally, makes grounds for my analysis of a complex relationship between the film representations of young people, coming of age as their new mode of representation, and the context of utopian socialism which generated coming-of-age representations as the new way of presenting the image of modern Yugoslavia.

3.3. Conclusion

Youth film is an insufficiently researched subject in the history of Yugoslav cinematography. As I mentioned in the Introduction, apart from Dimitrije Vojnov's article (2008) no one else has written on the matter. To properly introduce the tradition of youth genre from which my four selected films draw, I outlined the speedy evolution of the Yugoslav film industry that laid the foundations for the emergence of coming-of-age youth films in the early 1960s. This chapter therefore examined the contradictory traits of the industry's development which generated various conflicting trends in cinema's aesthetics and ideology. The evolution of Yugoslav cinema from 1945 to 1973 is roughly

divided into three periods. I showed how three different modes of film practice not only characterized the three cinematographic periods, but also generated their own cinematic styles.

The administrative period was characterized by the centralist financial scheme and a hierarchically organized film infrastructure when, during this initial phase, the early classical style of Yugoslav cinema emerged. Three themes were dominant in this style, reflecting the ideological impetus of the time: the Partisan anti-fascist struggle, post-war socialist contemporaneity and historical topics. By contrast, the period of decentralization was marked by a reformist set of laws that decentralized control of film production, distribution and trade, and therefore improved the previously overburdened centralized structure. These changes facilitated the rise of various genres and themes in the classical film style, as well as the first modernist tendencies. At the same time, the 1956 Film Law introduced the so-called producer's cinema, a series of entertainment films which were made to become "box-office" successes. This trend changed the thematic focus from Partisan and World War Two films, to historical and contemporary cinema. Most importantly, as part of this commercial trend of contemporary topics, the first youth films appeared which thematized the modern life of youths in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the period of republic funds was rather unstable and full of contradictions inherited from the previous seventeen years. As such, it generated new forms of production: independent "film working associations" which coexisted with earlier forms of large studios. These modes of film practice allowed for conflicting styles of film to coexist – light entertainment films, films of traditional

classical style and experimental avant-garde works of cinema. Similarly, the thematic spectre changed, yet not in a sense of introducing new topics but in the way that old themes were being approached, from populist renewals of Partisan war themes to subjective narratives about personal war experiences. The emergence of New Film which marks this period by its auteur poetics also affected the recognition awarded to and the success of coming-of-age youth films in this decade. Lastly, despite its final move towards total decentralization in 1962, in this period of Yugoslav cinematography the industry was in crisis (i.e. the striking reduction of film production and the decline in film audiences).

In sketching the tradition of youth cinema from which my selected coming-of-age stories are drawn, I focused on those films that initiated certain trends inside the youth genre which were important for the development of coming-of-age youth cinema. Two motifs in the representations of young people in early Yugoslav cinema were noted as fundamental. First, the love dynamic in heterosexual relationships which even after the first film, *Slavica*, began to reflect a patriarchal understanding of romance. Second, the motif of sacrifice which triggers the moral action in these films. Both elements were essential in the construction of the youths' revolutionary and socialist moral code as exemplary. Be they films about Partisan resistance, or contemporary stories about post-war reconstruction, these early representations of young Yugoslavs reflected the two symbolic pivots of Yugoslav post-war morality. By positing Čap's youth comedy *Vesna* as the first Yugoslav youth film, I defined the youth genre as films portraying the life of young Yugoslavs without making

them symbols of socialist morality. Until the early 1970s, youth cinema counted various genres – comedies, melodramas, social dramas, "easy" entertainment films and teen films – among the many different topics which reflected young people's modern lives: first love, growing up in Yugoslavia, mental health issues, housing problems, delinquency, plights of rural youth etc. Importantly, films about older adolescents which preceded my four selected coming-of-age stories introduced two images of Yugoslav youth: the urban youth as symbol of a modern, westernized era and youth as cynical individuals lacking in socialist morality. The following chapters will illustrate how *Strange Girl*, *Three Hours for Love*, *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* reproduce, challenge, or ambiguously merge the two images of modern youth. By bringing together different features of cinematography and youth cinema, these four films stand as unique specimens of Yugoslav cinema in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Chapter 4: Becoming a Yugoslav Woman

In the First conference of the Anti-Fascist Women's Front (AFŽ) – held in Bosanski Petrovac in December 1942 – Tito welcomed the establishment of the organization and addressed women delegates. Indicatively, women at the ceremony were sitting in the second row, behind the male guests of honour (Pejić 2010, 98). This ironic historical image is rather symbolic of the position which women in socialist Yugoslavia had. As highly important contributors to the antifascist struggle, already during the war Yugoslav women acquired social and political equality with men. But, as the image tells us, this equality was never achieved in all aspects. The reasons for this are numerous, from the state's insufficient focus on changing the private (traditional and patriarchal) practices, to the gradual disintegration of women's official organizations. Still, the socialist legal framework brought a significant level of emancipation for women in Yugoslavia, which allowed for the official rhetoric to continue to exist as a dominant view on women's issues.

This chapter examines the theme of becoming a woman in Yugoslavia in the 1960s. It offers analyses of Jovan Živanović's 1962 film *Strange Girl* and Fadil Hadžić's film *Three Hours for Love* from 1968 in which young heroines – Minja (Špela Rozin) and Maca (Stanislava Pešić)– come to terms with the hypocritical world of adults as they enter Yugoslav womanhood. It is important to notice that out of two hundred and forty-six films that were made in the 1960s, Yugoslav cinema counts only thirty-six films in which women are

either the leading protagonists or part of the group of protagonists (Appendix 2). Six of these films are about the youth: *Prekobrojna*/*Superfluous* (Branko Bauer, 1960), *Ljubav i moda*/*Love and Fashion* (Ljubomir Radičević, 1960), *Igre na skelama*/*Scaffolding Games* (Srećko Weygand, 1961), *Strange Girl, Каде по дождом*/*Where to After Rain* (Vladan Slijepčević, 1967) and *Three Hours for Love*. In that sense, Živanović's and Hadžić's films are rare examples of 1960s youth films with contemporary setting that are built around the experiences of maturation of Yugoslav girls. Such statistic corresponds to what art historian Bojana Pejić names "a process of masculinization" of Yugoslav public statuary and cinematography from the 1950s and beyond (2010, 100), when "the Amazon/Partisan no longer had a leading role in Yugoslav war films, and contemporary films rarely chose to center the plot around a woman" (108). This downfall of the revolutionary heroine, as Pejić's puts it, also coincides with the emergence of the "New Yugoslav woman [who] wishes in peacetime to be well dressed in public [and] has to also be reminded that in private, at home, she is expected to conduct her domestic duties as if the Revolution never took place" (101). By (in)directly pointing to such contradictory social expectations of Yugoslav women at the time, these coming-of-age films of the 1960s challenge the idea of socialist female maturation.

In their case study of women workers at Jugoplastika factory, Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Marina Blagaić describe Yugoslav womanhood of the late 1950s and 1960s as:

> […] the issue of the discrepancy between the socialist rhetoric of women's emancipation and non-discriminatory employment, and the

> gradual objectification of women's bodies, desires and wishes in a sexualized media and popular culture parallel with their passivization within "discourses of domesticity".
>
> (2013, 43-4)

In this chapter, such contradictory ideological messages about the new femininity in Yugoslavia outline the gender context for the young heroines' maturation. Because of the films' narrative structure that constructs the story around the young protagonists' transformation, the coming-of-age category allows us to interpret social mechanisms for adapting the young adult to this new level of experience. In the case of female protagonists, however, social mechanisms for adaptation indicate methods for teaching young girls to 'know their place' in the world of adults. Hence, the category of gender will have an essential role in analysing girls' coming of age in this chapter.

Socio-political interpretative contexts which in this chapter link the films to the decade of the 1960s are the opening of Yugoslavia towards Western influences and tensions between conservative and liberal tendencies; tendencies that became intergenerational and intra-social clashes. By focusing on the narrative structure – Minja's and Maca's narrative voices and cinematic points-of-views – and central motifs of love (*Strange Girl*) and innocence (*Three Hours for Love*), my analysis points to some of the socio-cultural complexities of the time which these films reveal. Moreover, the films' appropriation of such social phenomena indicates their different relationship with Yugoslav dominant discourses – while Živanović reproduces traditional conservative beliefs of the time, Hadžić challenges the conservative and liberal ideas alike. For instance, leisure in *Strange Girl* is a proof of unwanted 'Westernization' of the urban youth in ascendance, whereas in *Three Hours for*

Love – drawing on Marx's belief that "in future free time must be the space for the full development of the individual" (Broćić 1980, 43) – Maca's absence of leisure is the main cause of her life inexperience. Similarly, Minja's liberal sexuality is in Živanović's film a source of her strangeness which needs to be corrected, while Hadžić makes Maca's sexuality a tool of revolt. The same goes for the issue of class anxiety which in the case of Minja is ridiculed and overcome as part of her youthful 'strangeness' but serves as motif for Maca's acknowledgment of her social position and hence her own participation in the hierarchies of symbolic violence.

The following sections present the interpretations of Živanović's *Strange Girl* (4.1.) and Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love* (4.2.) as Yugoslav coming-of-age films. Each of these two sections consists of interpretative contexts (4.1.1. and 4.2.1.), directors' poetics (4.1.2. and 4.2.2.) and film analyses (4.1.3. and 4.2.3.). My analysis is structured around different social and ideological problems that the young heroines' integration into society exposes: traditional conservativism, bad socialist youth, failed emancipation, socialist affluence, social anxieties and violent sexuality. The last section (4.3.) offers a typology of female characters in Yugoslav cinematography which the young heroines advance. The section closes with examinations of the film reviews of the time that misrecognize discrepancies between the official image of Yugoslav daily life and its representation in the two films. Conclusion (4.4.) sums up the main arguments from the analyses of the films.

4.1. *Strange Girl*'s love ideology: the promise of modernity and failure of emancipation[10]

Živanović's *Strange Girl*, one of the few youth melodramas produced in socialist Yugoslavia in the early 1960s, is an example of how despite the uniformity of the official doctrine of socialism cinema created spaces for ambiguous representations of everyday life. Through portraying love as the motif for the young heroine's transformation, Živanović's film reveals the unjust world of Yugoslav socialism where the only way for the heroine to be integrated into society is to abandon her emancipatory practices. The film has so far been interpreted as a youth melodrama (Milosavljević 2014) where a young girl finds purpose in her life after meeting the right man. Still, what such interpretations overlook is the fact that Minja's story of finding true love is also a story of her maturing, and that *Strange Girl* strongly resembles the classical *Bildungsroman* narrative: she moves from a small town to a big city and after a series of misapprehensions and disappointments she finally makes her peace with the world by internalizing the contradictions she encounters in the world of adults (Moretti 1987; Jakobs and Krauze 2000).

My interpretation of *Strange Girl* builds on an argument previously made by Thomas Schatz in his study of Hollywood genres (1981): according to melodrama's social value and ideological conventions, the couple's romantic conciliation celebrates the values of social integration into a stable environment (29). The analysis, furthermore, takes the genuine instability of

[10] This section has already been published as an article of the same name, but in a slightly different form in *Studies in Eastern European Cinema* journal. See Đurović 2018.

Yugoslav socialism of the time as the film's drive for symbolic reconciliation between Western cultural influences this heroine embodies and the self-management reform. Branka Doknić's insights on Yugoslav cultural policy in the 1950s are useful in thinking through such symbolic reconciliation: "In the mid-fifties, the domain of ideas came to be crucially important [for the governing of the country] as it was given the function of ideological justification of the contradictions ranging from unclear foreign policy to growing social differences in the country" (2013, 109). Yugoslav culture and arts in the late fifties and early sixties thus became a way of reinforcing what historian Denison Rusinow in the 1970s described as a "Yugoslav road to socialism" (1977, 58). Such symbolic reconciliation is seen here as a specifically Yugoslav vision of modernity, which was generated by simultaneous processes of post-war industrial modernization and the culture of modernism (Kolešnik 2012). In the film, this harmony will be accomplished with the heroine's transition to womanhood, symbolized in the lovers' union, and her emancipation which threatens the stability of the community will then finally be abandoned.

Produced by one of the six major Yugoslav cinema houses, Avala Film, *Strange Girl* brings a story about Minja's coming of age in Belgrade in the early 1960. It is based on the motifs from Grozdana Olujić's novel *An Excursion to Heaven* (1957). Having undergone a painful love experience with an older man in her small town, nineteen-year-old Minja comes to Belgrade to study economics. Throughout the film viewers witness her rather unusual life: clever, high-spirited, yet cynical and verbally sharp, Minja now challenges every man she meets, going freely from one relationship to another. She enacts

the stereotype of a modern young *femme fatale* who does not believe in marriage or love, wittingly living up to her role of being the 'strange girl', a byword for a 'promiscuous girl'. However, her falling in love with a medical student, Nenad, triggers a transformation in her, after which she accepts not only roles of wife and future mother, but also the poor livelihood they are forced to have as students who married young. Minja becomes a proper socialist woman, marrying out of love, sacrificing for the greater good, and becoming economically independent by finding a job.

4.1.1. Yugoslav ideological crossroads

Živanović's *Strange Girl* appears at a time of great Yugoslav social and economic instability. Perhaps the two most important political acts which initiated the conflicting nature of Yugoslav progress after the 1948 Tito-Stalin split were: the introduction of the "Basic Law on the Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations by the Work Collectives" in 1950, and the Yugoslav League of Communists' 1958 programme which was "guaranteeing 'the maximum satisfaction of personal and collective people's needs' by, *inter alia*, raising the level of consumption and adjusting this to the tempo of more rapid economic development" (Duda 2016, 195).

During different Yugoslav periods, the conflict between the self-management postulates and a promise of consumer abundance manifested itself in various ways. At the time when self-management was introduced, "consumerism was alleged to be the origin of a whole host of social evil, and yet at the same time the pronounced emphasis on increased living standards

was also often treated as a desirable and natural aim of state policy, a just reward for the working class" (Patterson 2011, 253). On the threshold of the 1960s, the contradiction was made plain through disparity of the growth of personal income and the stagnation of production in 1960 and 1961 (Bilandžić 1976, 219), which eventually divided the Yugoslav leadership on the issue of the self-management reform. The 'liberal' wing, which was reformist, called for a complete economic and administrative decentralisation of the country (Klasić 2012, 20). The 'conservative' wing, which was expressing doubts in the process, believed it would be better to follow the Soviet Union's state-socialist model (Dimitrijević 2016, 109). Despite President Tito's public endorsement of the conservative approach at the beginning of 1962, the end of the year saw a final determination of Yugoslavia's new path towards decentralisation, at the Fourth Central Plenum of the Yugoslav League of Communists (Klasić 2012, 23).

The two political streams were also driven by different cultural tendencies – openness towards the external (Western) influence, and cultural conservativism (Dimitrijević 2016, 109). Progressive opening toward Western influences was, moreover, enthusiastically welcomed by women who saw the consumerist improvements of their everyday life as an added benefit of political emancipation in socialism (Dimitrijević 2005, 210). Still, the cultural shift towards mass consumption in the early 1960s was not a Yugoslav case only, but a pan-European response to the Cold War rivalry between the East and the West. For instance, the shift influenced in similar ways cultural trends in Poland where social commentators "worried about 'the girls on the crossroads', caught between the old world of domestic confinement and the

new era of economic and moral independence" (Fidelis 2009, 175). This pan-European shift also participated in the reproduction of global cultural stereotypes, by which in socialist countries the Western morality was interpreted unfavourably:

> As in the earlier examples of music and style, Soviet media criticized not the general interest in using Western symbols, labels, and brands among the Soviet youth in the 1970s and 1980s but the extreme manifestations of this interest, equating it with low moral values, egoism, and laziness.
>
> (Yurchak 2005, 198)

The shift in Yugoslavia to consumerism differed since it was a part of the liberal tendency of self-management reform. Hence, Yugoslav appropriations of stereotypes about bad Western morality were closely linked to negative understandings of liberal tendencies. The antagonisms of the period kept growing and had over time spread from differences among the leadership to intergenerational differences. Additionally, the youth's appropriation of Western middle-class lifestyles in the early 1960s started culturally restructuring the society, gradually creating the Yugoslav middle class, who were predominantly living in the urban areas of the country (Dimitrijević 2016, 66). *Strange Girl*'s ideology should thus be read through this political conflict, which also became an intergenerational (the elderly vs. the youth) and intra-social conflict (youth workers vs. the urban youth).

4.1.2. Živanović's conservative poetics

With his first film *Prvi letovi/Early Flights* made in 1948, Jovan Živanović (1924-2002) belongs to the early generation of Yugoslav filmmakers. Starting as a documentarist, he soon began making fiction films which throughout his

total opus varied in style and modes of production. One thing, however, could be deemed constant in his opus before and including *Strange Girl*: problematic female characters. *Strange Girl* follows a pattern of female characters Živanović establishes in his earlier two fiction films, *Zenica* (1957) and *Te noći* (*That Night*, 1958). As Nebojša Jovanović argues in his article on gender, romance and labour in classical Yugoslav film, compared to the rest of the films that were produced in the first decade of Yugoslav cinema, these two films introduce a novel way of portraying women's relationship to work: the middle-class housewife who is deprived of professional aspirations and ideological consciousness (2015, 43). In *Zenica* and *That Night*, female characters are wives who follow their husbands in pursuit of their professional careers, gradually becoming embittered housewives. Živanović's "celluloid housewife [therefore] gave body to [the] 're-domesticated woman', who depends on the male breadwinner, but who actually rules – or believes that she rules – her own domain as the mistress of the modern household and the heroine of the leisure lifestyle" (Jovanović 2015a, 43).

It could be argued, however, that Minja differs from the rest of Živanović's celluloid women, as she resonates with another type of a female character, the so-called *mondain* woman who epitomizes gender emancipation in the context of a consumerist utopia (Jovanović 2015a, 44). Corresponding to the rising level of emancipation for women, the figure of *mondain* woman first appeared in cinema after the First World War, and it won back its popularity again in the 1950s (Peterlić 1990, 166, as quoted in Jovanović 2015a, 44). *Mondain* woman is "a figure of the self-reliant, often self-centred woman, materially independent of the man, and a spiritually independent

woman who emancipated herself" (Peterlić 1990, 166, as quoted in Jovanović 2015a, 44). By the advent of *Strange Girl*, Yugoslav cinema has already had an example of such a character: young Lula from a theatre play (Dragutin Dobričanin, 1951), later turned into a film, *Zajednički stan*/*Common Apartment* (Marijan Vajda, 1960). Coinciding with the time this theatre play was first produced, Lula as a *mondain* woman was "a socialist stereotype for Western superficiality and decadence" (Malešević 2012, 114). She enacted a self-indulgent young girl, obsessed with her looks and the latest world fashion trends. Her character was later followed by a novel *mondain* image, Sonja, the heroine of a youth musical *Ljubav i moda*/*Love and Fashion* (Ljubomir Radičević, 1960) represented by an excellent student, who in her spare time flies a plane or rides her *Vespa*. Sonja depicted "a modern, pretty, independent urban girl […] who became the personification of an ideal new woman" (Malešević 2012, 114). Both characters are important for thinking about *Strange Girl* and the paradox Minja embodies. By enacting superficial mundanity, she is provoking the conservative environment, and her defiance of the social conventions is a way of emancipation. However, her playful character changes after discovering true love, and the image of a fearless young woman is then replaced by one of a confident wife and mother. Hence, the scope of Minja's emancipation shows the predominant influence of Živanović's earlier work, as the potential *mondain* Minja is in the end domesticated.

Strange Girl is based on Olujić's novel *An Excursion to Heaven* (1957). Although a comparative analysis of Olujić's novel and Živanović's film exceeds the scope of my thesis, it is important to notice the method of Živanović's film

adaptation, because it foregrounds his predominant conservativism. A bleak story about Minja's tragic search for purpose and the unknown beauty of life, Olujić's novel is full of naturalistic descriptions of young people struggling in Belgrade during the early 1950s when Yugoslavia was still in the process of post-war reconstruction. As a young girl whose life is marked by deaths and sufferings of her closest people, Olujić's Minja is a tragic anti-hero whose quest for the meaning of life begins with an absolute loss of illusions about a joyful existence. In this way, Minja's promiscuous lifestyle in the novel is just a narrative strategy for alienation from the rest of the population, her traumatic memories, and from her premonition of the final tragic event in the novel, when instead of living happily ever after with Nenad she finds him lifeless in their bedroom.

In her monograph of Serbian female avant-garde novel, Slavica Garonja Radovanac (2010) discusses the works of Olujić as prominent examples of the genre. Regarding Olujić's *An Excursion to Heaven*, Radovanac concludes how successive shifts of realistic images of miserable existence, described in a highly metaphorical style, „imply that there will be no breakthroughs [...] no betterment, and that everything has to finish [...] tragically (in an epoch proclaiming fast improvement towards prosperity)" (2010, 296). Thus, it does not come as a surprise that almost one third of the novel was censored in its first edition in 1957, due to "amorality" (Minja's pessimism and promiscuity); in 1959, a theatre play based on the novel was removed from the repertoire because it was "scandalous", after which Olujić experienced a period of exclusion from literary circles (Radovanac 2010, 299). Her novel was criticized as „brutally cynical," „an unsightly picture," and above all „an outdated book"

(Radovanac 2010, 299). Having this in mind, Živanović's decision to make a film based on *An Excursion to Heaven* could be seen as somewhat risky. Perhaps this is why Živanović not only shifts the focus to the new generation of youth, but drastically changes the direction of the story: Minja's and Nenad's love wins over all difficulties that life brings upon them. Minja's desolation and despair, for which Olujić's novel was censored in 1957, in Živanović's 1962 interpretation became elements of her cynical 'strangeness'. Thus, to overcome her oddness, Živanović's Minja had to fall in love with the right man.

4.1.3. The film's response

Yugoslav antagonisms of the early 1960s discourses of modernity and conservativism, which also transformed into intergenerational and intra-social clashes of the time, function as the ideological background for Minja's patriarchal maturation in a socialist society. The liberal and the conservative tendencies are presented via the oppositions seen in modern (comfortable) and traditional (impecunious) ways of life. Following this duality, Živanović presents us with two opposed lifestyles according to which people who Minja meets on her journey of maturing are also grouped. Her first Belgrade lover Peđa and her arty friends represent the leisure lifestyle, while Nenad, her naive roommate and young workers stand for the traditional lifestyle. Minja's uncertainties about the right decision reflect such opposed values, and she eventually opts for the traditional side: a harsh but secure adult life in love.

Through discovering romantic love, Minja learns to sacrifice herself not only for her partner but also for her country as she now becomes a responsible working woman. In the last analysis, the only relation to emancipatory

practices Minja ever gets is through romantic love because the reason why she finds employment in the first place is to help Nenad. The motif of love sacrifice is therefore a narrative strategy for mediating the conservative discourse as the right idea of Yugoslav womanhood: an adult woman should essentially be a wife and mother, and when necessary a worker. Minja's *mondain* character is nothing but an opportunity to represent the motif of transformation, which is why her modern lifestyle is linked with her love of popular culture and dancing to jazz music. Such representations of girlhood resonate with the Yugoslav Communist Party's views on youth in the late 1950s which linked the youth's engagement with popular culture to their promiscuity (Dobrivojević 2010, 131). Minja's love for modern living had thus to be given up as she transitions into responsible adulthood.

The following sub-sections present the analysis of traditional conservativism that Minja's coming of age reveals, and which Yugoslav ideology of the time supported. The first sub-section posits one symptom of defeated modernity to be the film's conservative visual identity which frames Minja's patriarchal maturation. The sub-section on desirable and undesirable youth pivots around the film's love ideology which relies upon the idea of sacrifice. Youth landscape in the film indicates a hierarchical order of the types of sacrifice and love that young people embody. The last sub-section shows Minja's failed *mondain* emancipation as a product of the intergenerational conflict whereby Yugoslav youth in late 1950s and early 1960s was thought to be appropriating the bad Western morality.

A defeat of modernity

The ideology of love in *Strange Girl* is perhaps best illustrated by the film's visuals and cinematic narration. Antagonistic tendencies of the time are displayed here through two opposing *mise-en-scènes*: modern New Belgrade and the old barracks in the Voždovac area of Belgrade. To visually justify Minja's decision to choose Nenad and his conservative lifestyle, Živanović negatively presents the progressive motifs, i.e. the New Belgrade setting. With true love Minja learns the true values in life – honesty, dedication, hard work and modesty. She, therefore, decides to abandon her comfortable modern life in New Belgrade and move into an old dilapidated barrack with a newlywed husband. In this way, the two opposing *mise-en-scènes* represent desirable and undesirable images that support Minja's transformation to womanhood. Such visual underlining of her maturing exposes the conservative ideology that love in *Strange Girl* relies on, and which Yugoslav socialism of the time supported.

Among other aspects of Yugoslav post-war modernization, New Belgrade symbolized the construction of a newly imagined future. Buildings with modern housing solutions, the Federal Presidency (SIV), "Hotel Jugoslavija" and the enormous complex of student halls represented Yugoslav modernity as much as they epitomized socialist Yugoslavia. In the film, however, we only briefly see the grandeur of a newly-built student hall where Minja lives, and the vastness of new boulevards that lead to New Belgrade. This is due to the pervasive images of construction sites, cranes, concrete pipes, sand and dirt continually interrupting the grandeur of New Belgrade scenes, as if they anticipate Minja's final decision to opt for the rural area of Belgrade. Contrary to the visuals of New Belgrade are the images of the community for

newlywed students in Voždovac. Interestingly enough, New Belgrade and Voždovac are divided by the river Sava and they geographically stand on the opposite sides of Belgrade. Unlike dusty New Belgrade, the wooden barracks in Voždovac are connected with cobble paths and rich with trees and greenery, with one shared private garden where children play. The idyllic atmosphere is, moreover, emphasized with the sounds of a reed pipe deploying a pastoral background of music in a folk style, whereas scenes in modern parts of Belgrade are always supported with the sound of jazz, the music of 'licentious youth'.

The *mise-en-scènes* are also embodied by Minja's two lovers, Peđa and Nenad, whose characters expand the visual antagonisms into broader discursive oppositions. Minja meets Peđa in the opening scene on a train to Belgrade. After a playful conversation during which she realizes Peđa's aspirations to her affection, Minja teases him by asking if he owns an apartment and a record player. Although surprised by her insinuation Peđa confirms he owns both an apartment and a record player, after which she asks if he also owns a new record by Đorđe Marjanović, concluding with: "Of course you do. I would be surprised if you didn't." Đorđe Marjanović was a popular musician who performed modern Yugoslav music (*zabavna muzika*). As Anita Buhin (2017) explains in her article, through its melodies and lyrics, modern Yugoslav music was not only supposed to reflect Yugoslav reality, wishes and needs of a socialist man (230), but also to represent progress and modernity in a cultural war between the East and the West (228-9). The fact that Peđa is a fan of Đorđe Marjanović emphasizes his modern personality from which Minja eventually runs away. This is further supported by the visuals of Peđa's

apartment, after the night they spend together. In this scene, a camera carefully tracks the details – starting from a record player that plays Đorđe Marjanović, moving to Minja who is looking through the window wearing Peđa's pyjamas, then sliding over modern stylish furniture and finishing with a ringing telephone which soon reveals Peđa's occupation as a journalist. Not only is he a fan of modern music, but as a main editor in a political newspaper in the 1960s, he represents the new freedom of speech, and hence the liberal side of the Yugoslav conflict. However, the film shows that his comfortable life prevents him from seeing things for what they truly are – e.g. refusing to take the stray dog that Minja likes only because it does not have a pedigree is equally deluding as not recognizing Minja's disinterest in him.

Despite his superficiality, Peđa is a kind and forgiving person who after all the tricks Minja plays on him still has enough sympathy for her to find her a job after she marries Nenad. By contrast, Nenad is a self-sufficient man who was never interested in Minja's games or *mondain* pretence. The first time she sees him, Nenad does not even notice her sitting at his table in the University cafeteria, to which Minja's friend jokes: "This guy really didn't put any effort in flirting with you." During their relationship, Nenad was often viciously honest about Minja's 'strange personality', and sometimes even violent, as in the scene where he grabs her out of a party and slaps her in the face for being drunk and rude. Even though Nenad apologizes for this, Minja's confirmation that he acted like a 'real man' places her on a final path to a traditional and uneasy life in love. Nenad's character, and everything he stands for, is in the film depicted by his student house. The first time they spend the night together, the scene opens with zooming in on Nenad's place to a close-up of his messy corner and

a bookshelf, as if approving the interior which reveals a hard-working student who lives in modesty. In contrast to Peđa's flat, the camera is here not focusing on the details, but rather telling the obvious: Nenad's house is old, simply furnished and decorated with traditional tapestry, just as their future barrack will be. Minja in the end chooses a traditional young man who prefers hard work over girls and idle fun, which transforms her into a responsible socialist woman.

The binary between New Belgrade and the old barracks could also be translated into oppositions which were crucial for consolidating Yugoslavia's version of socialism: promised modernity versus patriarchal tradition, or public versus the private sphere. Wide shots of Minja's student hall, therefore, not only introduce a lively student environment but also mediate the open spaces of building yards as symbols of the public sphere (Figure 4.1). In the halls students regularly have fun: they tease each other with making sexual allusions, play sports or read on the balconies of their rooms. By contrast, the scenes in Voždovac are filmed in full shots, inside the limited space of the joint backyard, suggesting a rather closed and private domain (Figure 4.2).



Figure 4. 1. *Strange Girl*: Modern urbanism as symbol of public sphere: Minja arriving at the students' hall in New Belgrade.



Figure 4. 2. *Strange Girl*: Traditional housing as symbol of private enclosure: Minja washing dishes in the barracks.

In this duality, however, conservativism outweighs the modern tendencies as Minja embraces a closed private life as the right choice for the future mother she decides to become. The conservative setting, furthermore, deploys patriarchal ideas about Yugoslav womanhood in a way that leaves Minja no possibility for indulging in fun. Without the challenges of futile modernity, in front of which her student life was always placing her, Minja learns hard work both as a poor person, and a wife and mother. In the final move, as the camera escapes through the window which Minja closes, the young lovers are left alone in their crumbling but idyllic house, away from the threats of public, youth's immorality, or modern idleness.

(Un)desirable youth

All positive figures that are juxtaposed with Minja's 'strange' personality – young workers, Nenad, her naive roommate – represent distinct forms of sacrifice for love. Be it the love for country, profession, or marriage partner, these characters form a desirable set of images of which Minja eventually becomes a part. Driving the action in the film, the idea of love is fostered on the idea of sacrifice which conveys conservative beliefs about womanhood, changing Minja from a cynical independent girl into a docile wife. The idea of sacrifice, furthermore, resonates with the larger context of Yugoslav society which, at the time, was making steady progress due to post-revolutionary enthusiasm, on the one hand, and liberalized economic reforms, on the other. The former includes commitment as the crucial element of the socialist working ethic, while the latter indicates consumption as a personal right to happiness.

The main ideological postulates in *Strange Girl* could thus also be translated into distinction between love and vanity. Along these lines, Živanović creates two conflicting images of student youths, represented by Nenad and Minja. Resonating with the official socialist doctrine, Nenad's character stands for the productive, caring and responsible youth: he is one of the best students at his faculty who, apart from studying, enjoys reading writers like Hemingway. Unlike Minja, Nenad always buys his ticket when using public transport and helps older people on the tram, and most importantly he is a regular reader of the serious Belgrade daily newspaper *Politika*. Not only does Minja not read *Politika*, but in their conversations she only refers to the newspapers that give advice on romantic relationships. Another illustrative example would be the scene where students in the halls spend their leisure time and Minja reads the popular entertainment magazine *Filmski svet* featuring Elizabeth Taylor on the cover. One shot from this scene is particularly important for capturing the vanity of modern Yugoslav times that Minja epitomizes. In a close-up, she is sunbathing on the terrace of her room and the magazine is covering her face. As if Minja's bikini top is imitating Elizabeth Taylor's dress, the image resides on visual mimicry that symbolically indicates Minja's identification with the film diva or with film stars in general (Figure 4.3). Just like her arty friends who present themselves as members of the so-called "Club of the indifferent" while they drink and dance to jazz music in one of the bar scenes, Minja symbolizes the newly-emerging youth strata obsessed with Western capitalist lifestyles, i.e. the urban youth. Therefore, instead of using her actual name Milka (a traditional Serbian name), she goes

by the more fashionable name Minja, which is something only Nenad could see through.

The opposition between love and vanity is useful for interpreting another aspect of intra-social tensions of the time: the working youth. The building of New Belgrade, the construction of which started with voluntary youth brigades in 1948, is not only an illustration of the modern setting, but also helps in contrasting the urban and the working youth. Large migrations from the country's periphery to Belgrade had at the time changed the city's social landscape. Young people were coming to cities to study at universities, but some were simply leaving the rural areas in the hope of a better life. As historian Mari-Žanin Čalić explains the change of the perception about the peasant lifestyle at the beginning of the 1960s:

> In other places, too, the younger generation expressed no desire to follow in their fathers' footsteps as farmers. Life in the village was thought to be too miserable, backward, boring, and depressing, whereas the city enticed them with its higher standard of life and greater freedoms.
>
> (2019, 195)

Because at the time only a certain number of young people could enter higher education, many of them would look for any type of work to do in order to make a living. A distinction between the urban and the working youth could thus also be translated into middle-class university youth and working-class peasant youth. Clearly, social mobility from the working-peasant into the university-youth strata existed, but at the beginning of the 1960s, the city youth stratification still coincided with young people's inherited class positions. Therefore, as someone who comes to Belgrade from the provinces,

Minja's desire for becoming a part of the urban youths reads as a form of her class anxiety; hence, the change of her Serbian traditional name.

While in the film Minja and her friends drink and dance in the bar scene, young workers outside the bar are building New Belgrade. Students in the bar, moreover, ridicule the rigorous language and structure of the official Party's and youth organizations' meetings. Raising her glass at a table, a young girl addresses the imagined audience: "Article 13 of our club's rule book says: the one who is not thirsty can go and kill oneself." Quite the contrary, young volunteers take seriously tasks given by the Youth organization, which is why they work on the construction site while the students party. The juxtaposition illustrates not only a growing discrepancy among different strata of youth, but also the hypocrisy of students who do not realize that their privilege of partying in that bar was achieved with the young volunteers' commitment and sacrifice.



Figure 4. 3. *Strange Girl*: Gendering Yugoslav vanity: Minja reads a popular Yugoslav entertainment magazine while sunbathing on the terrace.

A scene that could be considered a symbolic pivot for the 'love vs. vanity' dynamic is the love scene at the construction site, by which time Minja's perspective has already started to change. Nenad angrily enters the bar where Minja and friends are dancing and forces her to leave. Outside the bar on the construction site the two get into a quarrel which shortly after ends in passionate kissing. The viewer's perspective is crucial for the sequence of two lovers kissing: shooting through a concrete pipe, the camera pans and tracks the images of newly-built buildings in New Belgrade, and the sight of two lovers hiding in another concrete pipe and holding each other closely; the camera stops for a moment only to continue filming their kissing in close-up (Figure 4.4). In the final move, the camera zooms out as young workers interrupt the scene carrying building materials, and the young lovers realize

that they must leave when workers immediately start rolling the pipe they were sitting in (Figure 4.5). Considering the symbolic function of the kiss in melodrama, whereby it "signals the integration of the couple into the larger cultural community" (Schatz 1981, 29) and thus community cooperation (35), the scene illustrates the reconciliation of the opposing Yugoslav lifestyles.

Živanović thus allows for the two worlds to meet and learn from each other. By learning to sacrifice for true love, Minja also learns to become a responsible adult. Nenad, again, discovers that his 'strange' wife can become the bread-winner in their household. Indicatively, Minja's dressing style also changes after this scene. As opposed to modern trousers, a plaid shirt or a sophisticated jumper, in the second half of the film we mostly see her wearing a headscarf and a plain costume. Such dressing codes not only symbolize her transformation, entering the new level of social and psychological experience, but indicate a conservative lifestyle that she accepts by entering womanhood. Because in the end both Minja and Nenad choose paths toward responsible socialist behaviour, it could also be said that romantic love in *Strange Girl* functions as a symbolic platform for the lovers to become aware of the love for their country.

Nevertheless, this utopia-as-reality which the kiss symbolizes (Schatz 1981, 35) reveals the conservativism of Živanović's poetics, because it shows how different types of commitment and sacrifice belong to different classes and genders. A moment before Minja and Nenad start kissing we see them from behind, holding each other romantically as they look at the buildings and the construction site. While in the scene young workers are building a future

Belgrade, the lovers are looking into that future. The future unites all elements from the scene in a world of collectively imagined harmony where love – be it romantic love or love for the country – conquers all. Such utopia-as-reality also suggests that different types of love belong to young volunteers and Nenad: their love for their country, and his love for his profession. More importantly, Minja's position in such imagery confirms the conservative discourse of her maturing through love. As youth who are responsible and productive, the working volunteers and Nenad participate by building the future, while Minja's involvement in this future is only through her romantic relationship. She becomes economically active so that she can support Nenad to allow him to finish his studies. *Strange Girl* thus continues earlier Yugoslav cinematic practice where already in the 1950s "the motif of labour has lost its empowering capacity for women, with romance becoming the only factor that shapes [their] life" (Jovanović 2015a, 43). The utopian future Minja shares with her beloved Nenad is the one where she sacrifices for him, supporting his career, which at the same time makes her a decent Yugoslav woman, something she could never have become had she not met him.



Figure 4. 4. *Strange Girl*: One kiss changes all: Minja and Nenad kiss after a quarrel on the construction site.



Figure 4. 5. *Strange Girl*: While some party, others build the country: youth workers building New Belgrade.

Failed mondain emancipation

Miodrag Marović, one of the chief editors in a well-known Yugoslav youth newspaper *Mladost*, notices how the public was divided on the opinion of youth in the early 1960s (1963, 4). Marović states how the public often endorsed "the youth's working accomplishments, their success in science, culture, sports and examples of extraordinary human solidarity" (1963, 4). But the negative opinions he notes claimed "the youth were too obsessed with fun and did not care about work," and that they were "prone to rude behaviour in public and had no respect for the elderly" (Marović 1963, 4.). Certainly, such unfavourable views of the youth were a part of the global cultural post-war discourse which coincided with the emergence of the teenager in the 1950s (Shary 2002, 3-4). Still, what makes them particularly Yugoslav is the post-1948 narrative of Yugoslav exceptionality – young people were to morph into a unique form of socialist citizenry within a self-managing community. Indeed, the 1960s saw a greater inclusion of the youth in self-managing institutional bodies (Marović 1963, 19-20), but as Stanislaw Skrzypek' s research in 1965 discovers: "The same surveys that show student support for the basic tenets of communism also indicate that the majority of the respondents do not really understand Marxist dogma, and are unwilling to participate actively in its implementation" (Skrzypek 1965, 104).[11] The students were more "preoccupied with private pursuits of life" (104). The intergenerational conflict should thus be understood in the light of the reforms of the Yugoslav self-managing system according to which a more responsible commitment

[11] Skrzypek's report refers to more than twenty surveys conducted among Yugoslav students, aged from fourteen to twenty-four, in the period from 1956 to 1963.

was expected from the youth who, again, were just starting to experience the pleasures of modern life these changes were bringing.

Minja's character reiterates such paternalist views of Yugoslav youth by which young people were considered unable to pursue their social duties. This is particularly evident in the way Živanović portrays a moment of crisis in her coming of age. Even though she falls in love with Nenad, she is still pondering the possibility of marrying Peđa and securing for herself a cosy and stable living – something impoverished Nenad could never provide for her. Minja's marriage dilemma is moreover entangled with her uncertainty about Nenad's feelings for her because he – unlike other men in her life – does not act as if she were his property. A specific narrative strategy is at stake here: for Nenad to be a proper socialist young man who is going to trigger a change in Minja, she had to embody characteristics that were considered symptomatic of bad social and hence bad socialist behaviour. In other words, for Minja to live through the transformation she had to first epitomize the rather unfavourable views on girls of that time: frivolous, idle, promiscuous and manipulative. She lives according to her egocentric rules: fooling around with men, drinking and dancing until late hours instead of studying for school, defying law and order by not agreeing to have her identity papers checked by a police officer one night or playing with Peđa's emotions as she promises to marry him without meaning it. Even Peđa's colleague from work at one point concludes how Minja began viewing Peđa as a great catch only after she learned about his warm and cosy apartment.

Although Minja's frivolous character is just a developmental motif, the way she executes her cynical mundanity shows acute self-awareness. Her enactment of modern superficiality, which all other characters in the film find annoying, could thus be seen as a strategy for provoking people to expose their hypocrisy. In many situations, she acts as if she is fully aware of the way other characters see her, which makes her witty and ironic replies not only humorous, but also sharp criticisms of the social climate of the time. In one of the scenes Peđa is trying to make serious conversation, using a rare opportunity of being able to talk to Minja in the intimate atmosphere of his apartment. He humbly asks if she has ever loved, to which Minja ironically answers: "You cannot find that in shops." On a different occasion, Minja cynically replies to Nenad's speculation about her marrying one of her arty friends from the "Club of the indifferent": "I believe you are already familiar with my lack of ability to enjoy poverty." Or, a harsh reply to Nenad's patronizing monologue about people who give up on their studies or want to find a job only because they do not know what else to do: "You don't really think I was only using my head for wearing hairstyles before I met you?" In the very first scene we find her lying to an older woman who was listening in to her and Peđa's conversation on the train – catching the older woman's curious sight, Minja sharply responds: "My husband. Could you believe it – I didn't recognize him at first." She refuses to comply with traditional female roles of submissiveness and sweetness and is not afraid of deceiving or involving other people in her everyday games to challenge people's assumptions about her. Therefore, Minja knowingly uses the feminine position which conservative societies consider wild, superficial or vain, to question people's characters and

worldviews. Such motivation could then be understood as Minja's quest for emancipation by refusing to follow social conventions.

Emancipation through worldliness and dissent would indeed bring her closer to modern cinematic female protagonists – such as Maruša from Bostjan Hladnik's *A Dance in the Rain* (1961) or a peasant girl from Branko Bauer's *Superfluous* (1962) – who represent "the real female subjects in love dramas" (Boglić 1980, 124). It would most certainly make her a great *mondain* woman character, defined "by self-awareness, contempt for conventions, much life experience" whose communication skills fluctuate from "aggression to extreme restraint, expressing superiority (sometimes with a dose of cynicism)" (Peterlić 1990, 166, as quoted in Jovanović 2015a, 44). However, bearing in mind the transformation Minja experiences towards the end of the film, her attempted emancipation stays confined to the trope of strangeness. As Nenad at one point tells Minja: "The things I know about you are the things you want me to know: you are disappointed, hundred-years old, you jump from one bed to another, you don't believe in love […] but I believed in your normality." Normality is here placed on the opposite side of Minja's emancipatory masquerade and it, moreover, comes from Nenad as a confirmation of a right path for Minja to follow.

Therefore, derogatory views on Yugoslav youth and girls in the film depict the undesirable Western morality that Minja learns to overcome by falling in love with the right man. This is why Minja's portrayal from the film's beginning (Figure 4.3.) centres on the entertainment magazine *Filmski svet*, the content of which Yugoslav authorities described as "having damaging

influence on the working man's thinking and worldviews" due to its "lack of ideas, morbidity, petty-bourgeois or pathological contents, uncritical representation of foreign countries or [Yugoslav] national past" (Doknić 2013, 179). Živanović in this way conveys a message about sacrifice, hard work and honesty as desirable elements of Yugoslav youths' attitudes in the times of rapid changes. Still, by making Minja a vivid example of bad Western morality, he conversely creates an illustration of *mondain* emancipation which is in the end reduced to mere wifehood. The case of *Strange Girl* shows how conflicting messages about consumption and Western influences in the early 1960s Yugoslavia created fruitful grounds for Živanović's conservative poetics which, like in his earlier works, converts potentially modern female subjects into obedient or resentful socialist wives.

4.2. Innocence in *Three Hours for Love*: sexual liberation and class subordination

Three Hours for Love, made in collaboration with one of major Yugoslav cinema houses – Jadran Film – was the ninth fiction film by the well-known director Fadil Hadžić (1922-2011). Hadžić's film was produced at the time when the Yugoslav cinema industry was prioritizing commercial entertainment films. His decision to make a film which does not entirely follow the entertainment postulates was a risky one because the film was addressed to the youthful audiences who could provide the profit from ticket sales. Indeed, in the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik* the film was praised for its "record number of visits," with 20,000 people seeing it in theatres in only four days of showing (20 November,

1969).[12] More importantly, in the context of the late 1960s, Hadžić's film indicates that there were burning issues concerning the youth and their relationship with a society which needed to be voiced. My analysis takes Maca's innocence (denoting both her social and sexual inexperience), which drives her emotional coming of age, as the motif that reveals the prejudiced world of Yugoslav market-oriented socialism, where conformism is the only way for underprivileged youths to be integrated. The appropriation of adult morality – the need to rise in society by securing social power for oneself at the expense of others – will illustrate the systemic alienation of young female workers who have no social power to begin with. Therefore, Maca's story shows that the only capital they own as an endangered category in the unemployment statistics is their body, which in the patriarchal system of "institutionalized heterosexuality" (Jackson 1996) also proves to be working against them.

Three Hours for Love is an episode from the life of a young housekeeper in Zagreb in 1968. Nineteen-year-old Maca works for a married couple of Yugoslav intellectuals, living with them in their apartment, and having only Sundays available for her private life. We find Maca during one of her free Sundays, when she was allowed only three hours to go out for her friend's birthday. Having suffered a rather violent experience with a popular young man Riki that night, she finds comfort in the arms of her employer, 'losing her virginity' to him, after which she submits her resignation to his wife. The final

[12] As a comparison, the article notes a number of 13,000 people per week as a marked success of some of the most popular foreign films.

scene shows Maca writing an advert for herself as she looks for a new housekeeping job.

The three hours in the title refer to a turning point in time when Maca's transformation takes place, while the woman of the house is at the opera and Maca returns from a night out before her. Three hours, however, also function as a metaphor for Maca's limited girlhood. This episode in her life reflects a vicious cycle of the everyday injustice she experiences as a girl who takes care of other people's houses for a living. Each of the mistreatments in the film will trigger flashbacks in Maca that either comment on the abuse in the present or contrast with the present scenes. Her reminiscences form a unique journey of maturing during which she learns to take control over her life, by reclaiming her body from violent relationships of her peers – the urban youth – and her upper-class employers. One of the greatest fears through which the woman of the house controls Maca is becoming pregnant: this would mean that either employers would have to take care of Maca and her baby, or she would have to be fired. Due to her internalizing this fear, Maca is refraining from most enjoyments of young adulthood. The night with the man of the house therefore becomes Maca's way of stepping out of the boundaries of her social position. Still, the agency she attains by rejecting young Riki and sleeping with the man of the house will not lead to her emancipation, as by subsequently resigning from the housekeeping job Maca also exhibits her readiness to accept the injustice.

4.2.1. The alienation of (working) women

By the time *Three Hours for Love* was produced, the cultural and political tensions of the early 1960s had increased considerably. Only seemingly overwhelmed, the clash between the 'conservative' and the 'liberal' streams of the Yugoslav leadership had actually turned into a "generational conflict within the league between the older, 'harder' cadres and the younger ones brought up in a more decentralized, less repressive era" (Denitch 1986, 23). Two events marked the second half of the decade, further extending the conflicting nature of Yugoslav progress since the 1950s. Firstly, the market reform of 1965 which was "designed to continue the 'selfmanagement' project that had been introduced in the 1950s" (Kirn 2014b, 102), called for the decentralization of the techno-bureaucratic apparatus. The reform was propelled by "the representatives of independent capital, usually referred to as managers, directors or technocrats, [who] soon became the most agile agents of change within Yugoslav socialism" (Kirn 2014b, 104). With "paternalistic control over companies" (Jakopovich n.d., 61), i.e. the government's underwriting of the losses of unproductive companies, the reform not only accelerated the great unemployment crises but brought to the fore the incompetence of the older leadership cadres. Secondly, the 1966 incident during which the police beat the students to halt the ongoing demonstrations against the war in Vietnam (Kanzleiter 2009, 34). The protests were held against the ambivalent foreign policy of Yugoslavia towards the Vietnam (Kanzleiter 2009, 34). The fact that the incident happened despite the conservative-wing leader – the head of the Service for State Security

Aleksandar Ranković – being removed from office earlier that year, showed the contradictory character of Yugoslavia's governing elite.

The intergenerational tensions culminated in the student protests of 1968 against the leadership's false socialist morality, the unemployment crisis and social inequalities. As a matter of fact, the unemployment figures which were "in constant growth since the mid-1960s, in 1968 for the first time exceeded 300,000" (Klasić 2012, 95). Nevertheless, the official discourse was not hiding the scope of the crisis where 43% of the unemployed were young people under 24, the majority of whom were unskilled workers (Statistički godišnjak SFRJ 1969, 104). As opposed to earlier years, workers now rarely left their jobs which made it difficult for others to find one (Bajec 1967, 38), except women who would frequently leave their work because of family duties (41).

However, severe consequences which the unemployment crisis had for women were not deemed to be of any public interest or otherwise were ignored. In fact, bringing up such issues in the public sphere would have exposed the country's continued patriarchal gender dynamics. A rare testament to this situation, Želimir Žilnik's documentary *Nezaposleni ljudi i žene* (*Unemployed Men and Women*, 1967), illustrates the hypocrisy of Yugoslav conservative morality in which the struggles of Yugoslav female workers were perpetual blind spots. Žilnik's documentary was censored so it leaves out the section on unemployed women who, due to their lack of employment opportunities, turned to striptease or prostitution (Buden and Žilnik 2009, 75). Even though these scenes also depicted Yugoslav men of

various professions enjoying the striptease show, this part of the film was considered immoral because "those women had deeply sinned [and were] no longer of use to the class struggle" (Buden and Žilnik 2009, 75). This ultimately shows the limited range of critique that was allowed in the 1960s.

The market reform and unemployment crisis revealed a highly "traditional understanding of female employment, despite the laws and ideological definitions declared in the Constitution" (Berković and Dinkić 1980, 10). The crisis showed "young women's significantly smaller competitive power in the job market, [and hence their] employment in 'strictly feminine jobs' or jobs in lower social positions" (Burić 1980, 24). Additionally, employed women had to find ways of dealing with motherhood duties as "it was difficult to change a deeply rooted practice where the woman takes care of children even when she works full working hours outside the house" (Dobrivojević 2014, 39).

Such disadvantageous treatment of women was amplified through the influences of Western 'sexual liberties' on Yugoslav popular culture where – as in rest of the late 1960s Europe – "sex was […] promoted as the most desirable thing on the planet" (Herzog 2011, 134). In a short historical overview of the changes that occurred in people's everyday lives in Yugoslavia during the 1960s, Aleksandra Pavićević notes: "Sexual revolution, which emerged as a critique of sexual morality and of 'a puritan system of sexual repression', was in fact a product of changes in the marriage market due to prolonged years of studying, and hence the later age when people entered marriage" (Pavićević 2007, 80). In a different vein, historian Igor Duda argues that in its consumerist

appropriations, the Yugoslav sexual revolution was "using the woman's image as the means of marketing, for inducing desires, from advertisements and beauty pageants to erotic magazines" (Duda 2014, 107). Therefore, it could be also said that Yugoslavia followed the rest of the Western world in turning the newly won sexual liberties into "almost wholly a male phenomenon," hence "the much touted 'sexual revolution' was shorthand for male self-indulgence" (Green 1993, 3). *Three Hours for Love* should thus be read as a reaction to the hypocritical conservativism which was permeating the worlds of the privileged elderly and youths equally.

4.2.2. Hadžić's poetics of truth

In his rich career, Hadžić wrote forty-seven comedies, published twenty-two books, directed fourteen fiction films and eight documentaries, wrote about one hundred short cabaret plays, and painted one thousand paintings. Having obtained a degree in fine arts, Hadžić started a career in journalism in 1946, which turned out to be a strong influence on his future film poetics. In documenting the building of the Yugoslav socialist society in the making in the 1950s, working on sensitive social topics such as the wavering morale of former Partisans who became high-ranking officials after the war – *Protest* (1967), *Druga strana medalje* (*The Other Side Of the Medal*, 1965), *Ambasador* (*Ambassador*, 1984) – or pointing to the phenomenon of Yugoslav bank debt collectors in *Da li je umro dobar čovjek? (Has A Good Man Died?,* 1962), Hadžić appears as a discerning researcher of Yugoslav contemporary society. Even in war films such as his most famous Partisan picture *Desant na Drvar* (*A Raid on Drvar*, 1963), Hadžić comes across as a chronicler who skilfully combines

archival materials of Tito's participation in the military action in 1944 with directed scenes in the film (Jovanović 2011, 53). Nevertheless, in one of his interviews the director admits having an affinity towards contemporary critical topics, which he then explains: „whether you like it or not, every contemporary film [in Yugoslavia] is political because even when it does not deal with political topics directly, it still touches upon them".[13] Be they films with contemporary, historical or war setting, in his search for the cinematic truth Hadžić's relies on documented realities of socialist Yugoslavia. Through careful research or direct montage of the materials, documentary elements therefore become integral parts of his films.

His earlier film practice sees a peculiar synthesis in *Three Hours for Love*. In this film, Hadžić further indulges his passion for contemporary topics, the only difference being that this time he focuses on the youth. Similarly, in *Three Hours for Love* his long-standing interest in documentary film moulds the relationship between the fictional story and the context in which the story is situated. On that note, the Yugoslav film critic Mira Boglić aptly notices: "Already at the beginning of his film Hadžić inaugurates his aim: to disclose a simple, almost documentary truth about a confined and hopeless youth of women whose freedom and personal life are limited to three hours a week" ("Dnevnik kućne pomoćnice," *Vjesnik*, 17 November, 1969). In *Three Hours for Love*, this "almost documentary truth," crucial for recognizing the film's critical

[13] The interview can be found on a YouTube link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eqfVCkr9Fy4&t=1s.

edge, is conveyed through the cinematic strategy of pseudo-documentarism – telling a fictional story in the form of a documentary.

Hadžić uses a pseudo-documentary mode for the film's framing story: a TV reportage about young girls looking for employment in Zagreb, whom the journalist finds in front of a newspaper advertising office. As a framework to the main storyline, TV reportage anchors Maca's coming-of-age story in the context of unemployment crisis of the late 1960s, on the one hand, and introduces the social problems of class and gender inequality, on the other. As film scholar Del Jacobs notes in his monograph *Revisioning Film Traditions: The Pseudo-Documentary and the NeoWestern* (2000), in contrast to Hollywood fiction films whose modes of representation are based on the absence of reality, the intention in pseudo-documentary is to remind the viewer of the reality of the fictional story. Such reflexivity counts on the self-awareness of both the filmmaker and the viewer (Jacobs 2000, 1), and offers another frame of reference to the viewer (8). In Hadžić's film, a pseudo-documentary framework is a reflexive device that sets the documentary tone for interpreting the episode in Maca's life as a reality that resonates with the viewer's context in 1968. A further distinction between the outline and the main story, hence their two frames of reference, is emphasized with colouring. Coinciding with everyday reality of Zagreb citizens of the time, TV reportage is recorded in black and white, while the main storyline is in colour.[14] The TV reportage finishes with a close-up of the TV camera lens which was used for interviewing the girls (Figure 4.6; Figure 4.7). With this final shot, the film's

[14] TV Zagreb was first broadcast in colour in 1968. It was a live broadcast of a pop music concert in Opatija. TV Belgrade started colour TV programmes in 1971.

narration gives way to the role of an observer, just like the film's audience. Such rhetorical acknowledgement of narration's bystander role in *Three Hours for Love* is in fact a statement about its limited knowledge (Bordvel 2013, 74). By levelling itself with the audience, the film's narration acknowledges Maca's consciousness as the pivot of the main story, and her flashbacks as juxtapositions of situations that illustrate problems introduced in the film's outline.

The film opens with a zoomed job advert asking for a female housekeeper, offering her free Sundays and a wage to be agreed on. A similar advert will appear later in the reportage from a woman offering to cook and look after children, if necessary, without social benefits. A job advert will appear for the third time at the very end of the film, when Maca quits working for the married couple and begins searching for a new position. In the journalistic story of the film, the advert is a proof of the precariousness of this walk of life. Not only is Sunday the only time these girls can have for themselves, their working conditions are also highly insecure and thus open to exploitation. This is further supported with stories that viewers hear from the interviewed girls; be it the lack of employment options in other feminine lines of work such as the textile industry, or utterly bad working conditions in small privately-owned craft shops. Many girls are thus forced to work as housekeepers. Employers, as viewers learn, threaten those who ask for a proper contract, or simply avoid paying social security contributions. Maca's encounters and disappointments in the film must therefore be read in relation

to this illustration of social insecurity, epitomized by the position of a housekeeper in socialist Yugoslavia.



Figure 4. 6. *Three Hours for Love*: Framing story: TV crew looking at Maca who suddenly left the survey.



Figure 4. 7. *Three Hours for Love*: Camera lens: a documentary motif of the framing story.

With its elliptic narrative structure, the TV story furthermore reflects the vicious cycle of Maca's life failures. We see Maca for the first time as one of the girls interviewed by the journalist, but only at end of the film do viewers learn that she is looking for another position only because she spent a night with her employer. The cyclic structure of the framing story is thus a commentary on the portrayal of Maca's life – her inability to escape the boundaries of typical gender and class positions in Yugoslav society. The TV story in this way introduces the social problems which condition Maca's life choices and decisions in the film: working as a housekeeper, wishing to be a trendy girl, picking bizarre boyfriends, or sleeping with the man of the house where she works. The film's structure, narration and tone frame Maca's story as a documentary-style film about the conflicted maturing of underprivileged girls in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s.

4.2.3. The film's response

The disadvantaged position of young female housekeepers, which in Yugoslavia was enabled by the reciprocal consolidation of the patriarchal division of labour and an unequal system of power distribution in market-oriented socialism, is presented here as the background for Maca's tough maturation. Instead of focusing on the hard work that a housekeeper performs, Hadžić structures the story around the motif of leisure, an inseparable aspect of Yugoslav youth lifestyles of the time. But leisure is present through its absence as Maca only has three hours on Sundays to spend the way she wishes. This narrative strategy highlights the limitations that Maca's work dictates on her youthful identity practices. With no time to engage in socializing with

friends, dancing in clubs, or developing a crush the same way her peers do, Maca is lacking youthful experience, which further marginalizes her, and makes her an easy target for manipulation. Still, by discovering Riki's veneer of popularity to be desperate conformism as he turns out to be a worker at the mechanics' garage and not a trendy rich guy, she also becomes aware of her own social position.

Riki's disdainful comments about Maca's 'virginity' that night force her not only to lie about earlier sexual experience but engage in sexual activity with the man of the house. Maca's 'loss of innocence' is thus also symbolized in a decision to sleep with the husband of her employer who scared her into chastity.[15] For this Maca takes responsibility by giving her resignation afterwards. Her revolt is, however, equally aimed at urban youth culture which forces her to enact conformity, and the hypocritical world of adults whose morality is a facade for their class anxiety. The motif of the loss of innocence is thus a narrative strategy for mediating social commentary: promoting affluence as a desirable model of success to the youths induces symbolic violence over young people coming from the lower strata. Maca's maturation is depicted by her responsibility for the act of protest, which is why she must lose her job as she transitions into a precarious adulthood. Thus, Maca's sacrifice of her livelihood becomes a rite of passage into equally unstable and violent womanhood.

[15] Serbo-Croatian word *nevinost*, which Riki uses to humiliate Maca, denotes both 'virginity' and innocence.

The following sub-sections present the analyses of cultural complexities of the time which Maca's maturation exposes in the film. The motif of innocence in revolt sheds light on the problem of Yugoslav culture of affluence which generates desperate conformism among youths from the lower classes. Maca's life innocence becomes a form of strength in such cultures, which she then uses to reject the violent Riki. By illustrating the paradox whereby the Yugoslav social system undermines its socialist premises, the section on social anxieties reveals the problem of unjust social relations arising from Yugoslav class and gender differences in a supposedly equal socialist society. Maca's coming of age indicates how symbolic violence (everyday injustices suffered by the members of social groups positioned at the bottom of the hierarchies of power) and real violence are deeply inherent to such social structuring. The last section focuses on the conservative discourse which was pervading ideas surrounding the 'liberalized sexuality' in the 1960s. Quite differently from the official conservativism, in this film Riki's violent male heterosexuality is coupled with Maca's gender agency by which she actively chooses to reject him and engage with the man of the house.

Rebellious innocence

The unpleasant confinement of Maca's girlhood which conditions her (in)experience in life is illustrated via the limited spaces of her movement. The film's visuals reflect Maca's psychological states, following the transformation from a confused and timid girl into a distressed but determined young woman at the end of the film. The ubiquitous visual strategy is Maca's *mise-en-scene* of indoors. Be it her room, a dance club or Riki's garage, Maca is always filmed in close-ups and medium-long shots, centring the attention on her emotions

which are driven by the juxtapositions of present situations and her flashbacks. The boundaries of closed spaces in which we consistently see Maca symbolize her emotional confinement, while other elements of the setting visually comment on her state of mind. The motif of the mirror is present here in different forms – from visual mirrors and posters of models, to metaphorical mirrors of the roof window and Maca's self-reflections in Riki. Still, despite her maturation being visually narrated by cinematographic details, the omnipresence of the indoor setting indicates that even after she comes of age Maca's social constraint does not change.

Perhaps the best illustration of spatial symbolism of Maca's indoor setting is a scene with distorting mirrors at the fair. In one of her flashbacks, Maca remembers how she met the eccentric Janje, a young man who is desperately in love with her. Having fun at the fair, she and her friend Ankica enter the tent with distorted mirrors. In the consecutive play of crooked reflections, their fun is suddenly interrupted when instead of Ankica Janje appears next to Maca in the mirror, saying: "Let me introduce myself." Startled Maca runs away, while the camera moves on to the close-up of Janje's distorted reflection (Figure 4.8.). As we see later in the film, Janje will be the one to protect the youths from a bully in the club, or fight Riki because he hurt Maca later that night. His deformed reflection in the mirror does not therefore illustrate her disinterest in him but shows how Maca's limited life experience does not allow her to see Janje's true nature (prevents her from seeing Janje as more than an oddball).

Another example of spatial symbolism from the indoor *mise-en-scene* is Maca's room, as it becomes a symbol for the rigidity of the circumstances in which she has to grow up. Namely, the opening scene of the main story begins with symbolic allusions to flirting, which are moreover delivered via *mise-en-abyme* technique. Successive shots of two posters from Maca's room, the picture of a seductive man and one of a trendy-looking girl, simulate alluring eye communication which indicates her future flirty episodes with young Riki and the man of the house that night. This is followed by the camera's detailed track of Maca while she is getting ready to go out, adjusting her suspenders and fixing her hair. Thus, Maca's intentions in making herself pretty are potentially to charm a boy. In parallel with the story's opening, the closing scene places Maca in the same frame of her room, this time portraying her distress in a close-up: her hair is messy, and her face expression shows genuine worry (Figure 4.9.). The motif of flirting referenced in the magazine posters is here replaced with its ultimate consequence – the loss of a housekeeping position – emphasized by the dramatic zooming in on Maca's new job advert. The mise-en-abyme effect, moreover, suggests a self-perpetuating situation which leaves Maca as a dupe. Just like her room which in the final scene is still decorated with colourful posters, the world in which she integrates does not change. Nevertheless, what changes is her acknowledgement of being ready to accept violence: at the end of the film, by choosing to 'lose her virginity' with the man of the house instead of Riki, Maca consents to the unjust consequences of such choice: losing work and a place where to live.



Figure 4. 8. *Three Hours for Love*: Symbols of Maca's youth disillusionments: Janje's reflection in a distorted mirror.



Figure 4. 9. *Three Hours for Love*: The vicious cycle of injustice: worried Maca at the end of the film.

Maca's indoor *mise-en-scene* also intrudes into the scenes played out in the streets of Zagreb. Enclosed outdoor spaces will replace the rooms in which we usually see her confined. For example, even though she meets Ankica on the street, the location of their meeting is a narrow alley, after which four of them take a taxi to go dancing where the viewers follow their conversation inside the confined space of a car. Related to this are references to Maca's emotional states conveyed through the symbols of a roof window in the garage, or the crowds of people she must go through to get home. When despite Maca's uncertainties Riki brings her to the garage of his work place, confused Maca looks for a moment above her head where she finds birds standing on the roof window (Figure 4.10.). Maca's apprehension of entrapment in which we soon find her is metaphorically illustrated by birds, which symbolize freedom. But, as the visuals of the roof window indicate, true freedom is for her now as discernible as it is unreachable. After fighting off Riki's attempts to rape her, Maca finally convinces him to let her go. On her way home, turmoil on the streets of Zagreb demonstrates the humiliation she feels being taken for a girl who wants sex on a first date, and distress for not being that girl because she is scared into being a 'virgin'. Maca thus finds herself in a conflicting position indicative of the 1960s liberalized context which was generating contradictory discourses on Yugoslav womanhood. Trapped between the ideals of conservative and sexually liberated girlhood, she equally refuses both types of identities, which leaves her frustrated and angry. The noise of the city life during the tram ride, the voice of a radio commentator reporting about a serious car accident, the crowds of people she pushes through on the street, depict her emotional state which drives her

towards the final act of her transformation: 'losing virginity' together with her housekeeping job.

Maca's tough maturation should, nevertheless, be explained via the discursive oppositions of innocence and pretence that she and Riki embody. Such antagonisms are displayed by their contrasted portraits. However, their discursive contradictions reveal the underprivileged youths' conformism as a symptom of inequality in Yugoslav society. As members of the lower classes, both Maca and Riki develop skills for adapting to the consumerist world which they cannot afford to enjoy. Their mimicry skills are not only indicative of conformism to which they are compelled as poor youth, but also of dominant types of gender and class identities they must perform to conform to society. Maca therefore identifies as a sweet innocent girl, whereas Riki presents himself as a rich popular guy. However, Maca's innocence will also prove to be a form of pretence, just as Riki's pretence is eventually revealed as his youthful innocence. Maca's gullible personality is obvious from the first time the viewers see her: humbly answering a journalist's questions she is smiling at the camera, trying to leave a good impression. When they ask for her opinion on Vietnam, puzzled Maca simply states: "They are in war," after which she runs away from the camera looking embarrassed. Maca's inability to comment on the situation in Vietnam stands for her class identity. She is an uneducated girl who has no interest in developing critical opinions on political affairs, particularly not in the way University students did in their 1966 Vietnam protests. Maca's distinctive gesture of biting fingers to hide insecurity, enacting a stereotype of a 'daddy's little girl' (Figure 4.9.), perfectly illustrates her immature personality. This stereotype is further exemplified in the way

other people see Maca: trying to be 'macho', at a dance club Riki leaves some change for the waitress, to what she reacts sarcastically: "Use that money to buy her [Maca] a lollipop so that she doesn't have to lick her fingers".

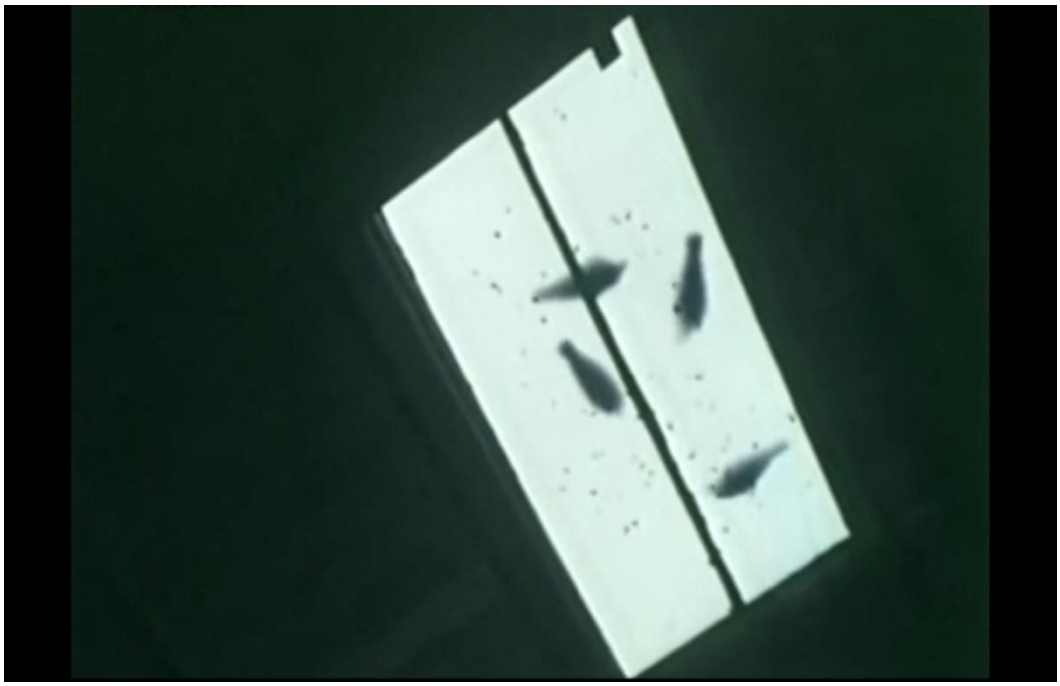


Figure 4. 10. *Three Hours for Love*: The mirror metaphor: Birds on the roof window of Riki's garage.

Maca's youthful 'girly' identity is, lastly, portrayed through her singing the lines of a traditional folk love song (*sevdalinka*) while getting ready to go out that Sunday: "Don't leave me alone [Sun], because my darling is far away, waiting for me in tears".[16] Traditional folk songs, and this one in particular, were highly popular in Yugoslavia. But, in the cultural context of the time, which was brimming with everyday contradictions, this type of music had also

[16] This song is entitled "Pozdravi je sunce milo"/"Dear Sun Send My Greetings to Her". It gained popularity when composers Damjan Babić and Milan Petrović arranged it for popular distribution. The first popular interpretation was by Đorđe Masalović in 1966. The song was later performed and recorded by several other Yugoslav singers, for instance by a famous singer of folk love songs (*sevdalinka)* Safet Isović. The fact that new interpretations continued to emerge even after Yugoslavia's break-up, speak to its popularity among the Yugoslav population.

become a denominator for anti-modern, traditional, and backward streams in society.[17] Therefore, Maca's singing marks not only her 'girly' identity, but also identity of someone who moves to the city from the provinces.

As opposed to the traditional folk song, in a club where she goes dancing with Ankica and their two dates, Riki and Zizi, modern Yugoslav music (*zabavna muzika*) is playing. There, a popular Zagreb – and Yugoslav – band Grupa 220 is performing live while the youths are engaged in an intimate dance. Therefore, popular urban music which supports the outset of Maca's emotional journey that night, signals her initiation to vicious urban living. Moreover, the last scene in which Maca returns to her room that night develops with classical music in the background indicating her final initiation to the world of adults. It should be noted here that the first time we see Maca's employers, they relax by listening to classical music in the lounge room of their apartment. Thus, having in mind that classical music symbolizes upper-class culture, the film's ending suggests a discrepancy between Maca's deprived social position and the unreachable upper-class culture in which she grows up, living in Zagreb.

In contrast to Maca, the introduction of Riki's character is overstated: he performs a mischievous monologue in front of a shop window that exhibits dolls. Dancing to the melody he sings, and simulating the shooting of the dolls, self-centred Riki performs a speech about 'what girls deserve'. "Nowadays,

[17] The case of Yugoslav traditional folk music (*narodna muzika*) is quite complex. As music that was made by and for the people of Yugoslavia, it represented a true socialist product. Nevertheless, in the context of Cold War cultural rivalry music was supposed to represent the progress and modernity, which is why public interpretations of *narodna muzika* predominantly had negative connotations. For more on music and popular culture in socialist Yugoslavia see Buhin 2017.

only dolls in window shops are virgins," says Riki to Zizi whom viewers do not see. For Riki, girls are "geese" who need to be "shagged" and "slaughtered", which is why he takes Maca to his employer's garage that he conveniently calls "the chicken coop". His ostentatious gesticulation and, in general, the show he stages for others are present throughout the film, and only the waitress at the club sees through his pretence because he is not the only young man behaving that way. Riki's veneer of popularity is emphasized by other young men at the club greeting him with "Belmondo", and by the waitress producing mocking sounds every time she hears that. With Maca gradually recognizing Riki's personality to be a show, his body gesticulation becomes less attractive, turning from a seductive dance to an excessive body movement. Consequently, towards the end of the night, Riki's excessive movement transforms into physical force over Maca. His physical violence comes as culmination of his realization that Maca is aware of his false lifestyle which is partly why she refuses to be intimate with him; hence Riki's own acknowledgement of his identity as innocent pretence. Not only does Riki borrow his boss's expensive car and drive around pretending he owns it, but he talks about his boss's wealthy lifestyle with such admiration that Maca eventually starts to see his yearning for money and power as suspicious.

Rejected several times that night, angry Riki tries to insult her one more time before she escapes the garage: "You don't happen to be a virgin, do you?" A moment before his question, the camera zooms in on Maca's face in a close-up, from where it starts moving circularly, observing the interior of the garage: posters of women, the drawings of the car engines, and auto-mechanic equipment. The shot emphasizes the discrepancy between the reality of Riki's

working environment and his aspirations to own a villa like his boss. A silent pause after the question, enhanced by a dramatic blue light which Riki successively switches on and off, illuminating Maca's face, signals her transformation. Maca's disillusionments which are illustrated by various motifs of mirrors are here evolving into a clear vision of life. Through mirroring herself in Riki's disadvantaged position, she realizes her own social status. But, contrary to him, Maca refuses to succumb to the dominant trends of affluence. Hence, in recognizing Riki's weakness to be also her power Maca boldly replies: "I didn't want to do it with you because you disgust me. And I've been with five men before you, just so you know". By rejecting Riki she learns to appreciate and to manipulate the discursive opposition between innocence and experience as a form of strength in a conformist urban youth culture. This, however, does not improve Maca's status as a young female housekeeper; instead, it teaches her to find power within the limited lifestyle she is compelled to live, in order to persist in everyday struggles as a disadvantaged woman. Essentially, she learns a merely compensatory (as different from emancipatory) strategy for surviving the working-class womanhood.

Social(ist) anxieties

In the early post-war years, Yugoslav party officials saw growing violence among the youth as a problem, but only in the context of Western films influencing youths' decadent behaviour (Dobrivojević 2010, 130). Physical fights, alcoholism and sexual activity were seen as the outcome of young people imitating their favourite film characters (Dobrivojević 2010, 130). In other words, exogenous factors were overemphasized in the public arena to conceal the endogenous conflict-creating potentials of Yugoslav socialist

society. The issue of violence was, however, more complex than the authorities wanted to admit. For instance, institutionalized representations of violence which was committed during the National Liberation War were extremely polarized: Yugoslav Partisans and their Soviet allied troops were presented as the only positive actors whose violent deeds were justified by the enemy's occupation. War violence was moreover also glorified as a sign of great self-sacrifice and necessary self-defence.

Consequently, problems such as retributive violence among the youths had to be justified in public: they were criticized but understood (Fuček 2015b, 579). This allowed for a certain level of tolerance for violence in the everyday life, youth's and children's press such as *Srednjoškolac/High-School Student* (Fuček 2015b, 581) or institutions like boarding schools (583). Although researchers have not been focusing on the correlation between social inequalities and violence at the time of Yugoslav market-oriented economy, Yugoslav cinema offers illustrative examples of social discrepancies inducing symbolic, and sometimes even physical violence. Hadžić's film, in particular, depicts how class and gender differences generate social anxieties which drive the (violent) action among the characters, enabling Maca's troublesome maturation.

Bourdieu's "*microtheory* of social power" which "allows us to incorporate the most mundane details of everyday life in our analyses" (Moi 1991, 1019) is a useful set of tools in analysing Yugoslav social anxieties as loci of symbolic violence in *Three Hours for Love*. Symbolic violence is understood here as a burden of reality with which lower classes have to live, trying to 'play

the game of the field', and hence compete with higher classes who are "equipped with the habitus which enables them to know and recognize the immanent laws of the game" (Bourdieu 1984, as quoted in Moi 1991, 1021). As a form of disguised power and domination, symbolic violence is "completely misrecognized" (Bourdieu 1991, 163) by the individuals subjected to it, and it compels them "to accept their own domination by the internalisation of values defined by the dominants themselves" (Moukarbel 2009, 161).

Even though the loss of innocence in *Three Hours for Love* is a developmental motif which brings Maca to the next psychological stage in life, her maturation tells us that the only way for her to be integrated into Yugoslav society is to show that she is ready to accept (symbolic) violence, as she becomes a working-class woman. This is particularly clear from the way Hadžić depicts a crisis in Maca's coming of age. She sleeps with her employer's husband to try and step out of the boundaries of her social position, but also to take control over her life by hurting the woman of the house for controlling her with fear. In other words, Maca protests against the confinements of her youth, epitomized in the fear of getting pregnant which the woman of the house imposes on her. But, through such 'moral disobedience' Maca also becomes determined to retaliate by sleeping with the husband. Her job resignation is thus a narrative strategy for overcoming the crisis because she decides to take responsibility for her malice. However, by doing so Maca becomes an active accomplice to her own violence, as she takes for granted the hierarchy of the upper-class morality to which she aspires, supporting thus the system of values that works against her.

By making Maca a participant in violence, the film sends a message about Yugoslav structural inequalities generating an endless chain of violence which implicates equally young people and adults. In the film's TV reportage, inequalities of class and gender emerge as the main problems shaping the lives of the female workers interviewed in the same way they structure Maca's girlhood. Social injustices to which these girls are exposed in their everyday lives further induce other forms of malice. In that sense, it is important to notice how among the women interviewed there was also someone who was looking to hire a housekeeper. After being asked about the reasons for posting an advert, an elderly lady complains how she had many housekeepers and that none of them were good, because they come home drunk and demand their rights, while falling short of their duties. Rigorous views on the roles of young housekeepers are moreover backed with the statement of one of the girls who testifies about being fired because boys were calling her on the phone in the house where she worked. Not only is this a paternalist treatment of young housekeepers, but it presents a form of symbolic violence induced by the class anxiety of female employers.

The interviewed mistress' worry in fact illustrates the paradox of class anxiety in Yugoslavia in the 1960s where "economic rationality became more important than workers' rights and exacerbated labour exploitation, [but where] leading bureaucrats and technocrats enjoyed a number of (class) privileges" (Kirn 2014b, 107-8). This is something Hadžić takes up in his earlier films as well. For instance, in *Službeni položaj/Official position* (1964) a commercial director of a textile company – an economic expert everyone trusts except the female leader of the worker's council – eventually gets caught

in his subtle scams that made him rich at the expense of the workers' salaries and the company's bad productivity. In such constellation of things other participants in Yugoslav upper classes, such as bourgeois or managerial elites, express their frustrations by blaming the workers whose income is similar to theirs. Ironically, one of the few opportunities for workers to influence decisions in the company was precisely by maintaining the level of their wages, which conversely influenced other workers by lowering their chances for employment (Kirn 2014b, 109).

The mistress who is interviewed in the TV story complains about the unfair system in which her son-in-law, a University lecturer, receives 85,000 dinars per month, while a housekeeper gets 35,000 dinars in addition to food and board. Later in the film, viewers also learn that Riki needs to wash three cars for a private auto mechanic, in order to use his garage for bringing over girls. According to Riki's estimate, his date costs him 6,000 dinars which means that the cost of a car wash is 2,000 dinars. It becomes clear from these numbers that the owners of private businesses and entrepreneurs earn more money than other participants in the economy. Therefore, in an atmosphere of economic tensions, workers with insecure employment such as young housekeepers become social scapegoats for issues that affect them more than those who oppress them. This is why even a minor mistake like returning drunk from a night-out turns into a validation of a young housekeeper's supposedly undeserved salary.

Throughout the film, Riki's wealthy lifestyle proves to be a mere pretence. His class aspirations are a function of his social anxiety. Still, he will

be the one to joke about class discrepancy in Yugoslavia, right after introducing himself to Maca on their double date with Ankica and her boyfriend. When Maca mentions how she has to return home by eight o clock, he trifles: "How terrible! Class exploitation in a classless society". The impression of violent superiority in his comment becomes even more striking after all four of them decide to follow Riki's suggestion and go dancing, instead of going to the cinema. During the evening, Riki's violence will take on different forms, from harsh teasing of Maca and her acquaintance Janje, to actual physical assaults on them. A dance club sequence provides a notable example of Riki's self-entitled attitude and vicious personality. During an intimate dance with Maca, Riki promises her a nursing job as his father's friend is a medical doctor. But, right after establishing the relationship of trust – pretending that he understands Maca's life struggles – he starts mocking her by saying how her hairdresser must be really bad. On Maca's naive guess that her hair looks greasy, he replies: "No. It smells like *Podravka* soup". Such aggressive exploitation of Maca's fascination with his image will culminate towards the end of the film when he brings her to a garage room, where he repeatedly tries to force her to have sex. In the same sequence Riki ridicules the image of eccentric Janje, describing him as someone who escaped from the cage, after which he mockingly mimics his stutter in front of everyone. In a later scene, Janje defends some youths in the club from a bully who is molesting them, Ankica and her boyfriend included. Still, despite being a good guy, Janje is invisible to Maca because Riki is the popular one, embodying social power unavailable to eccentric characters like Janje.

In one of Maca's flashbacks viewers also learn how her old boyfriend Jurica ended up in jail because he stole an expensive fur-coat which Maca would stare at every time they passed the boutique. In her journey of maturing, Jurica's hyperbolic act voices social anxieties induced by Yugoslav class discrepancies, which is why she defends his image by convincing Ankica that he was a good guy. Trying to do a nice thing for Maca, Jurica commits a crime because he cannot afford to buy the coat she wants. The punishment he receives shows how unjust social arrangements produce not only irreconcilable socio-economic differences, but also infinite series of violence in which everyone participates. Therefore, Jurica is for Maca also a reminder of the time when she caused violence over someone, as her childish longing for expensive clothes placed him in prison. This is why Ankica does not even know the reason why Jurica was imprisoned in the first place.

Class anxiety as a principle of violence is also present in the character of the woman of the house. The mocking scene in the dance club sequence triggers one of Maca's flashbacks, when the woman of the house wrongfully accused her of stealing a necklace by saying to the husband: "Where does she get all that money from? This year she was able to buy two pairs of new shoes, something not even I can afford myself". In the mistress' understanding, someone who "slams the door like in a stable" and whom she only recently "civilized", cannot be able to afford fancy clothes. Overhearing their conversation, the crying Maca interrupts by defending herself and vouching that if necessary she will pay the value of the necklace in instalments. Maca indeed longs for nice clothes and trendy looks, but as she cannot afford such things, her desire only projects her class insecurity. It is also important to

notice how the woman of the house and Maca are both conditioned to class anxiety because they are equally expected to take care of the household. The man of the house is completely disinterested in anything that has to do with Maca's obligations, and whenever his wife tries to communicate these issues, he ignores her. The wife is therefore also a prisoner of her social position as she becomes the victim of her wrecked marriage, not being acknowledged by her husband and being cheated in the end. However, the class difference between her and Maca allows the mistress enough social power to transpose the symbolic violence she suffers to the one hierarchically below her.

Additionally, the husband whose attempts at intimacy with his wife end in failure, treats Maca kindly when she returns upset from a night out. This ends with them spending the night together. The man of the house is therefore not only a passive accomplice to his wife's maltreatment, but also someone who takes advantage of Maca's fragile state. In the closing sequence, the worried mistress complains to her husband about finding a new housekeeper, because amidst all those 'lousy' girls "this one was at least honest and clean". To avoid the conversation, he switches on the TV which is showing one of the sequels of the unemployment reportage. Following the film's elliptic narrative structure, the final juxtaposition confirms the status quo from the beginning: the married couple stares in the TV reportage, ignorant of their own contribution to unemployment injustices, while Maca in the room next door writes a new job advertisement.

Dismantling Yugoslav sexualities

The film's transformative motif of Maca's 'virginity', i.e. her 'loss of innocence', does not only convey a message about the dangers of affluence as a desired model of success for the youth of the country; it also indicates how the film subverts the dominant views on (female) sexuality in 1968 Yugoslavia. Hadžić's subversion should be seen as a commentary on the late 1960s intergenerational conflict where apart from the conservative parent generation, Yugoslav urban youth emerged as deeply patriarchal and violent in their everyday affairs. As such, *Three Hours for Love* presents an intervention into narratives about sexual politics of the time, formed by consumerist appropriations of Western sexual liberties in Yugoslav culture. Like in the Western countries, Yugoslav public discourses about sex and sexuality in the 1960s were more liberal than their antecedents in the previous decade. In 1962, Yugoslav sexologist Franc Novak writes:

> It is finally time to openly recognize and admit something that has been true for a long time but which many people still cannot bear to admit today; namely, that men and women approach one another and unite in love for reasons other than mere reproduction […] Such right to sexual life should be acknowledged not only to men, but also to women.
>
> (5)

This general acknowledgement of sexual freedoms for adults was followed in the mid-1960s by an official recognition of sexual liberties among the youth which were seen as a fallout of the revolutionary demands for gender equality. Commenting on the growing number of public discussions about the youths' interest in sex, another Yugoslav sexologist, Marijan Košiček, notes:

> The older generation can hardly be a good model for building a happy sexual life and a successful marriage union, because they are too

> burdened with unnatural, patriarchal and very often extremely inhumane relations between the sexes. As we cannot hope for our young generations to learn about healthy and progressive relationships by imitating the adults, young people need to be systematically educated about real equality between the sexes.
>
> (1965, 7)

Scientific discourse thus recognized not only the need for change in attitudes about sex, but existing dangers of an overtly patriarchal and violent sexual culture in Yugoslavia. Still, the discourse was at the time predominantly heteronormative (Schilt and Westbrook 2009) as it defined a sexually mature individual as the one who "satisfies their sexual drive with the person of the opposite sex only, with whom they establish a personal emotional connection" (Košiček 1965, 23). Nested between revolutionary ideas of gender equality and a traditional belief in marriage as the ideal social space for sexual relations, such liberal discourses were still reinforcing institutionalized "heterosexuality [which] is founded upon gender hierarchy, upon men's appropriation of women's bodies and labour" (Jackson 1996, 24).

Contradictory messages about a newly-liberated sexuality are perhaps most evident in the treatment of female sexuality in the press. The Federal youth magazine *Mladost* in 1968 created a novel type of the magazine rubric, dedicated to youth's adolescent troubles. The section consisted of young journalists' stories, selected readers' letters and pieces of advice from an expert on questions of adolescence and sexuality. The figure of a female reader, however, appears as the central organizational motif, and she is furthermore seen as a passive victim of this 'new' young man, "educated on bad films and society, who believes that quantity is more important than the quality" (Dr

Zoran Sretenović, „ABC Seksualnog vaspitanja," *Mladost*, 1968, 596, 15). Girls are here addressed through headlines suggesting they should not rush ("Do not rush, impatient girl"), asking if they should be the ones to approach the boys ("Does she have the right to the first step"), or by simply depicting experiences from other countries where abused girls send a strong message against early pre-marital sex ("Sex is the greatest misery"). Yugoslav girls interviewed in articles show a genuine understanding for conservative social relations which they say that boys inherited them from their parents' generation. One of the girls describes a dominant stereotype about 'mysterious women', the most common reaction of boys who are rejected by a girl: "A woman today simply wants to have integrity, her own understanding, her own opinion […] and that kind of a woman, who succeeds in all those things, men call mysterious" ("Dvoje," *Mladost*, 1968, 599, 13). Similarly, another girl finishes her interview by posing a question: "Are we not allowed to choose, do we always have to be the chosen ones?" ("Dvoje," *Mladost*, 1968, 588, 15). However, despite the girls' strong awareness about "gender inequality in their social environment" (14), the scientific discourse throughout 1968 editions of the magazine remains strongly paternalist and conservative in the treatment of female sexuality. Girls are portrayed as being "in extreme danger because their naiveté, purity and honest belief in love could be exploited by some 'love dealer'" (Dr Zoran Sretenović, „ABC Seksualnog vaspitanja," *Mladost*, 1968, 596, 15). By generating ideas about girls as passive victims of the sexual revolution, Yugoslav discourses about the youth were in effect only adapting the patriarchal distribution of power to liberalized ideas about sex.

Maca's character contradicts such views on passive female sexuality. Through Riki's aggressive attempts at sex, Maca learns about violent social relations, and reacts by actively choosing to 'lose her virginity' with the man of the house instead of Riki that night. The omnipresent motif of male heterosexual privilege is a backdrop against which Maca becomes an active agent in society's power relations. Be it the husband's rejection by the mistress of the house, because "in order to satisfy [his] needs she would have to allow [Maca] some free time every day," a random boy's offer to Maca and Ankica for "a sexual guide through the city," or a bully at the club molesting Ankica by lifting her skirt and saying she is "better looking from the inside than the outside", men's violent heterosexuality outlines the context of Maca's transformation that night. In that sense, her date with Riki is a culmination of hostile sexual behaviours between the youths in the film; men's behaviours which are taken for granted by everyone except Maca and Ankica. Still, while Ankica's good-natured advice on not leaving the club with Riki corresponds to conservative beliefs about pre-marital sex, Maca's act of rejecting Riki and spending the night with the man of the house goes beyond recognizing violent relations of the 'liberated sexuality' and intervenes directly in the unjust power dynamics. The counterpart of Ankica and Maca is a girl whom Riki's acquaintance brings to the garage. Even though viewers barely see her, and she speaks only to ask for a cigarette, the drunk girl whom Riki's friend "borrowed from their friend Ciga" represents a girl 'liberated' by the sexual revolution: her only purpose here is to please the boys.

A dialogue between Riki and Maca in the garage is perhaps the best illustration of the violent heterosexuality he embodies. After subtly forcing

Maca to drink alcohol, Riki plays with her naiveté by concluding how she does not like him if she does not allow him to touch her. Such conditioning is followed by a threatening statement: "I won't beat you, because I like you more than any other girl," after which Riki slaps Maca in the face because she is still not agreeing to intimacy. Gradually realizing Maca's disinterest, Riki laments:

> You ruined my whole week. Did you think I brought you [to the garage] to show you the car? If a woman accepts to go to a room with a man, her intentions are obvious. Only phonies would want to capitalize from such a situation, thinking how men would go crazy about them afterwards.

Even though Maca was the maltreated one, in Riki's eyes she not only deserves such abuse, but is to be blamed for his failure in pursuing sex that night. In a patriarchal culture where "there is no sex […] but sex that is oppressed and sex that oppresses" (Wittig 1992, 2); a displeased man becomes a 'victim' to the woman who rejects him. This is further telling of the stereotype Yugoslav girls discuss in the magazine *Mladost* – the ones who say no to boys are deemed mysterious and fake, because it is 'normal' for girls to always accepts boys' proposals. Violence inherent in unequal gender relations is in the film depicted as the product of male privilege in a seemingly equal socialist society.

Male privilege in *Three Hours for Love* is, however, not coupled with passive female victimhood, as Maca's transition to womanhood also illustrates the reclaim of the power over her own body from the clutches of patriarchal relations in Yugoslav culture. Riki's behaviour pushes her to realize that her body is the only capital she owns as a young female worker. Still, the film depicts Maca's true sexual liberation to be insufficient for her (total) emancipation. The youth culture which appropriated both positive and

negative aspects of the Western sexual revolution, allowed Maca to liberate herself from oppressive sexual relations. But sexual emancipation could not free her from class oppression, particularly not in socialist Yugoslavia which was nominally a society of class equality. As a precarious female worker in a classed society of affluence, Maca cannot escape exploitation. Despite her ephemeral class mobility symbolized in romance with the man of the house, by attending to the dominant morality and taking responsibility for adultery Maca anchors herself back in the oppressed position. In other words, she willingly becomes a part of the circuit of violence by taking at face value the dominant Yugoslav (upper-class) morality. In this way, Hadžić conveys a message about the strong alienation of Yugoslav female workers during the unemployment crisis when many of them were forced to capitalize on gender stereotypes (interviewed girls in the framing story admit having had to wash other men's clothes and sometimes simply having been "paid by boys") or their bodies (by becoming strippers or prostitutes). In societies that are deeply patriarchal, the female body is an asset to be exploited. Not only does Hadžić's intervention into Yugoslav conservatism acknowledge this, but it illustrates how the country's persisting links with traditional conservativism have been modifying class relations to the point of producing irreversibly hostile working environments for women.

4.3. Minja and Maca in Yugoslav cinematography

Some of the early cinematic representations of Yugoslav everyday life contradicted society's main ideological postulates such as female emancipation through work or class equality. These fiction films portrayed

female characters as either defined by the romantic affinities to their men or completely deprived of professional and ideological aspirations, while male characters brought about the privileging of the intellectual (middle) class over the workers (Jovanović 2015a). Živanović's Minja therefore does not introduce a patriarchal embodiment of womanhood in Yugoslav cinema. Coinciding with the period of emerging consumer abundance, on the one hand, and a developing interest in student youth, on the other, Minja's character introduces a variation to the figures of the working woman in love and the middle-class housewife: the employed female student in love. Minja's character is thus nothing but a student embodiment of the conservative discourse which in earlier Yugoslav cinema was submitting the emancipated woman to the necessity of love.

Like Živanović's previous two fiction films, *Strange Girl* "present[s] modernity through more conventional romantic narratives" (Jovanović 2015a, 45). By removing women from the sphere of work into the leisure sphere, these films were bringing back the male privilege as the film's centrifugal drive. Superficially, Yugoslav attempts to represent modernity via conventional romance may appear to contradict the genre conventions and the socialist quotidian of the time. Still, my interpretation of *Strange Girl* suggests that a hybridized genre such as the socialist youth melodrama in fact reveals discursive mechanism through which Yugoslav society of the time supported the patriarchal norms. This is found not only in mutual dependence of intergenerational and intra-social discourses of Yugoslav youth and girls, but also in the film's cinematography which visually narrates the heroine's patriarchal maturation.

In contrast to Minja who is on the lines of earlier conservative female characters, Hadžić's Maca is a tragic young heroine whose protest against her onerous fate brings about her own downfall. In that sense, she is a modification to the figure of a young revolutionary heroine, such as the young female factory worker in *Slavica* (Vjekoslav Afrić, 1947) or the ballerina Marija in *The Flag* (Branko Marjanović, 1949) whose ideals of freedom and anti-fascist resistance "necessarily demanded their heroic death" (Pejić 2010, 100). However, Maca's alteration tells us that her tragedy does not initiate any abrupt change, nor does it end heroically. Maca's misfortune comes from the inevitability of her own participation in power structures that oppress her. Thus, her character illustrates the shift from a tragic young revolutionary of the early Yugoslav cinema, to the tragic young female worker of the cinema in the 1960s. This is ultimately telling of a "generational transition from revolutionary phase to mature socialism" (Fuček 2015a, 641) which by the end of 1960s began taking another generational shift to the 1968 youth revolutionaries.

Three Hours for Love presents Yugoslav contemporary society through a social commentary centred on socio-political antagonisms whose bearers are strong female characters. This film in fact follows a pattern of protagonists developed in Hadžić's earlier films: e.g. an exemplary female communist in *The Other Side Of the Medal*, a spy girl from the Partisan resistance in *Abeceda straha* (*The Alphabet of Fear*, 1961) or a principled female leader of the worker's council in *The Official Position*. These female characters often suffer the consequences of the actions carried out by their male counterparts which they then must correct or bravely endure. Thus, despite the official doctrine, these films spoke of anti-socialist privileges and desires which the Yugoslav

society in the 1960s not only supported but justified as 'the new road to socialism' (Rusinow 1978, 58). My interpretation of *Three Hours for Love* indicates the potential of Yugoslav youth cinema to subvert society's main postulates through narrative mechanisms which challenge the dominant discourses about the youth. This is illustrated by Maca's true sexual liberation which goes against the belief in girls' passivity, her rejection of violence and urban conformism which Riki embodies, and thus her acceptance of the disadvantaged position she is compelled to live in.

It is, finally, interesting how Yugoslav film critics completely failed to notice a disparity between the depiction of Yugoslav quotidian in these two films and the official vision of Yugoslav reality. Contrary to my conclusions, the critics praised Živanović's *Strange Girl* and criticized Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love*. None of Yugoslav film critics of the time recognized *Strange Girl*'s conservative message about becoming a woman in Yugoslavia as a message against social progress, cultural modernity, and everything that Yugoslav society then represented. Minja was described as a "cynic with no faith in the beauties of life, with no ambitions [or] belief in ideals" and her transformation was interpreted as heroic (M. Kujundžić, "Fragmenti o studentima." *Dnevnik*, 13 April 1962). Others saw her as an epitome of a phony outlook (M. Milošević „Čudna devojka," *Borba*, 20 April 1962), and her love story was read as "a way of finding the right place and role in a society" (D. Mandić, "Čudna devojka," *Crvena Zvezda*, 24 April 1962). Such reviews of the film support the claim that Minja's character not only fits into Živanović's conservative poetics, but it strongly depends on the conservative trend of Yugoslavia in the cultural conflicts of the early 1960s. In a different vein, Hadžić was blamed for

"softening his criticism" in *Three Hours for Love* (Boglić 1969), and his shift to contemporary youth topics was seen as „compromise with the so-called commercial cinematography" (Modrinić 1969). Instead of reading Maca's "young, attractive and fashionable" (Modrinić 1969) character as symptom of her class anxiety, they interpreted it as a sign of Hadžić's criticism ebbing away.

The strong presence of traditional conservativism which pervaded official discourse seems to be eluding Yugoslav film critics of the time. In *Strange Girl* they entirely neglect it, by admiring narrative strategies which underneath the surface level conveyed essentially conservative messages about Yugoslav womanhood. In the case of *Three Hours for Love* the critics adopted the conservative stance in discussing the film as "an easy watch […] in the mood of cocktails and erotica, a more convenient illustration of romantic pulp-fiction than [Maca's] despair, her human and social protest" (Modrinić 1969). Not only was their focus on mainstream aesthetics obfuscating the film's engagement in subtle social criticism, but it was reproducing the same privileged system of evaluation that Hadžić questions in the film. In the last analysis, my coming-of-age interpretations of the two films reveal traditional conservativism as a constant and pivotal feature of the social, political and cultural antagonisms characteristic of Yugoslavia in the 1960s.

4.4. Conclusion

The films *Strange Girl* and *Three Hours for Love* reflect antagonisms between the official rhetoric and women's actual lived experience, as the young heroines enter womanhood. The coming of age of these heroines reveals social and cultural complexities from the early and late 1960s, when the two films

were made. Minja's transition to domestic womanhood unveils a hegemonic presence of traditional conservativism in discourses on Yugoslav modernity on the threshold of the 1960s. In the visual narration of Minja's maturing, *Strange Girl* fostered ambivalent messages about emerging modernity in Yugoslavia. Her coming of age also discloses the discourse on bad socialist youth: young people who enjoy the commercial features of Yugoslav modernity in ascendance, instead of working hard and sacrificing for the greater good, as Minja in the end does. Lastly, the promise of female emancipation through Westernized practices that Minja's character embodies at the beginning of the film, and the later potential for her socialist liberation through work, collapse as Minja finds a job to help her husband, becoming his wife and a mother. In a similar vein, Maca's integration to society reveals a destructive world of socialist affluence where underprivileged youths are forced to conform. Refusing to do so, Maca seals her destitute social position as a woman who takes care of other people's houses. Her painful maturation furthermore shows a degree to which symbolic and real violence are inherent to unjust social systems, such as the one in the late 1960s Yugoslavia. Finally, the sexual (and hence political) agency with which Maca manages to reject Riki's violence leads to her act of protest, as she chooses to sleep with the man of the house where she works. Such rebellious choice that brings her downfall contradicts the conservative belief in girls' passivity which was pervading the idea of liberalized sexuality in 1960s Yugoslavia.

Contradictory tendencies in 1960s Yugoslavia shaped the representations of various types of young people in these films as cynical, lazy, violent, but also hard-working and righteous. My analysis showed that Minja's

and Maca's maturation develops against the backdrop of undesirable images of youth, by gradually moving away from such lifestyles and towards embodying desirable types of womanhood: socialist mother and wife, and the righteous working-class woman. But, the ways in which these types of womanhood are structured as desirable point to the strong presence of conservative hegemonic discourses which are reproduced or challenged in the films. In *Strange Girl*, Minja's role of mother and wife comes as the opposite of her youthful promiscuous and cynical – modern – personality. By contrast, in *Three Hours for Love*, the modest and innocent Maca becomes an active participant in her own life, a righteous woman who takes responsibility for the harm caused, enduring thus her precarious working-class life. Thus, differently than Živanović whose heroine follows a one-way conservative path towards adulthood, Hadžić makes Maca cross the limits of her youthful inexperience and enter rebellious womanhood. Moreover, by not allowing Maca her rebellious victory at the end of the film, Hadžić sends a message about the lack of opportunities for young working women in Yugoslavia, which contradicted official discourses on gender and work.

Essentially, in both films, society teaches the heroines 'to know their place' as adult women. The difference is that *Strange Girl* depicts this as Minja's salvation, while *Three Hours for Love* illustrates it through Maca's emotional suffering and endangered livelihood. Živanović does this by relying on contradictory discourses on consumption and Western influences that were available at the time, while Hadžić at the end of the 1960s knowingly intervenes into liberal and conservative discourses on female work and sexuality, reflecting the newly won intellectual and media freedoms. Such

conclusions were drawn here by taking into consideration the directors' poetics, too. Živanović's conservative poetics which in his previous melodramas reduced women to mere wifehood proved fundamental for developing a patriarchal story of socialist maturing, revealing therefore the contradictions of Yugoslavia's modernity-in-the-making. Hadžić's poetics of truth that in his earlier films relied on documenting the Yugoslav daily life whilst developing a social commentary on antisocialist phenomena, confirmed the potential of youth representations for voicing concerns about burning issues in contemporary Yugoslavia. Correspondingly, the engagement of the official film critics in Yugoslav daily newspaper confirmed the active hegemonic presence of traditional conservativism. Their critiques failed to recognize *Strange Girl*'s conservative message contradicting the ideas of social progress, modernity and emancipation that Yugoslav society at the time represented. Moreover, film critics adopted a conservative stance towards *Three Hours for Love*, misrecognizing its appropriation of modern youth lifestyles to be the means of social commentary. The coming-of-age analyses that are presented in this chapter explore a cinematic theme of becoming a Yugoslav woman via its complex cultural manifestations. In a similar vein, multifaceted examinations of boys becoming men in Yugoslav cinema will be taken up in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Becoming a Yugoslav Man

The historian Edward Thompson who participated in the building of the Šamac – Sarajevo „youth railway" with the British volunteer brigade in 1947, notes in his book *The Railway: An Adventure in Construction* (1948) how the members of his brigade deemed Yugoslav youths to be "different" because they worked hard, "like beavers" (13). British volunteer workers considered this situation as the consequence of the difficulties encountered by young Yugoslavs growing up in the immediate post-war years who, in contrast to them, were used to hard labour (13). Thompson, however, makes a distinction between different groups: he observes that rural youths were physically more prepared, and mentally used to much worse working and living conditions, but that for student youths coming from urban areas the first couple of weeks were a true test of their will and endurance (13). Therefore, as Thompson notices, already in the first years after the war Yugoslav youth was stratified by its class origin, and so was its commitment to the cause of building a new society. During this first period of industrialization, such stratification was overcome by a specific kind of upward mobility for young people (Zukin 1978, 398). Apart from manual jobs for the workers, the industrial system created jobs for the office workers, managers and political leaders (Sekulić, Massey and Hodson 1991, 193).

Ironically, Thompson's observation turned out to be more relevant for the later years of Yugoslav utopian socialism than for the very forming of the

socialist society. The introduction of market-oriented economy in the second half of the 1960s, together with a strong trend of consumerism in Yugoslav daily life, halted the course of socialist modernization and with it its claims for class and gender equality.

This chapter therefore explores the theme of becoming a man in Yugoslavia in early 1970s. It presents analyses of Milan Jelić's 1971 comedy *The Bug Killer* and Vanča Kljaković's *Get it, Man* from 1973, whose young protagonists – Milan (Dragan Radulović) and Glista (Ivica Vidović) – make their peace with the world as they enter adulthood. Rather differently from the statistics in the previous chapter, out of sixty-one youth film made from 1945 until 1974, forty-one had male protagonists (either single or as part of the group). A strikingly large proportion of young heroes is particularly noticeable in the period from 1968 until 1974 where apart from Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love*, only one other film appeared to have a young female protagonist – Dragan Jovanović's *Devojka sa Kosmaja* (A *Girl from Kosmaj*, 1972). The vivid masculinization of youth representation coincides with what Greg DeCuir describes as the attack on women in Yugoslav Black Wave cinema (1963-1972), the most common manifestation of which was the representation of rape (2011, 109). Similarly, Vesi Vuković in her article on the representation of female characters in late 1960s and early 1970s Yugoslav New Film, argues that both mainstream and New Wave film "displayed penchant for sexual abuse of women and exploited their representation in order to convey a political message to the viewer" (2018, 144). Simultaneously with the allegorical representations of women and their symbolic abuse in the critical discourses of New Film, emerged a change of focus towards representations of

the less-privileged members of society. The most usual centre of attraction in these films were men, whose representations were now deprived of official ideologization. *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* therefore challenge the idea of socialist maturing by portraying the integration (or the lack thereof) of boys from the lower classes to contemporary modern Yugoslavia. As such, the films correspond to the shift in representational practice at the beginning of the 1970s whereby female characters became objectified, while male protagonists adopted a more realistic shape.

The sociologists Inga Tomić-Koludrović and Mirko Petrić in their article on the effects of ideological influence on Yugoslav theorizations of class describe a contradictory development of socialist Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s:

> The trend towards a "closed society", diagnosed by [Yugoslav sociologist Mladen] Lazić, manifested itself in increasingly difficult upward mobility for young people (unless they were children of members of the political elite), in the fact that workers were generally much less upwardly mobile than they once had been, and also in that there existed social groups (peasants and small owners) positioned completely "outside of the system", with weak chances of upward mobility in the legitimate culture.
>
> (2014, 127)

The inequitable social environment that started forming around the time when Jelić's and Kljaković's films were being made, illustrates in this chapter the class context for the boys' coming of age. Social mechanisms for integration of young heroes to the unjust society are thus closely related to Milan's and Glista's class belonging. The way these boys come to terms with the world is by actively trying to leave the surroundings in which they were raised – either by finding work, or people who could introduce them to the upper classes. The

appropriation of adult morality is in that sense depicted as the quest of social mobility.

In this chapter, my two interpretative contexts link the films with the period of the early 1970s. Firstly, the context for *The Bug Killer* centres around the issue of the failing implementation of the self-management system, which introduced commercial and investment banks to Yugoslavia's system of market socialism. Secondly, *Get it, Man* is linked with the political crisis of decentralization which was also induced by the deficient economic reform and the unemployment crisis. By centring on the films' coming-of-age structure, and the key motifs of sexual travesty (*The Bug Killer*) and failure (*Get it, Man*), my analysis points to some of the key socio-cultural symptoms of the crises, and hence to discursive mechanisms for their symbolic overcoming. Through engaging with these problems, films reveal their different relationships with hegemonic discourses of the time: Jelić successfully challenges Yugoslav traditionalist ideas, whereas Kljaković's subversive practice indicates its conservativism. For instance, by satirizing Milan's entry into the upper classes, Jelić criticizes the hardships of social mobility for the less-privileged young Yugoslavs. Quite differently, Kljaković's film shows the impossibility of social mobility for the most marginalized social strata as a natural way of things. Related to this is Kljaković's representation of Glista's disadvantage as a consequence of his corrupt morals, whereas Jelić illustrates the very unscrupulousness of Yugoslav morality that permeates all classes equally. Finally, by satirically treating female prostitution as common sense and male homosexuality as a threat, Jelić's film discloses Yugoslav sexual morality as deeply patriarchal; contrary to this, by not creating a distance from sexual

violence in the film, Kljaković reproduces it as a practice inherent to the lumpen-proletarian youth.

Analogously to the previous analytical chapter, sections that follow offer readings of Jelić's *The Bug Killer* (5.1.) and Kljaković's *Get it, Man* (5.2.) as Yugoslav coming-of-age films. The layout of those sections reflects the structure of Chapter 4: each of the two sections consists of interpretative contexts (5.1.1. and 5.2.1.), directors' poetics (5.1.2. and 5.2.2.) and film analyses (5.1.3. and 5.2.3.). In further analogy with Chapter 4, the thematic foci of analysis are based on distinct social and ideological complexes associated with the coming of age: marginalized working class, nepotism, hypocritical sexual morality, romanticized social disadvantage, violent love and cynical youth. These complexities are unveiled by narrative and social mechanisms through which young protagonists integrate to society, i.e. make their peace with the world. The last section (5.3.) offers a genealogy of male characters in Yugoslav cinematography which the young protagonists advance: the underprivileged boys from the margins of the Yugoslav society. The section closes with examinations of the film critiques of the time that illustrate the limited range of the liberal critique, epitomized in their avoiding the class issues. My conclusion (5.4.) sums up the main arguments from the analyses of the films.

5.1. *The Bug Killer*: social(ist) anatomy of sexual travesty

Milan Jelić's (1944) first feature-length film, *The Bug Killer* was produced in 1971 by Film Danas, one of the new film production houses at the time. Despite the general crises that Yugoslav cinema was going through in the early 1970s,

Jelić's debut film turned out to be highly successful. The year of its distribution was particularly bad due to a steady decline in the number of film viewers over the decade – by 1971, the number of viewers had dropped by thirty-eight percent (Goulding [1985] 2002, 64). Not only did *The Bug Killer* get excellent reviews, but it also received two awards: one from the federal youth magazine *Mladost* and the other, memorial award, named after a famous director "Kokan Rakonjac" (D. Pataković, „Zašto je žiri dremao?" *Ekspres Beograd*, 10 August 1971). Jelić's decision to make a comedy with dark and tragic elements clearly helped him to win the audiences against the backdrop of the rise of television programmes and led to *The Bug Killer* being described as "the most interesting film that year" ("Start Bubašintera," *Večernje novosti*, 9 October 1971). Apart from this description, the film was also characterized as "black comedy that will force moralists to leave the theatres," which is why it was announced as "the most scandalous film of Pula 71 festival" ("Zlatni debi u Puli," *Čik*, 29 July 1971).

The Bug Killer is a comedy about a fifteen-year-old boy Milan Gašić, a helpless young romantic and a dreamer, as his father angrily calls him. Milan is having difficulties finding a job because he holds a post-primary vocational degree from an unknown school. Throughout the film, Milan therefore desperately searches for work in different legal and illegal places. Hopelessly trying to help him become a 'normal' man, Milan's father believes that the reason behind his youth misfortunes is his lack of sexual experience. Milan's naïve, dreamy character is moreover illustrated by his refusal to have sex with prostitutes and older women because he has a girlfriend. Still, by becoming a lover to his traumatized eccentric aunt whose husband cheated her with

another man, Milan finally secures himself a sexual experience and a stable livelihood.

My reading of Jelić's film centres on the travesty of Yugoslav sexual morality as a motif which marks Milan's coming of age in the film. The analysis of this comical motif – which is present in the forms of incest, homosexuality and prostitution – discloses nepotism as a fundamental social problem which generates such moral travesties in Yugoslav society of the time. Milan's bizarre appropriation of decadent morality instead of his father's naïve working ethic will illustrate the marginalization of the Yugoslav working class in the early 1970s. The 'normal' man that Milan's father wants him to become, at the end of the film turns out to be the very opposite of a desired working-class ideal. In a similar fashion to the analysis of *Strange Girl* in the previous chapter (the argument of which is based on the examination of the melodrama qua coming-of-age story configuration), my interpretation of *The Bug Killer* takes it as a particular form of coming-of-age satire.

My approach draws on Paul Simpson's analytical model for exploring satire as discursive practice, which he develops in his monograph *On the Discourse of Satire: Towards a Stylistic Model of Satirical Humour* (2003). A satire consists of three discursive subject positions which are in constant process of renegotiation – the producer of the work (the satirist), an addressee (the *satiree*) and the target attacked in the satire (the satirized), the only "uninvited participant" (Simpson 2003, 8). In positing the 'normal' Yugoslav community (both family and society) as the target of his satire, Jelić shows how in order to grow up, Milan must become a 'degenerate'. Through depicting

moral travesties of the time as Yugoslav normality, the film finally reveals society's double moral standards in viewing female prostitution as normal and male prostitution and homosexuality as bourgeois threats.

5.1.1. The downfall of the Yugoslav working class

By the beginning of the 1970s, when *The Bug Killer* reached the film theatres, political and economic reforms that were initiated in previous post-war decades were not followed by novel attempts at fortifying the "Yugoslav road to socialism". As critic and philosopher Darko Suvin explains, there was no further discursive development of important debates and what came was "a kind of Yugoslav *brezhnevism*, stagnation with a gradual increase of notional and economic collapses" (2014, 60-1). The younger cadres of the Communist League who pushed for the market reform in 1965 were officially elected in 1969, taking over the leadership. Political and cultural conflicts from the 1960s generated a new set of contradictions between a failing implementation of self-management, and the introduction of commercial and investment banks. Frequent manifestations of this were the "grey emissions" between the banks and enterprises who "simply struck informal agreements to accept or receive delayed payments for goods delivered" (Lampe 2000, 315). Such incongruence was noticed by some of the 'old cadres' who were still in charge, though it was never presented as a symptom of Yugoslav acute antagonisms. In his report for the Self-management Congress in 1971, Edvard Kardelj notices how after the 1965 reform the state production surplus was not being re-invested in workers' associations, but in banks, insurance bureaus, and import/export organizations, which for him was a new form of labour alienation from

Yugoslav workers (1982, 264). Similarly, around the same time Vladimir Bakarić talks about a certain stratum of people who live from income earned outside their regular employment, and who due to their material interests are ready to sacrifice the financial status of the working collectives (1983, 304-306). Bakarić warns that the surplus was now to be managed "not by direct producers, not even by people, but by organizations [banks and other credit institutions] which were relatively independent from direct producers and the League of Communists" (1983, 339). Still, not much has been done at the time to protect the working class which was deemed to be endangered.

The fact that the officials feared the potential working-class rebellion is best proved by president Tito's television address to student protestors in 1968. By homogenizing the "hostile elements" to a group of professors, philosophers and former Secret Service agents, Tito accused them of manipulating the students to entirely "negate the working class as a fundamental factor and a pillar of the society" (Josip Broz Tito, as quoted in Arsić and Marković 1988, 132-133). Moreover, he labelled them as "foreign and anti-socialist" hostile elements that infiltrated among the students. His reaction reads as a rhetorical move by which Tito not only trivialized the student movement but also placed the blame for the marginalization of the working class on "the enemy".

As argued in the previous chapter, by the 1970s the Yugoslav working class has become one of the most endangered categories in the unemployment statistics, with unskilled workers most affected. Instead of dropping, the number of unskilled workers was constantly growing. Namely, secondary

education was at the time divided between grammar schools and vocational schools, which was reflecting a strict class differentiation (Novaković 2007, 88-9). In fact, one of the key points of criticism during the student demonstrations in 1968 was the claim that the educational system in Yugoslavia was reproducing class differences, with higher education reserved for the richest (Baćević 2006, 109). Until 1971, one quarter of Yugoslavia's workforce had only four grades of primary education (Horvat 1969, 181), whereas in the period from 1961 until 1976 the number of workers with formal education increased from 4.7% to 39.2% (Bilandžić 1978, 393). The income of the workers who were highly qualified was in the period from 1966 and through the 1970s 84% higher than the income of unqualified workers (Novaković 2007, 42-3). Therefore, workers were the bone of contention during the protest: while students considered them their allies by virtue of what they saw as similar interests, the authorities feared the discontent of workers reaching the streets which is why they manipulated the media coverage of the protests (Klasić 2012, 148). Yet, neither did students manage to get the workers' support, nor did the state improve the status of the workers.

The Yugoslav leadership sought to remedy the early consequences of economic recession, and later the unemployment crisis, by developing a strategy of "temporary employment abroad" (France, Austria and Sweden) in 1962 (Čalić 2019, 215). Still, the 1968 agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany initiated the largest wave of migration of Yugoslav workers, the so-called *gastarbeiters* (guest workers). Among the people working abroad were also Yugoslav professionals, but the majority were still the manual, unqualified

workers. The number of Yugoslavs who worked in Germany that year was 300,000 and reached 500,000 in the following years (Čalić 2019, 215). Most of the gastarbeiters lived in terrible conditions in Germany, but their average monthly salary was three to four times higher than one at home (Suvin 2014, 293). Yugoslavia undeniably benefitted from such crises, as gastarbeiters were sending money to their families, bringing foreign exchange remittances to the country (Dobrivojević 2014, 42), or building houses and investing in local factories (Doder [1978] 1979, 87). Still, such short-term profit only created an illusion of domestic wealth. The government officials did not fear the migration of unskilled workers but rather that of highly qualified workforce, also known as brain-drain, as admitted by the deputy labour minister Milan Manojlović: "The people we want to come back, the highly qualified, are not coming back" (Doder 1979, 81-2). Therefore, the migrant workers – those who had already been endangered by the lack of employment possibilities before they left – were not welcome to return as they would only aggravate the problems. The satirical world of *The Bug Killer* should be read as a comical amplification of the socio-political crisis that the country was going through at the time. The working-class crisis is here manifested through carnivalesque, i.e. comically subversive, representations of Yugoslav hypocritical sexual morality.

5.1.2. Jelić's comic poetics

Jelić entered the world of cinema as an episodic actor, and later became a playwright and a film director as well. It is important to notice that he begins his directing career in the Film Danas production house. Film Danas is

significant due to context from which it originates – the amateur film workers' community Kino Klub Beograd, the largest cinema club in socialist Yugoslavia known by the early works of some of the most prominent film directors: Živojin Pavlović, Kokan Rakonjac, Marko Babac and Dušan Makavejev. Operating from 1951 until 1969, Kino Klub Beograd brought together many young film workers who were interested in experimenting with film form and content. Among them was also Jelić who made his first three short films there. The club's institutional and creative environment produced a new generation of Yugoslav film directors, a group of Belgrade modernist authors who soon became emblematic of social criticism which official critics labelled pejoratively as 'black film' (e.g. Boglić 1968; Čolić 1968). After the closure of Kino Klub, due to insufficient financial and material support, several workers formed Film Danas, the workers' organization for producing, renting and distributing films. Before *The Bug Killer*, Film Danas produced two films in 1970 – Miodrag Popović's drama *Prirodna granica* (*Natural Border*) and Časlav Damjanović's war drama *Rekvijem* (*Last Train to Berlin*). Being the third film produced by this organization, *The Bug Killer* was at the crossroads of the novel, critical poetics which Kino Klub generated, and the commercialization of Yugoslav cinema that caused the shutting down of the club in the first place. Therefore, the comedy genre allowed Jelić to successfully merge the two tendencies in *The Bug Killer*, an entertaining 'black' satire which also turned out to be profitable.

With this film, Jelić grounds his poetic in themes about the (Yugoslav) family, on the one hand, and in the comedy genre, on the other. Indeed, most of his later films – though not all of them – were marital or family comedies

that pitch the individual against the social values. As Slobodan Obradović notes in his article „Jelić's directing opus" ([2012] 2017), underneath the surface of funny illustrations of Yugoslav socialist quotidian lie references to various types of social repression that Jelić turns into unique slapstick comedies. Like *The Bug Killer*, the motifs which in Jelić's other comedies transform family plots into humorous and sharp social commentaries are ones of normality and travesty. To quote Obradović: „Jelić opts for humour within social dramas and romantic sketches, taken from the lives of comrades who are in a situation of calculating how much do they want to deviate from prejudices about love, family, marriage, upbringing, friendship, maturing, sex" (2017). The forming of 'normality', i.e. the desiring of social harmony, in all his films always ends with certain disappointment. For instance, in *Tigar* (*Tiger*, 1978), a mediocre amateur boxer finds joy in helping a local vagabond become a decent man, only to realize that the boy used him, betraying his trust, which transforms Tigar into an embittered, but self-conscious man. In his 1980s trilogy – *Rad na određeno vreme* (*Temporary employment,* 1980), *Moj tata na određeno vreme* (*My Temporary Dad*, 1982), *Razvod na određeno vreme* (*Temporary divorce*, 1986) – the protagonist, Siniša Pantić, has all the predispositions for living a normal life, except that his 'normality' is fatally temporary. His 'normality' is, above all, permeated with gender travesty which undermines his *pater familias* masculinity. Not only does he temporarily work as a schoolteacher, has a temporary apartment and a 'temporary son,' but his working position is also a temporary replacement of a female teacher who is on pregnancy leave. He actually lives with his sister in her apartment, and his 'temporary son' is a

student of whom he takes care. Travesty, therefore, gives dynamic to the plots in Jelić's comedies, as it constantly interrupts the possibility of 'normality'.

The Bug Killer introduces all of this, but in the more aggressive form of a dark comedy, which I suggest reading as satire. The film is imbued with improbable plot situations, sexual travesty, verbal humour, exaggerated characters such as Milan's middle-class paranoid aunt, his mother who is a ridiculously fragile housewife, or his stereotypically tough father who is a loyal socialist working man. It is worth observing that Yugoslav comedies which preceded *The Bug Killer* were mostly situational comedies about everyday life in Yugoslavia – e.g. the previously mentioned Vajda's *Common Apartment* (1960), or Branko Bauer's *Martin's Head in the Clouds* (1961) and *Superfluous* (1962). Nevertheless, if we exclude the satire *Ciguli Miguli* (Branko Marjanović, 1952) because it was the only officially banned film in socialist Yugoslavia, two films could be deemed predecessors of Jelić's comedy poetics. First, Milo Đukanović's screwball comedy *Muškarci* (*Men*, 1963) whose plot revolves around gender travesty aimed at commenting unequal gender relations; second, his satire *Quo Vadis Živorade?* (1968) which attacks nepotism and incompetence in Yugoslav local politics. Both travesty and nepotism are crucial motifs for the satirical world of *The Bug Killer*, an allegorical story in which Yugoslavia is depicted as a large dysfunctional family.

5.1.3. The film's response

The fast weakening of Yugoslav working class at the beginning of the 1970s, caused by gradual decline of the workers' self-management system, is the

ideological backdrop of Milan's farcical maturing in the film. The expansion of the working class at the time reflected a larger hierarchy of power in market-oriented Yugoslavia: gastarbeiters were now becoming middle-class, while qualified and unqualified workers who stayed in the country struggled. Milan's incapacity to find work is comically depicted as a lack of working-class masculinity. In the eyes of his father, who is a respectable member of the working class, a solution to this problem is to go to prostitutes for an experience. Still, his father's remedy will turn toxic, as Milan grows into a male prostitute, which moreover allows him to enter the middle-class world. After experiencing the 'underground' life in Belgrade, hence his realization that illegal and informal ways of livelihood outweigh the legal and formal ones, Milan abandons his daydreaming. Thus, by leaving with his wealthy aunt, Milan in fact leaves the working class, as he enters Yugoslav manhood. Such representation of Yugoslav manhood is illustrative of reality which young working-class experts lived. For instance, the 1969 newspaper article in *Vjesnik* presented a story about the most successful Zagreb enterprise Pliva which hires a great number of young experts. Despite it being a rare positive example in Yugoslavia, for some young experts the salary of 1,350 dinars a month was not enough. Such was the interviewed electrical technician who was not satisfied with his salary – admitting that he is a materialist – which is why he also works part-time and has no time for membership of the Communist Party ("Prisutni svagdje," *Vjesnik*, 7 August 1969).

When the father takes Milan to prostitutes, Milan is unable to have sex with them. Because of this, his angry father prevents him from entering the bus to return home, after which Milan not only decides to search for a job on

his own terms, but also exhibits readiness to lie to his family to fulfil his goals. In the comical world in which Milan grows up, moral travesty becomes a developmental motif that – contrary to his family's 'normal' expectations – lures him in as the only way of succeeding in Yugoslav society. Sexual and socialist moral travesties are therefore a narrative strategy for mediating critical discourse by disclosing nepotism as the burning issue in Yugoslavia. The failed attempt by Milan's father to employ Milan at the bakery, which he manages, leads to the comical apotheosis of nepotism, symbolized in Milan's sexual relationship with his aunt. It, finally, reveals a satirical hierarchy, suggesting that even in nepotism, a worker such as Milan's father holds no power. In this way, Milan's relationship with his aunt, to which he agrees in return for a comfortable life, becomes a rite of passage into an equally perverted world of Yugoslav corrupt socialism.

The sub-sections that follow offer analyses of everyday cultural symptoms of the Yugoslav working class in crisis. In the first sub-section, Milan's escape from the defeated working class is presented by two settings which are contradictory, yet equally inadequate: the quotidian and the underground Belgrade visually satirize a tragic reality of this Yugoslav stratum. The sub-section on Yugoslav travesty focuses on the travesty of sexual morality which symbolically fosters, and hence discloses, the issues of nepotism and corruption which in the early 1970s were permeating Yugoslav daily life. Milan's incestuous maturing, a comic metaphor, illustrates nepotism as the only means of social mobility. The last sub-section pivots around the hypocrisy of Yugoslav sexual morality: by satirically depicting female prostitution as common sense and male homosexual relations as a threat, the

film discloses Yugoslav sexual morality to be reproducing a deeply patriarchal discourse.

The escape from the working class

In the film, antagonisms between the struggling strata of workers and the wealthy workers who perform illegal activities convey a tragic defeat of Yugoslav working class. This is comically illustrated via two conflicting *mise-en-scènes*: the official quotidian Belgrade and illegal Belgrade underground. To visually indicate that neither of the surroundings are good enough for young Milan, because he chooses to go with his aunt, Jelić reverses the values they represent, creating an upside-down world. That is, characters that belong to the 'normal', daily Belgrade setting are presented either from high-angle shots, suggesting their powerlessness, or low-angle twisted shots, implying their powerful weirdness. By contrast, the corrupt, underground Belgrade setting is depicted in regular medium shots, and characters which embody it often express their seriousness in close-ups. Milan in the end refuses to succumb both to his father's work ethic and the world of small criminals, as he acknowledges their inadequacies for succeeding in contemporary Yugoslavia. His opting for an easy life with his aunt mediates Jelić's ironic commentary about the working youth's prosperity: the only way for young workers to succeed is to reach the middle class, but this is as strange and improbable as his incestuous relationship in the film.

Quotidian Belgrade in *The Bug Killer* functions on two levels, the public and the private, which could also be translated into broader discursive oppositions: the official and the unofficial Belgrade. The public quotidian

leaves an impression of a modern metropole – spacious boulevards crowded with people in a hurry (Figure 5.1.), Milan using an escalator (Figure 5.2.), or passing by various beautiful buildings, boutiques, and shops (Figure 5.3.). Such scenes are accompanied by contemporary psychedelic-rock music in the background, and they are presented in long shots, comically situating gullible Milan in a context to which he does not belong.

Perhaps the funniest scene from the public quotidian setting is Milan's day at work, the only regular job he obtains, working as a salesman in a funeral equipment store. Moving from the urban Belgrade landscape to zooming in on the entrance of the Export Bank, the scene abruptly switches to the funeral equipment store. Several layers of symbolism are important here. Firstly, the consecutive change from images of prosperity to the bank is supported with modern rock music, only to suddenly stop in the funeral equipment store. As if suggesting the dying of Belgrade's vivid prosperity due to the impact of the Export Bank, the sequence now turns deadly quiet. Secondly, the successive downward gradation of symbolism prepares the viewers for Milan's tragicomic failure to perform the work, as the owner of the store will angrily insult him: "People here were dying every day, until you arrived". Clumsy Milan is thus incapable of serving the only secure business – dying.



Figure 5. 1. *The Bug Killer*: Socialist metropole: People walking in a hurry, passing under the sign for the Export Bank.



Figure 5. 2. *The Bug Killer:* Milan and his girlfriend taking the escalator in a busy city centre.



Figure 5. 3. *The Bug Killer*: Doxa: Trendy Milan and his girlfriend walk by the buildings; their reflections emphasize the urban landscape.

The public quotidian is regularly interrupted with private everyday of Milan's family. Viewers see them in different occasions that outline their comical naiveté in dealing with serious situations. Not only does their small crumbling house reflect the family's impecunious living; juxtaposed with the images of urban Belgrade, it also frames the quotidian *mise-en-scene* in a distinctly grotesque way. Family lunch scenes are depicted with gloomy guitar music in the background, and their serious conversations are undermined with the comical lines of the grandmother, whose dementia is a narrative strategy for unveiling the permeating presence of social repression. As the only member of the family who was an adult during the early post-war years, especially in the period of ideological purge after the 1948 split with Stalin, the grandmother's memories disrupt the family's socialist aspirations. The grandmother moreover contradicts the father's role of the head of the family –

by constantly interrupting him or laughing at him – and his role of a loyal socialist worker. In the scene after the funeral equipment store, Milan's parents criticize him at lunch, saying he is fussy and ungrateful for losing that job, because the store owner even made him a suit. Concluding how he apparently is not made for any type of work, the father asks: "What do you stand for?"; to which the grandmother interrupts, as if being interrogated: "Everyone is a communist nowadays. Maybe [Milan] entered politics". Grandmother's jest ends ironically, as the provoked father orders his wife to get her out of the room, proving the repressive everyday which the grandmother's presence symbolizes. Bizarre lunch scenes are visually emphasized with twisted close-ups – particularly the father's angry posture when performing the role of the head of the family, rebuking the grandmother or Milan (Figure 5.4.).



Figure 5. 4. *The Bug Killer*: Angry Pater Familias: the father rebukes the grandmother for interrupting with unwanted comments.

In contrast to such images of the father are the high-angle shots in the factory (Figures 5.5, 5.6. and 5.7.). The father at work is a calm and obedient member of the working community, and the angle from which he is portrayed suggests his powerlessness in front of higher authority. The very opening scene is telling of his tragicomic insignificance, when he takes Milan to the bakery where he works, to present to his working collective Milan's supposed skill in eradicating bugs. As the hygiene supervisor unexpectedly shows up at the bakery, exhibiting a piece of bread with a bug in it, the father secretly signals Milan to eat that piece and save the collective. A heroic show in the father's eyes, Milan becomes a laughingstock for the workers, which symbolically augurs the father's failure in lobbying for Milan at the workers' council to get him employed. The ending of this sequence therefore

corresponds to its beginning, when the father gives Milan a particularly ambiguous instruction on how to spray bugs in the bakery: “Primarily go around the workers, show them you’re interested. Wherever you see a worker you go there. And just spray, spray!” to which confused Milan asks “Who? The workers?” Angry, and in disbelief, the father yells: “The bugs, boy, the bugs!”



Figure 5. 5. *The Bug Killer*: Authority goes bad: Obedient father at work.



Figure 5. 6. *The Bug Killer*: Authority goes bad: Obedient father at work.

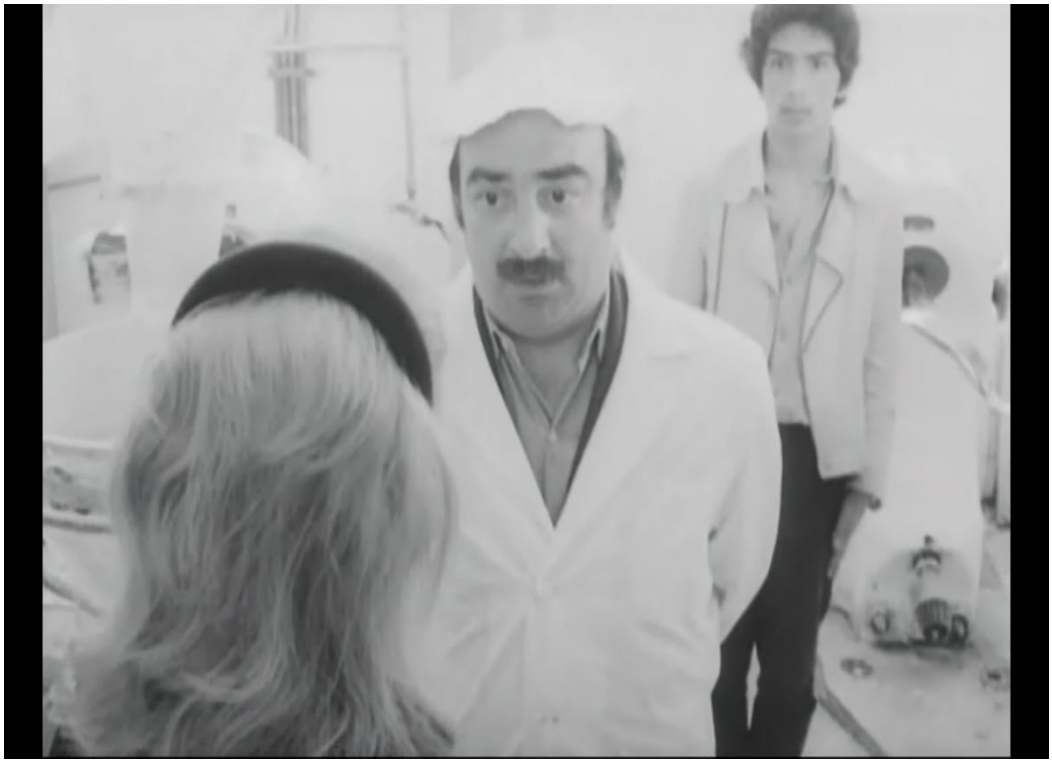


Figure 5. 7. *The Bug Killer*: Authority goes bad: Obedient father at work.

The clandestine Belgrade underground, the second adult environment Milan gradually rejects, is visually characterized by voyeuristic angles (Figure 5.8.), indicating the scenes' secret and illicit tones. Contrary to the visuals of daily urban Belgrade, underground Belgrade depicts old ruined houses as people's meeting points, while Milan and the cheats he meets walk the streets by night, passing by night cafes where prostitutes look for work. Still, like in the quotidian setting, the representation of underground Belgrade functions through a set of dispositions: on the one hand, decaying and poor habitats, and on the other, criminals who take advantage of it to get rich. For example, the gastarbeiter Šure who cleverly plays Milan by using him as part of a con against the police, at one point takes him and his cousin for a treat with prostitutes in his classy old apartment (Figure 5.9.). One of the prostitutes complains to Milan's girlfriend (whom he brings with him because he is faithful): „These are such hicks. Did you see the car they drive? A wreck. They gave us only 100 bucks each. I wonder how did they get this apartment." Clearly, in underground Belgrade, prostitutes symbolize the truth as they see things for what they truly are. Not only is Šure – by being a gastarbeiter – wealthier than his cousin or Milan's family, but he commits fraud in Belgrade by using the identity of an old mechanic who lives his last days in poverty. When Šure and his cousin present the scheme to Milan, their faces are filmed in close-ups, implying seriousness of the situation which, ironically, turns harmful for Milan. Youthful candidness of Milan and his girlfriend, who are delighted to have been invited to become part of the scam, humorously highlights the oddness of contemporary Belgrade and the youth's perspective in it. But their unbelievable naiveté is also a satirical embodiment of paternalist treatment of

young people in Yugoslavia, the epitome of which was Tito's address to the youth after the students' demonstrations.

The plan for Milan to go to the police and say that he was driving the car which Šure used to commit a crime, leads to one of the funniest, yet most tragic illustrations of the delusion of the Yugoslav working class. As Milan ends up in prison, his parents look for him, and the father is angry with his anxious wife: „This is all your fault. You cuddled him; he became weak. As if some granddad made him and not me. To hell with both of you, and the day I met you." When she reprehends him for talking like that because Milan is his son, the father replies: "From today on, he is not my son anymore." In the following scene, however, Milan leaves the prison telling his parents that he was away on a business trip, and the father proudly comments: "The time has come that the experts are needed. Enough with those who came after keeping sheep. That's why our progress so far was the way it was – we were led like sheep. Enough with the incompetent and the old! It's time for the younger generations! You educate your child, and they want to send him to Germany. Well, no more with that! We also need experts." Interrupted by a neighbour who asks if he finally got Milan employed, the father firmly replies: "Yes of course. He is a technician whom they send on business trips." Following the twisted logic of Jelić's world of adults in *The Bug Killer*, a travesty play is here interrupting the father's authoritative seriousness. When he thought that Milan disappeared on purpose – because he is weak and irresponsible – the father's working-class manhood was endangered as his son proved to be a coward. Ironically, by going to prison to try and earn money, Milan for the first time acted bravely. Similarly, when Milan shows up with his fake story, the

father's pride allows him to make serious political claims, despite his wife silencing him due to the dangers of speaking up publicly. Thus, nothing here is as it seems – neither was Milan on a business trip, nor does the state need working-class experts – except the father's naïve misbelief. Through such travesty, Jelić mediates a strong commentary on the power which forces workers to work abroad and demoralizes those who stay, leaving the working youth with no options other than climbing the social ladder by other means.



Figure 5. 8. *The Bug Killer*: Clandestine Belgrade underground: secretive, voyeuristic camera shots.



Figure 5. 9. *The Bug Killer*: The other side of the illegal medal: classy old Belgrade apartment.

Yugoslav travesty

In *The Bug Killer*, a travesty of sexual morality is the omnipresent motif which symbolically generates the social issues of nepotism and corruption. As if mirroring one another, scenes of such travesty precede those of corruption, creating parallel, equally perverted, levels of sexual and socialist morality. Be it Milan's father, an administrator at the Employment Bureau where Milan looks for work, a military general who is a lover to his friend's sister, Šure, or Milan's aunt, all adult characters participate in acts of dishonesty. The satirical discourse which drives the action in the film resides on the idea of moral farce as the pivot around which the Yugoslav 'normal' community is formed. Such a discourse transforms Milan from a naïve and chaste young dreamer into a 'degenerate' adult materialist. Having in mind the context of the unemployment crisis and the working class's downfall, a self-serving materialist that Milan becomes as he comes of age reads as the farce of Yugoslav socialism. Moral farce furthermore echoes with socio-political crises of corruption, fiercely challenged by the students in their 1968 protest (Popov 1990, 66).

Milan's crisis of growing-up indicates that the burlesque of Yugoslav sexual morality motivates both the corruption and his maturing. Namely, after Milan loses his job at the funeral equipment store, the father concludes: "Milan, maybe all this is happening due to that thing missing? You know what I mean? […] You are failing everything you start doing. You have no will, or whatnot. Come-on, tell me, we're both men. Tell your father. Have you gotten all the way with someone? […] Are you fucking anything?" This is the point when Milan's parents decide to try and cure his social impotence with an actual sexual

experience, taking him to prostitutes. Still, utterly confused and – above all – faithful to his girlfriend, Milan gets anxious when his father leaves him with two girls. After he escapes the hotel room and the prostitute confirms to the father that Milan does not wish to have sex, the angry father kicks him off the bus and forces him to walk home as a punishment. Not only does this reaction trigger Milan's change of behaviour – as he now decides to take things in his own hands – it also initiates a series of nepotist episodes which, coupled with sexual travesties, lead to Milan's 'degenerate' appropriation of middle-class manhood.

Indicatively, the first scene after Milan's coming-of-age crisis is the one at the Employment Bureau. Contrary to the last time he was there with his parents, Milan now decisively knocks on the door of the office, introducing himself in a grotesquely confident manner. Confusing his last name for some general's name, the clerk jokes: "So what if you are Milan Gašić? Don't tell me you are related to comrade Gašić?", to what Milan unsuspectingly answers: "Yes. He is my father." The worried clerk then replies: "To hell with you, don't joke like that," and Milan convinces him: "He is my father, he is married to my mother, and they are my parents." The clerk humbly welcomes him, showing readiness to find him any job necessary, only to realize he made a mistake by taking Milan for a general's son, which is why in the end he throws Milan out. Not only does the clerk recognize Milan's school as something unworthy of a general's son, he also humiliates Milan by giving him a fire extinguisher to take home, as he was constantly stumbling into it. This mockery continues in the next scene when Milan returns home explaining that he received a gift from the clerk. His suspicious father asks if everyone gets a fire extinguisher there,

to which Milan responds by saying that he is special. Thus, through a comic strategy of confusing identities, Jelić illustrates the presence of nepotism at its most banal, which is nevertheless very much alive on the institutional level. The fact that the clerk was fooled by Milan's commonsensical explanation about his parents indicates a strong level of social repression that induces fear in those hierarchically below the officials in power. But, as obvious from the scene, those most affected are actually not the unemployed youth, but rather the old working class who still naively believe in the system.

If the father and the Employment Bureau represent the issue of nepotism at the institutional level, Milan's aunt embodies Yugoslav family corruption. In fact, her personal 'tragedy' of having a homosexual husband (the embodiment of the travesty of sexual morality) not only fosters the final form of burlesque when Milan becomes her lover, but also reveals the very family as 'degenerate' because it was the father who advised the aunt to marry that husband for his money. The aunt's saving of Milan at the end of the film becomes in this way a revenge for the misery she was put through by the family. The eccentric aunt (Milan's father's sister), who now lives a middle-class life owing to her husband's wealth, has a deal with Milan for him to bring a package once a week to his homosexual uncle (the husband of Milan's father's sister). The aunt would in return give him money, or they would eat and watch television. In the package she packs silk stockings, support bras and other insulting feminine accessories, which naive Milan explains to his girlfriend: "Don't ask. This is our family tragedy, you wouldn't understand. He was growing tits." A specific narrative strategy is at play here: the figure of a homosexual uncle is a double opposite of the father. On the one hand, a

stereotypically rich homosexual who enjoys wearing women's clothes is contrasted to a stereotypically masculine worker. On the other hand, the homosexual uncle who is a disgrace to the family turns out to be more influential for Milan's coming of age, than the father who is the breadwinner of the family. As the homosexual uncle provides the money which the aunt gives to Milan for his escort service, he also becomes Milan's symbolic father. Therefore, Milan's 'degenerate' appropriation of middle-class manhood instead of his father's working-class masculinity points to the uncle's figure as the masculine ideal to be appropriated in adulthood. This is why, parallel with the uncle's sexual burlesque illustrated by him "growing tits", Milan's moral travesty is depicted by his grotesquely large fake moustache that he wears in the closing scene. Hence, the father's greedy advice to the aunt (to marry the uncle for his money) caused both 'family tragedies' – a homosexual uncle and a gigolo son. The narrative strategy finally mediates a satirical commentary on the perversity of materialist desires in corrupted Yugoslavia.

When towards the end of the film, desperate Milan admits to his aunt that he has never slept with a woman, she goes to his family to demand better living conditions for his 'normal' sexual growth. The aunt in fact implies that otherwise Milan might become gay. The father replies: "I am supposed to sleep in a small kitchen, so that this little shit could have a bed? If I gave him the airport, he wouldn't be able to stick it in a woman." The metaphor of inadequate space necessary for a young man's development is not only a problem of the family's poverty, but also indicates the family's idiosyncratic worldviews shaped by such poverty. From the perspective of the wealthy aunt, Milan deserves a cosy environment to be able to grow up normally,

notwithstanding the lack of his family's capacities. Her privileged outlook thus puts Milan's sexual health first. Contrary to aunt's modern attitude, traditional father believes that lazy and ungrateful Milan possesses no work ethic and therefore no environment would induce him to engage in sexual intercourse. In other words, even if he were allowed a space as big as an airport, the incompetent Milan would not manage to have sex.

Consequently, the angry aunt decides to take care of him, as the family is utterly disinterested. On her way out, the father calls out: "You know when you will make a man out of him? When a hen manages to fart." By relieving emotional tension with a burst of humour, this final joke mediates the seriousness of the family's insufficient material capacities for raising their son. Still, given the film's satirical tone, the very humourlessness of the family's situation is being parodied here. Thus, instead of relieving the tension, the joke sets the scene for a final satirical travesty by which Milan enters manhood. Supported by the family's hysterical laughter in the background, the joke initiates the aunt's final step: the following scene depicts her luring Milan into bed "as [his lack of sexual experience] cannot be tolerated anymore". In the closing scene, Milan finally goes to the seaside for which he earlier had no money. The film closes with the image of him and his aunt holding hands happily, while Milan in the final comical burlesque wears a fake moustache, almost too big for his face, leaving the working-class world of his father like a grown-up, corrupt man.

Inverting sexual morality

Like Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love*, Jelić's film intervenes in discourses about Yugoslav sexual morality by satirizing dominant ideas about female prostitution and male homosexuality as immoral, antisocialist, bourgeois and deviant behaviours. As historian Dean Vuletić notes, in the late 1960s and during the 1970s the Yugoslav press began reporting on the liberalization of gay and lesbian rights in Western Europe and the United States (2002, 325). Daily and weekly papers, such as *Vjesnik*, *NIN*, or *Večernje novosti*, were translating articles from publications like *Time* and *Le Monde* and were often publishing sensationalist pieces on homosexual male marriage attempts in Great Britain or the Netherlands (Vuletić 2002, 325). It could thus be said that Yugoslav officials were afraid of the youth's uncontrolled appropriation of Western sexual liberties that could have endangered a traditional heterosexual paradigm, which is why public sexual morality (controlled by legislative and executive state institutions) was at the time still conservative. By depicting the immorality of the parents' generation, Jelić's satire is therefore also challenging the ever-existing intergenerational clash in Yugoslavia.

Female prostitution and male homosexuality are social phenomena which best illustrate the paradoxes of Yugoslav sexual morality of the time. As in the rest of the Europe or the United States, the early post-war period in Yugoslavia was marked by strong sexual repression. The new Criminal Law that was introduced in 1951 maintained certain practices of punishment and criminalization from the previous regime – e.g. the prohibition of female prostitution which was introduced in 1934 with the Law on the control of

sexually transmitted diseases – but it also introduced novelties such as the criminalization of male homosexuality and decriminalization of lesbianism. Historian Franko Dota (2017), in his research on male homosexuality and public politics in socialist Yugoslavia, shows how during the repressive period in the 1950s, but also in the liberalized decades of the 1960s and 1970s, two divergent, yet often intertwined discourses in law, legislation and medicine were present in debates around sexual politics: one which promoted punishment and medical treatment of undesirable forms of behaviour, and the other which was for complete sexual autonomy (356). Paradoxically, Dota notes, both discourses posit sexual politics that were introduced by the Communist Party's political desire for fast and thorough modernization. The first one "was imbued with obsessive need to protect the health and proper development of the first young generation that was growing up in socialism, and which was supposed to become the evidence of propriety and success of the new regime," whereas the second was founded "on progressive Marxist ideals about total emancipation from the crude and hypocritical bourgeois moral culture" (358-9). Even though in the 1951 Law the earlier vision of sexual morality outweighs the latter, the progressive streams continued lobbying for changes, which resulted in a mitigation of punitive measures in 1959, and a complete decriminalization of male homosexuality in 1977 in several parts of Yugoslavia: Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Vojvodina. Still, decriminalization of lesbianism in 1951 reveals the patriarchal reasoning behind it – at the time, women were not considered a moral threat to the public as they were not present in public, nor was their sexuality historically recognized as part of the public domain.

The presence of female prostitution and male homosexuality in *The Bug Killer* reveals two socio-political complexes which fostered the hypocrisy of the older generations in Yugoslavia – the socialist ideological myth about the healthy society where immoral, degenerate or antisocialist elements do not and cannot exist, and the double moral standards which the myth generates, working in favour of the privileged groups in society. The acute impact of the socialist myth on issues around female prostitution was at the time evident in the scarce theoretical writing which not only promoted conservative moralist perspectives, but completely ignored the underprivileged status of Yugoslav women as one of the major causes of such phenomenon. For instance, Lj. Jovanović claims that

> despite basic conditions for the existence of prostitution such as the exploitation of female workforce, inequality between men and women in terms of employment opportunities and social security being abolished [in Yugoslavia], prostitution still exists [...] and the dangers of such phenomenon lie in the fact that under the influence of corruption, the immoral, parasitic and asocial personality is formed with wrongheaded beliefs about people, society, their relationships and values.
>
> (1966, 86-7, as quoted in Radulović 1986, 28)

Prostitution was thus still perceived through this myth, and because prostitution could never be caused by circumstances of the socialist formation, the blame was placed on the prostitute herself because she has an "inflexible personality which is equally prone to alcoholism and criminality, and not to creative work" (Jovanović 1966, 86-7, as quoted in Radulović 1986, 28), or she is "the victim to her somatic-psychological constitution" (Samardžija 1961, 14). As sociologist Dragan Radulović concludes, "what contributed to the repression of prostitutes in Yugoslavia is the authors' drawing from Soviet

theoretical explanations of prostitution as a residual phenomenon from the previous social formation, and prostitutes as members of the dispossessed classes" (1986, 183). Clearly, as an immoral antisocialist element of society, prostitution was a threat for the youth's upbringing in Yugoslavia.

However, in the satirical world of *The Bug Killer*, sex with experienced women is thought to be the cure for Milan's youthful incompetence, and female prostitution is thus not only common sense, but it is depicted as part of the social institution for male maturing. The film's questioning of socialist moralist discourse therefore reveals a double moral standard according to which women who provide sexual services are to be criminally charged, and men who use the services encouraged by not being criminally pursued.

Apart from Milan's parents, the petty criminals Šure and his cousin also force Milan to go to prostitutes. In front of the night club where Šure looks for sex, the cousin explains to Milan: „Do you want the job? Then don't spoil the fun. You see that I also obey his wishes. My sister is married to him, so what? How does it affect her if he dips it in another woman from time to time? He sent her and the children to the seaside for two months, while he's working his ass off here every day. He must relax and enjoy sometimes, or at least on Saturdays." Prostitutes are not only a rite of passage for Milan's maturing (which he comically fails), but also a source of well-deserved rest for Yugoslav workers. This is a privilege which Milan does not respect, which is why his father gets angry when he runs away from them in the hotel room. Moreover, the figure of the prostitute personifies wisdom and true values, as they are the only ones who see through Šure and his cousin. Prostitutes in the film are

professional in performing their business: they simply offer a service for which they receive money. With no mediators to manage their labour, these women are not frauds like Šure and his cousin, nor are they duped into believing in the self-management system, like Milan's father. Being part of both official and clandestine Belgrade settings, the prostitutes embody knowledge and experience that each of the worlds lacks. This is how they detect Šure's deceitful identity, or how they honestly tell the father that Milan does not wish to have sex with them. Thus, by becoming a male prostitute Milan appropriates the only righteous form of adulthood. The prostitute figure is freed from social expectations which force Milan's father to find ways to employ him – if necessary, to cheat his own company against his beliefs. Also, as a form of official immorality (sanctioned and punished by law) the prostitute's job does not require further cheating or using other people for scams, the way Šure manipulates his cousin and Milan. However, Milan's incestuous relationship with his aunt also parodies the stereotype about male homosexual relations. This narrative strategy instates the figure of a privileged elderly person who exploits a young, inexperienced and poor boy. As Dota explains in his study, this was a stereotypical image of male homosexual relations which was a dominant public representation in Yugoslavia from the early post-war years and beyond (2017, 356). By representing the heterosexual relationship through a biased perception of male homosexual relations, *The Bug Killer* satirizes Yugoslav sexual morality. It posits the socially undesirable form of sexual behaviour as Milan's rite of passage. Not only is this conflating the 'deviant' homosexual and 'normal' heterosexual behaviours, but it also

completely breaks the dominant moral hierarchy by implying this relationships as a legitimate way of entering Yugoslav manhood.

The question of male homosexuality is parodied through the character of the uncle who embodies a hyperbolic representation of the dominant stereotype of an old bourgeois gay man as the enemy of socialism. As Dota notes in his study: "Homosexuality was [in Yugoslavia] first and foremost labelled as a spoiler of the youth and a decadent residue from a defeated 'bourgeois order'" (2017, 356). Milan's uncle, who brought shame upon the family because he is a homosexual, lives in a large old apartment, characteristic of bourgeois Belgrade from the pre-war times. Not only is he almost totally absent from the film, as viewers learn about him mostly from the stories of other characters, but those few times when we briefly see him, he hides in his apartment, standing in front of the doorway or yelling from the window. His absent presence is further emphasized by the aunt's paranoia, who due to her trauma as a deeply hurt wife now sees every man as a potential homosexual. Uncle's hiding and the aunt's paranoia illustrate the prevalent notion of the homosexual as the (hidden) public enemy. However, they also provide a commentary on the paranoid atmosphere after the 1968 protests which once again generated a fear of infiltration by foreign and antisocialist elements. Fearing that Milan might eventually become a homosexual, the aunt first advises him to look for older, experienced women, only to offer the experience herself at the end of the film. His aunt's rescuing him from homosexuality becomes a comical allegory about the rescuing of the country from the enemy within. But, as the aunt's perverted rescuing of Milan suggests, the allegoric

rescuing of the country turns out to be another form of social deviancy – the state's paranoia and repression.

By the means of 'legal prostitution', Milan manages to escape the 'internal enemy' symbolized in the figure of the homosexual uncle, and to leave a decaying Yugoslav working class as he does not have to become a gastarbeiter, a petty criminal, or an unemployed worker. Still, the fact that Milan grows up to become a prostitute suggests that in the end he does become the Yugoslav enemy as he now enters the lumpen-proletarian strata, legalizing his youthful uselessness to society. In this way, Jelić conveys an ironic message about a socialist society in crisis which pushes its own youth to look for better future by undermining the very foundations of society. Such carnivalesque inversion of moral (hence also ideological) values illustrates a hierarchy in which the 'normal' world of adults turns out to be more 'degenerate' than the world of immoral prostitutes and homosexuals.

5.2. Failure ideology in *Get it, Man*: a classist view on lumpen-proletarian youth

Like Živanović's *Strange Girl*, Vanča Kljaković's *Get it, Man* is one of the youth films based on a novel, a common method in Yugoslav cinematography. Kljaković's film draws on Zvonimir Majdak's popular novel of the same name, which was published in 1970, and by the time the film came to cinemas in 1973 the novel had already had two print editions. A humorous and at times absurd film about a young loser from a Zagreb periphery, *Get it, Man* was produced by the same cinema house as Hadžić's *Three Hours for Love* – Jadran film. With a

script which simply retold the story from the novel, Kljaković initially failed to obtain funding for the film (Nenad Polimac, "Kužiš, stari moj," „Književnost na ekranu," *Polet*, 1973). Thus, in order to secure funding from the main film production house in Croatia, Kljaković had to write a whole new script with Majdak (Nenad Polimac, "Kužiš, stari moj," „Književnost na ekranu," *Polet*, 1973). The second script substantially diverged from the novel, but the film now had the finances necessary to start the shooting, which was not an easy task given the overall deficiency of film funding in the early 1970s. Despite such issues, and perhaps due to popularity of the novel, the film was seen by 55,000 people in seven days of showing in Zagreb, which *Večernji list* ("Kartu više?" 21 September 1973) interpreted as a threat to the highest ranking film for the last couple of years, the children's film *Vuk samotnjak*/*Lonely Wolf* (Obrad Gluščević, 1972). This fact was read by some as proof of "the readers' and the viewers' thirst for the so-called domestic topics, the problematic of our contemporary man" (Ante Bežen, „'Prokuženi' život predgrađa," *ŠN*, 32/767, 9 October 1973), to which Kljaković's film certainly responds.

Get it, Man is a story about Glista, a young 'dude' from the outskirts of Zagreb who is trying to catch up with the modern world which changes rapidly. His name, which translates to English as 'lobworm', signifies his precarious lifestyle – he manages to slip away from every life situation, as he is forced to constantly re-adapt. However, once a successful ticket tout, Glista now has no 'profession' as his peers start going to dance clubs instead of film theatres. He refuses to work with his father who makes a living by collecting scrap iron from the streets and he simultaneously tries different other types of work in order to escape his father's livelihood of which he is ashamed. Glista desires

unreachable women and lifestyles which repeatedly gets him into trouble. But, after falling in love with an equally lost and desperate girl Marina, Glista learns to accept his marginal identity and together with her returns to his father to help in plying his trade in the streets of Zagreb. Through portraying failure as the only constancy in Glista's coming of age, Kljaković's film reveals a destructive world of daily survival of the lumpen-proletarians (the class of outcasts with no class consciousness). Their everyday culture is founded on the symbolic violence inherent in systems of unjust social stratifications. In such a context, physical violence is yet another way of communication.

In a similar way to *The Bug Killer*, *Get it, Man* should be read as an allegorical story in which Kljaković depicts the crisis of Yugoslav self-management, by comically portraying the maturing of a young man who exists outside of the social system. As if personifying the ideal of decentralized self-management, Glista is free from social(ist) ties and manages his own life with no interference from the state. However, by comically illustrating the self-management in crisis Kljaković also ridicules the lumpen-proletarians whom Glista represents. My interpretation therefore takes the humorous motif of Glista's failure to be fostering the idea of impossibility of social mobility for tramps, drunks or cheats who are condemned to insecure lifestyles.

Theoretically, my analysis relies on the argument developed within cultural studies which states that "culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system" (Hall 1997, 236). If culture is understood as a symbolic order, "the marking of 'difference'" is then the basic strategy for creating order (Hall 1997, 236). In

other words: “Stable cultures require things to stay in their appointed place” (Hall 1997, 236). Drawing on such an argument, it could be said that by fostering stability, cultures in crisis emphasize discursive mechanisms for ‘the marking of difference’ which re-create the symbolic order. One such mechanism is the discursive move of *othering* undesirable social groups.

My reading posits Yugoslavia’s quest for the decentralization as a crisis of the signification order which in the realm of cinema prompted a push for securing cultural stability. The crisis here stands for a series of critical events that marked the beginning of the 1970s, and which could all be subsumed under an umbrella term, “the crisis of decentralization”. A period during which the decentralization crisis was resolved ended with Tito releasing the newly-elected ‘liberals’ of their duties, by which the officials sought to have reached stability in the country.

In the film, the shattered sense of social stability is reasserted by the narrative *othering* of the lumpen-proletarian youth. Specifically, Glista’s final acceptance of his underprivileged identity becomes a narrative strategy for representing the lumpen community as Yugoslav ‘others’, a symbolic repository of bad social imagery. Moreover, his falling in love with Marina illustrates a deeply violent understanding of romance, where women are men’s property always available for stealing/snatching. Thus, Glista is not only lazy, careless and cynical, but also unaware of his violent behaviour. By making him a funny illustration of the life on the margins, Kljaković re-produces the stereotype about people from the lowest social strata as undeserving of better living conditions. In this way, the film fixes a symbolic difference between

depicted, immoral lumpen-proletarian youth, and the absent youth from the upper strata. Such move, finally, discloses Kljaković's representational practice as a symbolic form of violence.

5.2.1. The crisis of decentralization

The manifold political tensions in Yugoslav utopian socialism, which the student demonstrations brought to the public, ended dramatically by Tito removing from office the elected liberals in Serbia and Croatia. Kljaković's *Get it, Man* comes at a time when this supposedly resolved crisis was sought to be overcome by ideological and constitutional changes towards a fully decentralized form of self-management. The 1974 Constitution which introduced the concept of *the withering away of the state* was in fact an ideological response to the decentralization crisis. At the threshold of the 1970s, the republic of Slovenia but also Kosovo province, each on its own terms and for their own reasons, openly voiced their dissatisfaction with federal government and their status in it, insisting on a thorough decentralization.

However, none of their criticisms and claims had provoked a crisis of the magnitude seen when Yugoslavia had to confront Croatian cultural and economic interests. In that sense, the 10th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia could be considered the most important event in the decentralization crisis. At the session, hardcore party conservative Miloš Žanko attacked the events in Croatia as nationalist and anti-Yugoslav (Jakovina 2012, 37), whereby he instated the antagonistic character of the crisis. Žanko's accusations were seen as rather dramatic at the time and they

generated a fear of the rising nationalism among Yugoslav officials, which later propelled a series of radical political decisions. The session was a culmination of the process that started with the 1967 linguists' declaration by which a recognition of separate Croatian language and its public use was being demanded, which was later followed by Croatia's dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the 1965 economic reform (Lampe 2000, 305-6). But, had it not been for the economic reasons to criticize the federal government, which then turned Croatian officials against their coalition partners and Tito, Croatian cultural interests perhaps would not have been labelled anti-Yugoslav. Placed under great pressure from the army and the police who feared the movement's nationalist atmosphere, Tito had to intervene (Jović 2011, 130). Thus, although he was initially supporting Croatia's demands for further reform and decentralization, in 1971 Tito eventually removed the Croatian leadership from power (Jović 2011, 130).

One of the often-cited economic reasons for discontent was the fact that compared to other Yugoslav republics, a significantly larger proportion of Croats were working abroad. This fed into ethnic tensions inside Croatia, as the media would report how compared to only 4% of Serbs, 10% of Croats had left the country to work in Western Germany or other European countries (Lampe 2000, 307). As a result of rapid industrialization, the internal migration of people from less developed areas in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia were thus inciting fear of demographic decline of their own ethnic group (Lampe 2000, 307). The politically heated climate was further aggravated by the ongoing unemployment crisis, which led government officials to acknowledge the existence of the lumpen proletariat

who were thought to be formed from destitute peasants arriving to the cities from underdeveloped parts of Yugoslavia. The estrangement of the higher political classes from this lowest stratum of people is possibly best illustrated in the essay of one of the leading Croatian communists, Stipe Šuvar, on the working class and the development of Yugoslav society:

> A significant mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, with little or no education, who come from peasant, undeveloped environments and are exposed to hard repetitive work, pushed outside the self-management system […] still exists on the margins of a society, in ghettos of seasonal and gastarbeiter work, entrapped moreover within a parallel economy on a small property, with features of not only old peasantry, but the lumpen consciousness.
>
> (1970, 47, as quoted in Suvin 2014, 117)

Indicatively, in Yugoslav cinematography of the time, the presence of the lumpen-proletarian strata and, more importantly, lumpen-proletarian youth was for filmmakers like Živojin Pavlović, Aleksandar Petrović and Želimir Žilnik a symptom of a deep crisis of socialism. This led the official film critics to label their films in a pejorative way as 'black.' Kljaković's film and Majdak's novel, which was the first youth novel to portray the underprivileged urbanity, are part of this momentum for politically engaged critique free from idealisation. Through focusing on the lumpen-proletarian youth as the extreme product of the decentralization crisis, *Get it, Man* creates an allegory of misguided self-management. Still, by offering certain types of subversive social commentary, Kljaković's film also discloses his privileged symbolic position from which the represented youth is stereotyped and romanticized.

5.2.2. Kljaković's experimental poetics

Like Jelić, after obtaining degrees in acting and directing, Vanča Kljaković (1930-2010) first started as an actor. But, unlike Jelić who was working solely in the film industry, Kljaković was primarily interested in theatre practice. Thus, apart from *Get it, Man,* Kljaković made only three other feature-length films, one of which was his debut in an omnibus *Ključ* (*Key*, 1965). Directed together with Krsto Papić and Antun Vrdoljak, this film is deemed „important for Croatian cinematography because it indicates novel film trends and a new generation" (Boko 2010, 2). Kljaković also directed nineteen television films and participated in four television series, but his work is mostly known for theatre plays that he set up in the Zagreb Drama Theatre, and City Youth Theatre and City Puppet Theatre in Split.

Kljaković's work could roughly be divided into two periods – his interest in the alternative and contemporary forms in the 1960s and early 1970s, and a change of focus towards more concrete, Mediterranean Dalmatian themes from the 1970s until 2000s (Boko 2010, 2). As Zvonimir Mrkonjić notes, Kljaković's early poetics is highly influenced by the theatre of the absurd which in the Zagreb Drama Theatre he introduced with plays such as Samuel Beckett's *Fin de partie* and Eugène Ionesco's *The Chairs*, at the time when Kljaković started working there as an actor (2010, 65). Mrkonjić argues that the protagonists in his plays *Susreti* (*Encounters*, 1968) and *Bobo* (1980), who exist outside the social context and operate via reduced action, in fact resonate with the absurdist aesthetic (2010, 65).

Coinciding with the year when *Get it, Man* was produced, the aesthetic features of Kljaković's early, experimental and absurdist phase are also found in the film. Be they Glista's father's ridiculous comments or Marina's muteness, the film relies on farcical action. These are the film's humorous and subversive effects towards discursive contexts of its production. Another aspect of Kljaković's experimental phase was his original intention to use people who are not actors but actually live in the Zagreb periphery, which proved unviable given the production limits within which the film was being made (Nenad Polimac, "Kužiš, stari moj," „Književnost na ekranu," *Polet*, 1973). Still, some experimental visual strategies are not only Kljaković's effective solutions for mediating the missing motifs from the novel – such as the narrator, city motifs of shopping malls and film theatres, or references to popular culture – but also major divergences from the novel's story: a pseudo-documentarist camera and Glista's interview excerpts. More importantly, such cinematographic solutions contribute to the problematic representation of the lumpen-proletarian youth.

Comparable to Hadžić in *Three Hours for Love*, Kljaković uses the interview camera as a metatextual tool reminiscent of documentary films. Intermittently, the film viewers watch three excerpts from Glista's interview in which he elaborates his lumpen-proletarian philosophy, answering questions about love, God and socialism. The interview is in fact a compensation for the missing narrator who in the novel tells the story about his friend Glista, portraying him for the reader – just as in the film, the interview illustrates Glista's worldviews. The film's interview is moreover performed by Kljaković himself, whom the viewers see holding a microphone for Glista (Figure 5.10.). Still, quite differently from Hadžić, Kljaković does not

create a framework of extratextual reference for the interview episodes: the viewers only see Glista filmed from the camera's perspective, placed in a setting of a warehouse (Figure 5.10.). The only exogenous reference is the figure of Kljaković as the interviewer. The metatextual tool has a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it anchors Glista's story in Kljaković's narration, making him the sole reference to the events selected to represent Glista's pseudo-documented coming of age. On the other hand, the lack of exogenous referencing indicates that the interview is an integral part in the story about Glista's maturing. While in Hadžić's film the frame story anchors Maca's coming of age in the context of the unemployment crisis, the interview excerpts in *Get it, Man* simply frame the film as a documentary about Glista's growing up in Zagreb periphery. Thus, far from contextualizing the periphery as a problematic environment for Glista's maturing, the film ends up romanticizing its bohemian lifestyle. Hence, the film's pseudo-documentarist claims for truthfulness also disclose its classist ideology. In other words, a romanticized depiction of the life of penury and insecurity that is presented in a pseudo-documentarist form, naturalizes the difference between the (represented) lumpen-proletarian and the (unrepresented) upper strata. In this way, Kljaković's liminal position in the interview image (Figure 5.10) negotiates between the represented and the unrepresented.



Figure 5. 10. *You Get it, Man*: Glista's interview: metatextual motif gone wrong.

Just as importantly, some of the film's divergence from the novel supports the argument about Kljaković's problematic representation of the marginal youth. When discussing Majdak's novel as one of the prominent representatives of Yugoslav *jeans prose*, Aleksandar Flaker notes that it "seeks to recreate authentic situations from the world of young social outcasts, their slang, their customs, their morality which contradicts dominant moral and ethical norms" (1976, 201). As such, the novel is imbued with references to popular and everyday culture of the time, through which it undermines dominant ideological and traditional discursive practices. On this note, in her monograph on popular culture and the Croatian novel, Maša Kolanović (2011) recognizes the city as the main *topos* of everyday in *Get it, Man*, and the topography of leisure as the novel's subversive strategy. While the periphery of Zagreb indicates the protagonist's class belonging, Kolanović explains, the

lack of action in leisure activities illustrates the absence of socially useful and disciplined activities: e.g. going to film theatres or shopping malls, riding on the tram without a ticket, and going to pubs (2011, 258-9). Not only are scenes of leisure missing in the film, but the city of Zagreb is there practically reduced to its rural periphery (with occasional symbols of urbanity of the city centre, such as the tram at the end of the film). Without the leisure activities, the film's city outskirts lose its subversive function, becoming thus a simple characterization of the lumpen strata. Fostered by a linear set of events linked with Glista's several failures, the Zagreb periphery reinforces the naturalization of Glista's lumpen-proletarian belonging. The film's urban periphery does not challenge the social and moral norms which symbolically shape the people of the lumpen strata as likeable tramps. It should not then come as a surprise that one of the newspaper critics concluded how Glista's story in the film „is not so heart-breaking as it is true and authentically quotidian" (Ante Bežen, „'Prokuženi' život predgrađa," *ŠN*, 32/767, 9 October 1973). Contrary to the novel's ending where Glista dies tragically, Kljaković's Glista makes his peace with the world by happily embracing his marginal identity. As the following analysis shows, the sympathy with which Kljaković portrays Glista's acceptance of his failure, fixes the classist idea of stable communities with clear social hierarchies.

5.2.3. The film's response

The multifaceted political unrest in Yugoslavia, and specifically in Croatia, usurped cultural, economic and political public discourses in the early 1970s. This omnipresent crisis, which was in fact a ramification of the failure of the

self-management system in the late 1960s, is the ideological setting for Glista's difficult maturing. His story of comical defeat serves as a symbolic mediator of the utopian concept of the *withering away of the state* by which Yugoslav ideologues transformed the decentralization crisis into a new socialist phase. To allow Glista to calmly accept his identity at the end, Kljaković humorously romanticizes the lumpen-proletarian lifestyle. Hence, the illustration of Glista's world as fun and imbued with easy opportunities for survival. By means of a specific urban dialect and the Zagreb-periphery setting, his lifestyle is fully isolated from the official system, i.e. the state. The absence of the adult world is therefore a strategy for stressing the autonomy of the world depicted, which further naturalizes the existing symbolic order of likeable tramps at the bottom and the official world on the top.

Through discovering romantic love with quiet and traumatized Marina, Glista stops chasing inaccessible lifestyles and focuses instead on enjoying the bohemian life with her. However, only after one night Marina gets 'stolen' in *kafana* (traditional Balkan pub) by other men, and after Glista realizes his friend's betrayal as he was the one who sold her, his initiation into manhood begins. The motif of life failure fosters Glista's awareness of male privilege in his love life, by realizing he loses the only 'thing he possesses' – Marina. Glista's possessive love is thus a narrative mechanism for mediating the classist discourse: lumpen youth is sexist and violent, hence their underprivilege. Glista's maturation comes as a fulfilment of the lumpen philosophy he exhibits in his interviews, which is why his development is presented as a process of self-acceptance. After stealing Marina back from the young bikers, Glista ends up badly beaten in public, on a tram. The beating he gets becomes a rite of

passage into defeated Yugoslav manhood. The judgemental looks of the passengers who witness the beating spectacle frame Glista's coming of age as that of the lumpen Other which he finally embraces by going back to his father.

The following sub-sections analyse the film's mechanisms of cultural *othering* of the lumpen-proletarian youth, which fosters symbolic stability at the time of deep socio-political crisis in Croatia and Yugoslavia. The sub-section on a supposedly funny life of lumpen-proletarian youth in Zagreb analyses the film's cinematographic mechanisms of romanticizing the lumpen lifestyle. The world of Glista and his father is portrayed humorously, emphasizing the comical absurdist elements of their code of survival. By depicting Glista's failed attempts at entering the 'normal' world as comical, the film in fact presents his lack of success as natural. A problematic depiction of gender violence as inherent in lumpen youth is explored in the second sub-section, where Glista's possessive understanding of love is examined in terms of cultural *othering*, on the one hand, and the relativization of violence in the film, on the other. The last sub-section focuses on the fragments of Glista's interview as loci of the ideology of his defeated maturing. His cynical views on socialism in Yugoslavia reveal a double-bind effect by which the film offers provoking comments on the current socio-political atmosphere, whilst serving as narrative strategy for locking Glista inside the lumpen social position as he enters manhood.

Fun lumpen-proletarian Zagreb

The motivation for symbolic reconciliation at the time of the unsettling political crisis is mediated by cinematographic naturalization of the existing

symbolic order. For Glista to peacefully accept his life defeat, the world in which he is brought up and which he initially tries to escape had to be depicted as authentic and autonomous, i.e. likeable. The film's humorous effects thus function by romanticizing the lumpen world of Zagreb, in which moments of absurdity only emphasize the autonomy of the lumpen class from the official social(ist) morality. This is accomplished with two types of humour – verbal humour by Glista's father and the humorous *mise-en-scene* of Glista's failing adventures. Glista's refusal of his father's lumpen life will drive him into funny experiences with his friends, or with the wife of the auto mechanic with whom he temporarily finds work. Such events simply happen to Glista without his initiation, but he wholeheartedly accepts them, perceiving them as adventures with no expectations of their outcome. This is how he unintentionally finds work by visiting the auto mechanic with one of his friends, where he also accidentally meets the auto mechanic's wife, who will consequentially drive him into Marina's arms.

In one of the opening scenes which outline Glista's relationship with his father, viewers witness their carnivalesque approach to life which inverts the existing hierarchy of power. Noticeably embarrassed by his father's working ritual of yelling "I am buying old iron!" on the street, Glista tells him how he will soon escape "this shit" and would not have to work with him anymore. As Glista is telling him that, the father enters someone's front yard and steals an old gutter after which he almost gets run over by a car. "Fuck you and your bourgeois mother! You almost ran over a proletarian! You fascist!" the father yells. A moment after, Glista recognizes his friend Grof (Eng. earl) to be the driver and takes off with him in his wrecked car. The father sarcastically

concludes how he respected his own father even though he was a thief, and Glista disrespects him so much that he rented out his own room to a soldier to use it to take a girl there. Still, as viewers later learn, the problem was not that Glista rented out the room, but that he took the money for himself, instead of giving it to the father. Everything in this scene is absurd – a false work ethic which is a charade for stealing old iron, hence Glista's father's fake renouncing of his own father who was a thief; the father's ridicule of the official discourse about fascists and proletarians, or the mocking of the intergenerational conflict that reveals a complete absence of the adult world.

In another scene, Glista shows up at the house where he and his father live, to get ready for a potential flirt with Gizela – the auto mechanic's wife for whom he develops a crush. Indicatively, he cannot enter his own room as it was rented out, this time by his father. When the father asks if he maybe wants to join him at work, Glista reacts abruptly: "Are you crazy? My friends could see me," and the father responds: "So it is what it is, you are ashamed of your father". To this Glista replies ironically: "What, do you need me to thank you in writing for bringing me to this world?" which causes his father to cry. Glista for a moment is anxious to approach his crying father, only to realize that he is chopping onions, which causes the tears: "I get it old man, it's from the onions. Don't try to pull my leg; you old showman!" In another turn of mockery, the tears do not stop the father from trying to steal the turkey which Glista is taking to Gizela: "Son, couldn't we somehow nationalize the turkey? It all belongs to the people anyway." The scene closes with a man going out of Glista's room with a woman and leaving money on the table, at which point both Glista and father start laughing for the business is going great. Such

amusing situations illustrate a detachment of Glista's lumpen world from the official morality – neither he nor his father care for the ethics of renting their beds to strangers for secret sex, just as they do not mind stealing if it helps their daily survival. Compared to the rest of the lumpen world embodied in Glista's friend who betrays him, Glista's father would never be disloyal to him regardless of cheating others, which is why Glista in the end returns to the father. Still, their complete ignorance of collective values, i.e. their stereotypical lumpen consciousness, in the film constructs their underprivileged position as natural and deserved.

The second type of comical naturalization of the film's symbolic order is Glista's adventurous *mise-en-scene*. His temporary job with the auto mechanic – which Glista accepts because it is "gentlemanly: with one hand in the pocket and it's raining money," as his friend Limbo explains – fosters several humorous scenes based on funny juxtapositions. When Limbo presents Glista to his boss who is worried he might disappear after one week like the previous worker, Limbo lies by saying how Glista comes from a nice family and that his father plays a piano. To this his boss replies sceptically: "Ah, I'm familiar with nice people. I need someone to work here! […] Work, work, work!" But, when Glista follows up with: "Said comrade Marx," the boss abruptly jumps: "What, is he one of the red ones?" alluding to hard-core Marxists among student protestors. Limbo calms him down by confirming that Glista is a crook above all, and the scene is suddenly interrupted with a lady customer asking for a check-up on her car. The camera here apprehends a sexual verbal play that is about to happen. An opening shot of her naked leg leaving the car first, followed by the rest of her body, emphasizes not only her

seductive character, but also the unethical nature of a process between the customer and the provider (Figures 5.11. and 5.12). When the woman notes how "something is banging from behind," Limbo jokes: "Oh, really, from behind and not upfront?" She goes off to find the boss, and Limbo explains to Glista how she pays in sex, commenting sarcastically: "Isn't this what we fought for?" Clearly, such episodes subvert official discourses about work and ethics in Yugoslavia. Glista's and Limbo's banter is a strategy for provoking immoral acts in other people, thus revealing different forms of antisocialist behaviour. The boss is afraid of a potential young Marxist not only because his business is corrupt, but also because he takes advantage of women willing to pay with their bodies instead of money. Indeed, as poor and precarious workers, Glista and his friends exist outside the social system, embodying positions able to challenge the official Yugoslavia. However, as they neither change nor contradict the behaviours of the others, they serve the sole purpose of pointing to socialist deviations. The construction of their characters therefore discloses the symbolic abuse of stereotypes about disobedient and unproductive lumpen-proletarian youth.



Figure 5. 11. *You Get it, Man*: Funny Antisocialism: sexualizing the body of a female customer.



Figure 5. 12. *You Get it, Man*: Paying 'in kind': a female customer paying for services with sex.

The adventurous *mise-en-scene* not only offers a look into the daily survival of Zagreb's marginal youths, but the suggestive angles of the camera make for a humorous visual narration of Glista's misapprehensions. Humorous visuals of his youthful disappointments romanticize the harsh precarious lifestyle Glista is compelled to live. By depicting his failures as funny adventures, Kljaković creates a world autonomous of official morality, where employment, social status or life security are unimportant. In fact, the easiness with which Glista's accepts his unsuccess and enters new adventures, creates the impression of the impossibility of his upward movement and of social mobility in general. But, instead of making his carelessness a compensatory mechanism for surviving the everyday struggle, Kljaković uses it to comically illustrate Glista's lifestyle.

Perhaps the funniest episode, which is also Glista's major failure at attempting to enter the middle-class world, is the seduction of Gizela. When she appears at the mechanic's, after seeing her legs and skirt from a low-angle shot (Figures 5.13. and 5.14.) Glista develops an immediate crush. The low angle from which Gizela is portrayed indicates her inaccessibility for him, which still does not stop Glista from trying to sleep with her. He carelessly goes after her, even though Limbo warns him about her morals – she comes only to take money from her husband, and a woman like that could harm you for life. Glista's adventure of winning Gizela's attention is based on visual gags that apprehend his funny failure. For instance, when she showed up at Glista's work for the second time, he sprayed the boss with a water hose, pretending it was an accident. Glista then approaches Gizela, enacting a high-class gentleman by kissing her hand, thus creating a comically disharmonious situation. Despite

his clumsy introduction, the next day Glista volunteers with his boss to take a turkey to Gizela, sincerely believing that he has won her heart with his gentlemanly gesture. In Gizela's home, however, Glista not only rips the nicest coat he has on the stairs but ends up being exploited by doing physical work for her. Still, the turkey that was symbolically located between Glista's legs before he rings Gizela's door bell, happily gobbles at the end of the scene. In South-Slavonic cultures, the turkey is believed to be a dull animal (hence, the numerous proverbial comparisons about people acting stupidly as turkeys), the visual metonymy is a comical effect on Glista's youthful ignorance and his foolish belief that he could become Gizela's lover just by sleeping with her. The following sequence comments on this metonymy: Glista's excitement, expressed in his satisfactory gag with the water hose (Figure 5.15.), is juxtaposed to the scene where he gets thrown out of Gizela's apartment, after her rich lover returns. By depicting Glista's love conquest as comical, the film's visuals additionally foster the idea of the impossibility of social mobility for the lumpen youth. A humorous setting therefore consolidates ideas about a natural order of the world depicted, where Glista as a deprived boy comically tries to enter the 'normal' world and continually fails.



Figure 5. 13. *You Get it, Man*: Meeting Gizela: low-angle shot as metaphor of her unreachability for Glista.



Figure 5. 14. *You Get it, Man*: A crush: Glista developing a crush based on the objectification of Gizela.



Figure 5. 15. *You Get it, Man*: Glista's happy gag: spraying the boss with a water hose after spending the night with his wife.

The economy of violent love

Although Glista's ephemeral victory with Gizela ends in humorous failure, his misapprehension will initiate the love story, after meeting Gizela's opposite – mute and traumatized Marina. The humorous motif of failure is thus coupled with Glista's success in love which fosters his self-acceptance as he comes of age. Nevertheless, by illustrating Glista's maturing with sympathy, the film reproduces the gender-based violence to which Marina is constantly exposed. Be it Glista's friend Kurbla, who meets Marina in a *kafana* and sexually abuses her, the men who steal Marina away from Glista or Glista who beats her, Marina embodies men's property to be used or stolen. This is particularly

evident in the way Kljaković depicts a moment of crisis in Glista's coming of age. Namely, a trigger for the refusal of his friends' delusional lifestyle, i.e. the final change towards Glista's self-acceptance, is not falling in love with Marina but losing her due to Grof's trade. Thus, already dehumanized by her speechlessness in the film, Marina's victimized character in fact participates in the narrative strategy of the *othering* of the lumpen youth, by portraying them as utterly violent and sexist. Still, Marina's character is also part of a larger discursive mechanism – the 'loser in life' versus the 'winner in love' dichotomy on which Glista's coming of age is founded. The more Glista fails in conventional aspects of life, the more successful he gets with desperate Marina. However, the way he wins over Marina's heart indicates his violent understanding of love: viewing women as property which he either pays with money or steals.

Glista's violent love economy is fully actualized in his perpetual stealing and losing of Marina. The symbol of such understanding of love is the fake plaster that Glista sticks on his forehead to attract women. Namely, at the beginning of the film Glista tries boxing as he wants to adjust to new urban fashions. Despite being excluded from the club as talentless, throughout the film he pretends he is a great boxer which is meant to ensure him access to girls. He uses the trick to attract Gizela, but not Marina whom he meets in a rather unconventional way. Feeling desperate after Gizela's rejection, Glista goes to a bar to drown his sorrows, where he meets an acquaintance Kurbla who suggests having sex with a girl from the bar as a remedy. Kurbla brings Marina who was sitting in the bar alone and introduces her to Glista sarcastically: "Marina from Rijeka. She was already photographed for some

magazines and will come far in her career. A movie star! She's a smart girl, just a little quiet. Marina has nothing against us two entertaining her for a while. That's nice of her." After "entertaining her" in some student's room, Kurbla leaves Marina to Glista and the student to have fun. But, as the student refuses to have sex with her because she is from Rijeka where everyone has 'the clap', Glista is left alone with Marina (Figure 5.16.) which allows him to steal her. He takes her to Grof's place where they spend an idyllic time together, away from the world. Despite Glista beating her when she disappears one morning to go and work at the bakery, Marina returns to him, after which Grof eventually trades her to some random men in a *kafana* while Glista was working. A trigger in Glista's maturing, the disappearance of Marina with whom he fell in love – and who is thus believed to be in his possession – forces Glista to abandon his friends who betrayed him. The violent play of Glista's love economy finally ends with him stealing Marina back. Rather indicatively of the film's ideology of failure, when fighting for Marina, Glista gets badly beaten. A symbol of his delusional youthful identity, the fake plaster is in the end used for a real cut as Glista accepts his loser identity, becoming a Yugoslav underdog. In this way, the film's opening corresponds to its ending when Marina applies the plaster on the physically beaten Glista. By not establishing a distance from such violent and sexist treatments of women in the film and suggesting this as the natural way of the lumpen world, Kljaković determines the lumpen youth as bad social imagery but also relativizes omnipresent physical abuse of Marina.



Figure 5. 16. *You Get it, Man*: Macabre poetics of Glista's falling in love: Marina asleep after 'entertaining' Kurbla.

Futureless socialism

The ideology of Glista's defeated maturing is illustrated in the lumpen philosophy that he elaborates in the interview (consisting of three separate fragments), and which serves as confirmation of the symbolic order represented in the film. The adult world which is absent from the film is based on Kljaković's assumptions about the viewers' knowledge of current affairs. The intergenerational conflict in *Get it, Man* is thus formed as a clash between the viewers' official world and the film's lumpen world, and it should be read considering the political and economic crisis of decentralization which left many educated young people in Croatia (as in the rest of Yugoslavia) unemployed. Namely, when reporting on youth topics on rare occasions in

1972, the Croatian print and television media focused exclusively on the plight of the educated student youth. In July that year TV Zagreb's television show *Press Club* produced an episode "Youth and self-management" in which several experts on the topic took part, such as the editor of the federal newspaper *Komunist*, factory workers and faculty students, psychologists and representatives of Croatian and federal youth organizations. The main conclusion of the episode was that even though the qualifications of employed people are quite unsatisfactory, young qualified workers are still having difficulties finding jobs (*Večernji list*, 7 July 1972). Still, as the youth secretary from Osijek, Zdenko Kon, notes, it is even harder for unqualified young workers who have not been integrated in the educational system (*Večernji list*, 7 July 1972). In a similar vein, the newspaper *Večernje novosti* warns about troubling statistics: at six large companies only every thousandth young worker is a member of the workers' council (N. Tomić, „Jedan u hiljadu," 4 May 1972). In the article, youth members of the management moreover confirm their passive role of supporters in the councils, as their young colleagues are disinterested in coming to the workers' assemblies which further limits their capacity for action (N. Tomić, „Jedan u hiljadu," *Večernje novosti*, 4 May 1972). These socio-economic circumstances conditioned even the 'good' youth to a process of tough maturation. Therefore, juxtaposed with such everyday reality, Glista's lumpen worldview only confirms his marginal social position as deserved.

The three fragments of Glista's interview not only disclose his socially unacceptable views on love, God and socialism, but establish the philosophical setting for the events to follow. The events which altogether test Glista's

philosophy, transform his failures into lumpen victories by proving Glista's scepticism to be the epitome of his peaceful defeat as he comes of age. So, when put in practice, Glista's lumpen philosophy shows that whenever he seriously tries to achieve something, he fails; but when instead he shows no will for pursuing opportunities, good things happen on their own. For instance, in the fragment about love Glista proclaims his utter belief in its necessity: "But I am always for love, even if it's unlucky, because a guy must also sometimes feel disappointed. Then you get wasted with your buddies, and sit in the middle of the street, fooling with everyone in the traffic – they honk from their cars and you are in love and disappointed, like the first man." His idealist view on romance is then suddenly interrupted by his youthful scepticism, as he states how compared to the earlier days, no one today would lie with you unless you pay them. "The only people who would do it for free are the dead, right?" he concludes cynically. The love affairs which followed proved his philosophy correct because if he had not failed with Gizela he would not have accidentally met Marina. Therefore, the only time he did not invest himself in chasing a girl, he fell in love. Symbolically and spiritually dead Marina was indeed the only woman to lie with him and ask nothing in return. A specific narrative strategy is at stake here – for Glista's scepticism to come true, Marina had to embody a symbolically dead woman. Or, for Glista to peacefully accept his defeat as he enters the lumpen-proletarian manhood, he had to fall in love with an equally defeated, dead woman. Hence, the poetic image of dead-like Marina sleeping in bed and Glista looking at her with affection, a moment before he steals her for the first time (Figure 5.16.).

Glista's sceptical logic is furthermore developed in his premises about God and socialism, his greatest deviations from the official socialist morality. For him, God must be another dude who "gets all the shit that is happening on Earth" and waits for the moment to teach people a lesson, "once he gets sick of it". Not only does Glista believe that people deserve "a lesson" epitomized in the Third World War, but his assumptions about God's presence are based on his own experience that subverts the official morality: "I don't know if God exists or not. This is how I think it goes. Some days I'm loaded with money and dressed up so that all chicks stare at me; and still I feel lethargic and nothing works for me. Other days I am broke. I walk the streets in a stained shirt, and everything is perfect, everything works! There must be something in it." Such moments challenge the work ethic and the idea of consumer abundance which Yugoslav society promoted as desirable paths to happiness. They therefore disclose Kljaković's social commentary on the current problematic state of affairs in socialist Croatia. This is corroborated by Glista's last interview excerpt in which he directly contrasts the socialist ethic to his life enjoyments, and speaks of a country where everyone promises opportunities only if you agree "to trim your hair and brush your teeth" in return. Glista thus concludes: "Between us two – I do believe in that better future, but I would rather stay forever young without a better future. We are all fighting for something here, while having no clue who is fucking with us." Thereby, the closing sequence becomes an epitome of Glista's cynical view on Yugoslav socialism. By stealing Marina back from the bikers, he provokes them into attacking him. Despite fighting for something he believes belongs to him, Glista ends up tricked and beaten by the young bikers that he earlier laughed at for their modern looks.

The fight scene where young bikers – heralds of the new age – beat helpless Glista and his friends while others on the tram watch in disgust (Figures 5.17, 5.18. and 5.19.) is not only a rite of passage into his defeated manhood, but also a visual metaphor of society's Other being *put in its place*.

Just like the film's humorous cinematography, the self-fulfilment of Glista's philosophy is a narrative mechanism for naturalizing his marginal social position. The suggestive camera angles and Glista's visual gags comically romanticize the precarious life on the Yugoslav margins. Similarly, Glista's fortunate surviving on the margins makes for his peaceful acceptance of his lumpen-proletarian manhood. However, by positing laziness and cynicism as the values which bring success in Glista's everyday practice, Kljaković challenges the official discourses on work, morality and happiness. Still, as such values oppose the official morality in Yugoslavia, Glista could not but reproduce his father's marginal social position as he came of age. The impossibility of social mobility which Glista's maturation indicates, discloses the *othering* of the lumpen youth as a prerequisite for cultural stability at the time of the crisis. Kljaković's *Get it, Man* presents an interesting case of cinema's simultaneous liberating and oppressive representational practices, for by creating its relevant social commentary the film also exploits the underprivileged position of the social group it constructs in the story. This film is thus a product of the highly contradictory circumstances in Yugoslavia at the time, when after a period of precarious liberalization of intellectual and media activity in the 1960s, public discourses once again started reflecting the oppressive atmosphere. The case of *Get it, Man* demonstrates how such

troubled times created favourable grounds for conservative and oppressive discourses to permeate even critical practices.



Figure 5. 17. *You Get it, Man*: Citizens witnessing the fight.



Figure 5. 18. *You Get it, Man*: Citizens witnessing the fight.



Figure 5. 19. *You Get it, Man*: Citizens witnessing the fight.

5.3. Milan and Glista in Yugoslav cinematography

As Chapter 4 already discussed, early Yugoslav cinema presents us with films that contradicted society's main ideological premises on gender and class equality. Discrepancies between cinematic representations of Yugoslav daily life and people's actual lived experience are divided by gender and class. Such discrepancies therefore reveal different types of privileges and injustices that are attributed to the representations of girls and women, on the one hand, and those of boys and men, on the other. Distinctive representations of women's and men's daily life form a hierarchy in which men from the upper classes embody most social power. Drawing on such a hierarchy, it could be said that for male protagonists, Milan and Glista, the category of class is more pertinent for developing a genealogy of their characters than gender. In his article on labour, romance and gender in the classical Yugoslav film, Nebojša Jovanović (2015) notices how Živanović's *Zenica* (1957) introduces abrupt change in depicting relationship between the class and social value:

> whereas *Lake* and *It Was Not in Vain* screened interclass romances between middle-class men and the low-class ingénues, *Zenica* introduces class segregationist politics. It does not only vanquish the possibility of inter-class romance, but also establishes clear class hierarchy. If the finale is any indication, it is the middle class that sets up the template of romance and marital happiness for the working class.
>
> (41)

Related to this is also Živanović's shaping of male youth in *Strange Girl* that was touched upon in the previous chapter – different models of commitment and sacrifice for the country belong to the intellectual and working youth. In later periods of Yugoslav cinematography, such privileging of the upper classes over the workers in popular films with a contemporary setting was

made manifest through the ascendance of male entrepreneurs, managers or politicians as protagonists. This clearly reflected the socio-economic developments of Yugoslavia's self-management system and its cultural self-representation in the 1960s and early 1970s. Still, towards the end of the 1960s, films by several directors who introduced novel approaches to Yugoslav cinema of the time also instituted a practice of representing Yugoslav contemporaneity via stories about Yugoslavs coming from the lower classes: peasants, gastarbeiters, socially neglected children, Roma or seasonal workers. Ranging from documentaries, to dramas and road movies, Želimir Žilnik's *Žurnal o omladini na selu, zimi* (*Newsreel on Village Youth, in* Winter, 1967), *Nezaposleni* (*The Unemployed*, 1968), *Pioniri* (*Pioneers*, 1968), Aleksandar Petrović's *Skupljači perja* (*I Even Met Happy Gypsies or The Feather Buyer*, 1967) and Živojin Pavlović's *Kad budem mrtav i beo* (*When I am Dead and Pale*, 1967) heralded this shift in representational practice. Or, as Gal Kirn comments in his essay on New Yugoslav Cinema, these films "succeeded in criticising the dominant genre convention and explored refined aesthetical means: from naturalistic shocking development to intellectual and affective montage, from docudrama to partisan films" (2012, 26).

Therefore, Jelić's Milan is not the first to introduce the ironic embodiment of working-class manhood in Yugoslav cinema. Žilnik's pioneering short documentaries such as *The Unemployed* depicted Yugoslav working men by juxtaposing images of their sturdy physique to the ones of their rotten teeth, whilst documenting how they happily sing songs about leaving and returning home. Milan's character is a variation on such ironic political representations, a satirical epitome of the figure of the working man

deprived of all idealizations that accompanied Yugoslav modernity. Jelić's Milan is thus a youthful embodiment of the critical discourse that was shaping the destinies of working men at the time of the gastarbeiter crisis at the beginning of the 1970s. My analysis posits that by introducing the comedy of sexual travesty as the means of voicing this problematic in Yugoslav cinema, *The Bug Killer* challenges the upper-class male privilege that earlier comedy takes at its face value.

In a different vein from Jelić's Milan who satirizes, and hence politicizes, the working man, Kljaković's Glista is a romanticized modification of the figure of the low-class vagabond that Pavlović's film *When I am Dead and Pale* introduces. Just like Glista, Pavlović's Jimmy Barka (Jimmy the Boat) – one of the first anti-heroes in Yugoslav cinema (Kirn 2012, 24) – is a social outcast: "On the one hand, he is faced with the harshness of the social situation, rising unemployment and underdevelopment of the countryside and on the other hand, he himself claims not to be happy to work too much" (41). However, unlike Jimmy who ends up tragically by being shot in a dilapidated outside toilet at a former construction site, Glista's conciliation with his excluded subjectivity confirms the symbolic order to which he is a danger. Again, both films seem to deliver social commentary on the isolation of people who are living outside the social system in Yugoslavia. But, my interpretation of *Get it, Man* shows that Kljaković in fact (re)produces hegemonic discourses about lumpen-proletarian youth as bad and undeserving of inclusion. He does this by, on the one hand, romanticizing Glista's precarious lifestyle via humorous effects (verbal humour and funny *mise-en-scene* of failing) and by not creating a distance from gender violence in the film, on the other.

Rather differently from my findings in the previous chapter, film critics in newspapers not only recognized the critical tone in *The Bug Killer* but saw its dark humour as the right tool for bringing to surface "dark spots and malevolence" (V. Vitezica, "Bubašinter," *Večernje Novosti*, 12 October 1971) in Yugoslav society. I will quote a conclusion from Slobodan Novaković's critique in *Književne novine*:

> The motto of Jelić's *The Bug Killer* is: 'WE WANT WHAT WE CAN!' (those words can even be seen in the corner of his room at one point in the film) which corresponds to the protagonist's psychology who suffers in abeyance all humiliation during the film – looking for work and for his place in society, he obediently accepts all possible mistreatments, i.e. he agrees to the things he can (it is horrifying to know that he can do so little).
>
> ("Mladi i zdravi," 1 November 1971)

The restrained youthfulness that the quoted excerpt highlights is for Novaković a strategy of exclusion from society that Milan experiences as he comes of age. Others acknowledged that the film's narration creates an atmosphere which indicates certain fluctuations between boyish teasing and tragic truths (Feliks Pašić, „Seksualna iskustva dečaštva," *Borba*, 13 August 1971). Or, that the representation of Milan's youthful character is contradictory – from his wish to gain experience, to his fear from doing so (V. Vitezica, "Bubašinter," *Večernje Novosti*, 12 October 1971). These remarks imply the capacity of *The Bug Killer* to speak about complex social issues at the time of the crisis, from the vantage point of working-class youth, a less privileged and less common perspective. Nevertheless, none of the critics mentioned Milan's class position, nor have they read the film in relation to the working-class crisis, despite different motifs and allusions that point to it. Their criticism thus reveals the widening of the scope of critique in the early

1970s, when certain discursive mechanisms for questioning power relations in Yugoslav society and its representation in culture were already established – i.e. novel literary, film and music genres and artistic approaches which generated social commentaries. Still, they also show a limited range of critique that was allowed, which is evident in their avoidance of the class issue in case of Jelić's film.

Newspaper reviews of Kljaković's *Get it, Man* were less enthusiastic than those of *The Bug Killer*. They found the film's ending when "Glista happily returns to pushing the trolley" artistically unconvincing, just as the film's message that one cannot reach the upper social spheres from the poverty ("Kartu više?" *Večernji list*, 21 September 1973). Others saw Glista's misfortune as a reflection of his handicap due to his destitute social origin and positively commented on his love of Marina as lacking of traditionalist bias towards prostitutes (Ante Bežen, „'Prokuženi' život predgrađa," *ŠN*, 32/767, 9 October 1973). However, in complimenting the anti-traditionalist treatment of love in the film, they completely failed to recognize the violence against Marina as a traditionalist and patriarchal practice of love. They, moreover, talk about Glista's adventures as "harmless dodges and somewhat dangerous stunts" ("Srebrni Ivica Vidović," *Večernji list*, 14 September 1973). All this illustrates many blind spots of liberalized thought and criticism in the early 1970s, as certain practices and ideas were still misrecognized as 'normal' and thus invisible to the critical eye. Again, like my conclusions in Chapter 4, criticisms of *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* point to the ever-present traditional conservativism which in this case was less intrusive and allowed for more objective views on the films' stories. My coming-of-age interpretations of the

two films and their embedding in media discourse of the time showed a loosened critical perspective regarding the social issues, but still without touching upon the pillars of Yugoslav socialist ideology: class and gender equality in the self-management system. Newspaper criticisms, lastly, showed that in keeping the issues regarding the treatment of women in contemporary film invisible, traditional conservativism in the early 1970s predominantly coincided with unjust gender regimes as in the previous decade.

5.4. Conclusion

Being comical allegories that aim at commenting on contemporary society, *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* show different types of engagement with Yugoslav contemporaneity than films analysed in the previous chapter. The comic, or semi-comic genre, but also the context of liberalized intellectual freedoms, allowed them to challenge some of the dominant discourses more openly than *Strange Girl* or *Three Hours for Love* could. This chapter therefore examined how the comic and romanticized maturations of the two protagonists – Milan and Glista – reveal cultural symptoms of the crises at the time of their production. Milan's farcical development into a middle-class male prostitute illustrates the weakening of the Yugoslav working class from which he escapes at the end of the film by becoming his aunt's lover. Successive situations of sexual and moral travesties that mark Milan's coming of age, disclose a critical discourse on the issues of nepotism and corruption which pervaded Yugoslav quotidian in the early 1970s. Milan's incestuous maturing thus illustrates nepotism as the only way of social mobility. His comical coming of age, finally, generates a satirical hierarchy in the film that shows the perverted world of

Yugoslav socialism, the basis of which is the hypocritical sexual morality that (re)produces the patriarchal discourse. Glista's lumpen destiny discloses the film's mechanism of cultural *othering* as the means of fostering symbolic stability at the time of great socio-political crisis. This comes into view in the cinematographic romanticising of Glista's lumpen life, which allows him to happily accept his destitute manhood. Related to this mechanism of *othering* is also the representation of violence as inherent to lumpen youth – from possessive love to actual physical possession as love practice. Glista's defeated coming of age that is supported by his interview fragments, lastly, promotes his cynical views on Yugoslav socialism as evidence of his natural lumpen maturing, hence his inability to leave his underprivileged position.

In contrast to *Strange Girl* and *Three Hours for Love* whose heroines mature by moving away from undesirable images of youth towards embodying desirable types of womanhood, the protagonists in *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* develop by contradicting or reproducing their fathers' social positions. This clearly points to gender as a significant organizing principle in coming-of-age narratives, where types of womanhood do not come from the motherly figures but from society's patriarchal expectations, where boys learn from their fathers, legitimate sources of social value. Boys' maturing is in that sense marked more with class than gender, as their adulthood quest is based on fighting for their social position by getting a job, while girls' coming of age is motivated by their quest for love. In *The Bug Killer* Milan escapes the working-class world of his father, as it deprived him of opportunities. His satirical maturing by which he enters the middle class by becoming a prostitute not only contradicts his father's masculinity, but by ridiculing the working-class

morality it also illustrates the tragedy of its defeat. By contrast, in *Get it, Man* Glista tries to escape the lumpen world of his father from the very beginning and continually fails, embodying finally his father's destitute social position as he enters manhood. Glista's inability to cross into the upper classes, i.e. to enter the social system, symbolically fixes the underprivileged identity of him and his father as 'natural' and deserved.

In both films, boys make their peace with the world by trying to leave the environments in which they were brought up, challenging the issue of social mobility in Yugoslavia. Jelić does this by allowing his protagonist to escape the working class, but the way he satirically constructs Milan's mobility reveals the film's commentary on the Yugoslav self-management system in which a young man finds himself in opposition to the system in order to prosper. Kljaković, however, bars Glista from entering the legal world, outside the lumpen quotidian, thus showing the impossibility of social mobility for social outcasts in Yugoslavia. As in the cases of the previous two films, *Strange Girl* and *Three Hours for Love*, the directors' poetics were fundamental for my conclusions about messages mediated by the protagonists' mobility. Jelić's black comedy poetics which he inaugurates with *The Bug Killer* lays the groundwork for his dominant comic motif of travesty, as a tool for disclosing the nepotism which turns Milan into a middle-class male prostitute. In contrast to this, Kljaković's experimental poetics, epitomized in his meta-textual interview camera, reveals a classist ideology behind the film's coming-of-age narrative, as it naturalizes the represented youth's underprivileged position of life outside the official system. This clearly reflects the contradictory atmosphere of the time, as Kljaković's case for the subversion of the official

discourse ended as a form of symbolic violence toward the represented youths. Lastly, newspaper criticisms of the films illustrated the continuing presence of traditional conservativism: that is, they showed the intertwining of the objective acknowledgements of the films' critical commentaries on a society, and misrecognitions of some deeply conservative, anti-socialist phenomena (such as the class issue or gender-based physical violence).

Conclusion

Over the last ten years, approaches to Yugoslav culture and cinematography have changed considerably. By diverging from partial vantages of Yugoslavia as a totalitarian regime and embracing perspectives of Yugoslavia as a contradictory society, a new research paradigm emerged. The new paradigm in writing about Yugoslav cinematography generated a proliferation of research topics, including popular genre films. However, despite this shift, Yugoslav genre film, and specifically youth film, remain under-researched.

Responding to such a state of the art, this thesis has initiated an investigation into the youth genre in Yugoslav cinematography, with a particular focus on films that thematize the coming of age of young Yugoslavs. I have analysed four youth films – *Strange Girl* (Jovan Živanović, 1962), *Three Hours for Love* (Fadil Hadžić, 1968), *The Bug Killer* (Milan Jelić, 1971) and *You Get it, Man* (Vanča Kljaković, 1973) – that were made during the utopian phase of Yugoslav socialism, a time of growing economic and political liberalizations, and the country's rapid opening to the West. My intention was to examine a complex relationship between film representations of young people, and the youth ideal promoted by official discourses in Yugoslavia. At the centre of my analysis were representations of young people and their maturing, which were seen as sites of production of socially undesirable images of youth and desirable images of adulthood. Films that were selected for my close analysis are rare examples of coming-of-age representations in Yugoslav cinema of the

time, and also the first youth films of this kind. Focusing on such pioneering examples allowed me to map the emergence of the coming-of-age theme in Yugoslav youth cinema, and to research different social and cultural processes that led to its development.

Although studies of youth film are still evolving, two approaches appear to be dominant: the social science perspective (with its focus on the relationship between film industries and representations of youth) and the humanistic approach (interested in analysing the images of youth, and the films' narrative forms and motifs). Not only did my research combine the two types, but it enhanced them with tools that surpass the limits of the approaches' single disciplines (social sciences or literature and film studies). I studied my selected films via the concept of coming-of-age and not through the means of youth film genre. My interdisciplinary approach therefore compensated for some of the shortcomings of the two dominant types of study of youth films. On the one hand, such an approach granted me a possibility to identify social phenomena that were linked with processes of coming of age in Yugoslavia (leisure, sexual morality, class anxiety, social mobility and violence). On the other hand, I was able to explore my selected films' coming-of-age narratives as discursive mechanisms through which films participate in the dominant discourses about the youth and their maturing. By positing coming-of-age narrative as a mechanism for discourse (re)production, I also analysed the *mise-en-scènes* and visual motifs which further support the hegemonic patterns in the films. Thus, by taking into consideration the visual elements of film analysis, my approach to youth films has moved away from interpretations of film narratives as texts.

As the aim of my thesis demanded, the four selected films were interpreted within the broader context of Yugoslavia's utopian phase (Chapter 2) and the cinematographic development of the coming-of-age theme in Yugoslav youth cinema (Chapter 3). Chapter 2 argued that self-management reforms operated paradoxically, as both the pivot of socio-political liberalizations in the 1960s and a break on progressive emancipative tendencies. Such a paradox was also found to shape the communist ideologization of youth during the utopian phase when the image of a young consumer emerged as a dominant representation of the new generation. Despite the official rhetoric of female emancipation and class liberation, my explorations of communist morality that was being instilled among the youth revealed highly gendered perspectives on work and sexuality, i.e. discriminatory views on female employment and sexual liberation. The final section of this chapter posited the importance of the film medium in the eyes of the Communist Party, against young people's heterogenous perspectives on the role of film in their own lives. By observing discrepancies between the Communist Party's expectations and young people's actual views on questions concerning film censorship and communist morality, I found the youth's leisure to be the locus of their social agency.

Chapter 3 explored the contradictory status of my selected youth films in the Yugoslav film industry of the time. Here, the fast evolution of cinematography (induced by self-management reforms) was assumed to have generated the emergence of coming-of-age youth films in Yugoslavia in 1962. I discovered that the change in the method of financing and distribution of the films ushered the uncertain institutional status of youth films which

thematized the maturing of young Yugoslavs: nested between producers' commercial aspirations, directors' individual poetics and society's utopian ideological incentives. But, such an ambivalent position of coming-of-age film stories was also found to be a space of subversion, as these films merged the production aspects of the commercial industry of fun and the artistic impetus for originality and social criticism. The second part of the chapter outlined a short history of youth cinema before and during the 1960s and early 1970s. Special attention was given to illustrating the two images of student youth which emerged before the advent of the first coming-of-age story – the urban youth as symbol of a modern, westernized era, and youth as cynical individuals lacking in socialist morality. I posited both images to be the foundation for the unfavourable representations of young people in the four films.

By investigating the way in which my selected youth films respond to the contexts of their production, in chapters 4 and 5 I aimed to show how film representations of youth subvert society's main ideological tendencies regarding questions of female emancipation and class liberation. Despite Yugoslavia's progressive socialist tendencies, discourses that were found to be dominant in the unfavourable representations of the youth were highly conservative. Most of their conservativisms were linked to traditional beliefs in women's primary roles as wives and mothers, which also assumed women's exclusion from public activities, their employment in 'feminine lines of work' and socially desirable images of women as obedient. In a different vein, conservative discourses about men were focused on ideas of desirable socialist masculinity: a dedicated shock worker who is also the head of the family; here, men's violence against women is believed to be part of traditional masculine

behaviour. A hegemonic presence of conservative discourses was demonstrated by analysing four aspects of film practice: the directors' poetics, the films, the history of types of Yugoslav (fe)male characters which the young protagonists advance, and film critiques from Yugoslav daily newspaper. All four domains revealed an active presence of traditional conservativism which was reproduced and challenged in the selected films.

Conservative discourses were interpreted from the films' undesirable images of youth, and desirable images of adulthood that the protagonists embrace when they come of age. A particularly important discovery concerning the desirable images of adulthood which the protagonists appropriate was the gendered organization of coming-of-age narratives, Namely, because in *Strange Girl* and *Three Hours for Love* men teach the girls how to 'know their place' in the world of adults, the righteous types of womanhood that they embody come from society's patriarchal expectations and not from other female figures. By contrast, boys in *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* mature by reproducing (or rejecting) the social positions of their fathers, who are deemed legitimate sources of social value. Such a narrative structuring of social relationships in the films reflected a gendered hierarchical structuring of social reality in Yugoslavia at the time; hence, it further reproduced patriarchal beliefs about women's subordinate positions.

My analysis has also pointed to certain spaces of resistance to such dominant patterns, as the four selected films showed different types of engagement: while *Strange Girl* and *Get it, Man* reproduce conservative beliefs about the youth they represent, *Three Hours for Love* and *The Bug Killer*

challenge them by indicating various deficiencies of Yugoslav socialism at the time. Again, the way *Strange Girl* and *Get it, Man* participate in the hegemonic patterns differs. In illustrations of Minja's maturing from an emancipated girl into a wife and a mother, *Strange Girl* does it by relying on contradictory messages about consumerism and modernity at the beginning of the 1960s. However, in its attempt to comically illustrate self-management in crisis at the beginning of the 1970s, *Get it, Man* ridicules the marginalized youths by romanticizing and stereotyping Glista's precarious lifestyle. Similarly, in *Three Hours for Love*, the modes of resisting and questioning Yugoslav hegemonic conservativism were found to be different than in *The Bug Killer*. *Three Hours for Love* does it by positing Maca's rebelliousness against male (hetero)sexual privileges in the film, whereby it challenged conservative beliefs in girls' passive agency that pervaded ideas about liberalized sexuality in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s. In *The Bug Killer*, by becoming a middle-class gigolo due to his aunt's fear of homosexuals, Milan's coming of age subverted the moralistic discourse on righteous working-class masculinity, on the one hand, and discourses on female prostitution and male homosexuality as antisocialist elements, on the other.

Related to hegemonic conservativism which the coming-of-age of the protagonists revealed was also the presence of conservative discourses about youth. In *Strange Girl*, discourse on bad socialist youth is what fosters Minja's transformation into domestic womanhood: after indulging in partying, sexual relationships with men, or thinking about fashion and popular culture, Minja learns to sacrifice for the greater good by becoming a working mother and a wife. In *Three Hours for Love*, discourse on female passivity in social, political

and sexual structures of power is coupled with desirable working-class womanhood: because of their motherly duties, working women sacrifice themselves for a society which oppresses them. However, this is challenged by the counter-discourse on young women's sexual agency which enables Maca not to conform to social trends that are harmful for the youths from the lower classes, and to refuse to participate in sexual relationships which are inherently violent for women. Given that *The Bug Killer* and *Get it, Man* present comical representations of youth, conservative discourses about young Yugoslavs were disclosed as the points of the films' ridicule. By making Milan a naïve dreamer who loves his girlfriend and therefore refuses to sleep with prostitutes to prove his manhood, *The Bug Killer* successfully satirizes the discourse on youth's chaste sexual morality. By contrast, in *Get it, Man* the discourse on the lumpen-proletarian youth as cynical and lazy was not successfully ridiculed – i.e. not depicted as a symptom of Yugoslav socialism in crisis. The film's comical representations of Glista's destitute way of life ended up reproducing classist beliefs about the youths from the lowest strata as undeserving of social inclusion.

The analyses of Yugoslav youth cinema and its coming-of-age representations in this thesis presented a theoretical and cultural intervention into the cinematographic, social and cultural history of Yugoslavia. Firstly, my findings showed that due to their ambivalent status inside the Yugoslav film industry, youth films which thematized the coming of age of young Yugoslavs subvert the binary opposition of New Film and the producer's cinema, which still functions as a dominant organizing principle in histories of Yugoslav cinematography. The abundance of contradictions in the Yugoslav youth genre

that has been noted in this thesis goes against the dominant totalitarian narratives about Yugoslav film as a communist propaganda tool. Secondly, by analysing different patterns of behaviour, described and prescribed in the films as undesirable images of youth and desirable images of adulthood, this research offered insights on gender and class regimes that were hierarchically structuring social relations in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and early 1970s. This thesis has therefore introduced youth films as valuable objects of study in the social and cultural history of Yugoslavia. However, it must be noted that this study does not present a thorough examination of the entire youth genre in Yugoslav cinematography. My selection of films has reflected the aims of this thesis – exploring youth representations via the concept of coming of age – which required a close analysis of films and their specific contexts. Including a greater number of youth films that thematize coming of age in the same historical period (the maturing of high-school teenagers) and which do not depict the modern city life (e.g. films about rural youth) would surpass the limits of my doctoral research. This is particularly important bearing in mind that Yugoslav youth cinema has never been explored before, which is why I also had to provide a brief history of the genre.

That being said, I believe that future research on youth film in Yugoslavia could be pursued differently from my exclusive focus on the coming of age theme. Not only would the analysis of the youth genre in later historical periods introduce new cinematographic approaches and styles, but it would also indicate the levels of change in the commodification of the youth in Yugoslavia. Another useful approach to Yugoslav youth films would be the perspective of audience and media studies. By turning the focus from the films

themselves to the messages that films send to shape their audience, future studies could include television youth films and analyse them with regards to different television programmes of which youth films were a part. Such findings would shed light on the ways new visual media that addressed young people in Yugoslavia catered to the image of the youth as projected by the official discourses.

As explained in the introduction to this thesis, my research on Yugoslav youth cinema was motivated by my previous study of coming-of-age films in post-Yugoslav cinematography. My future research will therefore combine the two perspectives and develop a comparative investigation into how youth is being re-shaped historically, both as a symbolic (represented) and social (politically addressed) formation. I believe my conclusions in this thesis could be a good starting point for illuminating the numerous contradictions in contemporary post-Yugoslav societies and cultures, for they share a common recent past and experience similar consequences of such a past. For instance, recent analyses of youth policies in Serbia and Croatia show that public treatment of the youth in the region has produced two contradictory images (both elusive, yet dominant and taken for granted) – 'youth as problematic' and 'youth as tomorrow's leaders', which the media and policy makers keep perpetuating (Azanjac et al. 2012, 48-9). My findings from this thesis could therefore be expanded so that the current public images of youth are historicized and critically elaborated. Essentially, this thesis encourages other researchers of (post)Yugoslav cinema and youth histories to contribute to the existing (scarce) explorations of the youth in this region, for the fields of youth studies and film studies are still underdeveloped in the post-Yugoslav context.

Appendix 1

The filmography of Yugoslav youth films, 1947 – 1973

The following filmography encompasses all Yugoslav 35mm fiction films which centre on young people as protagonists in film stories (early ideological representations, historical films and contemporary films alike). All sixty-five films were made and distributed in Yugoslavia in the period from 1947 until 1973. The list does not include films for children.

Note: the four films which are selected for my analysis in this thesis are presented in a more detailed manner: the film title, year of production, the film enterprise, director, screenwriter, cinematography, music, production design, editing and film cast.

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SLAVICA
1947, Avala film, dir. Vjekoslav Afrić

ŽIVJEĆE OVAJ NAROD/ THIS PEOPLE WILL LIVE
1947, Jadran film, dir. Nikola Popović

BESMRTNA MLADOST/IMMORTAL YOUTH
1948, Avala film, dir. Vojislav Nanović

ŽIVOT JE NAŠ/LIFE IS OURS
1948, Avala film, dir. Gustav Gavrin

SOFKA
1948, Avala films, dir. Radoš Novaković

ZASTAVA/FLAG
1949, Jadran film, dir. Branko Marjanović

PLAVI 9/BLUE 9
1950, Jadran film, dir. Krešo Golik

SVI NA MORE/EVERYONE TO THE SEASIDE
1952, Avala film, dir. Sava Popović

VESNA
1953, Triglav film, dir. František Čap

DJEVOJKA I HRAST/A GIRL AND THE OAK TREE
1955, Jadran film, dir. Krešo Golik

NE ČAKAJ NA MAJ/DON'T WHISPER
1957, Triglav film, dir. František Čap

VRATA OSTAJU OTVORENA/THE DOORS REMAIN OPEN
1959, Bosna film, dir. František Čap

LJUBAV I MODA/LOVE AND FASHION
1960, Avala Film, dir. Ljubomir Radičević

MARTIN U OBLACIMA/MARTIN'S HEAD IN THE CLOUDS
1961, Jadran film, dir. Branko Bauer

NOČNI IZLET/NIGHT EXCURSION
1961, Viba film, dir. Mirko Gobler

DVOJE/THE TWO
1961, Avala film, dir. Aleksandar Petrović

IZBIRAČICA /THE SELECTOR
1961, Avala film, dir. Marijan Vajda

IGRE NA SKELAMA/SCAFFOLDING GAMES
1961, Zora film, dir. Srećko Vejgand

PROZVAN JE I V-3/THE CLASS V-3 IS CALLED ON
1962, Ufus, dir. Milenko Štrbac

PREKOBROJNA/SUPERFLUOUS
1962, Avala film, dir. Branko Bauer

SREŠĆEMO SE VEČERAS/WE WILL MEET TONIGHT
1962, Bosna film, dir. František Čap

ČUDNA DEVOJKA/STRANGE GIRL
1962, Avala film dir. Jovan Živanović, s. Grozdana Olujić's novel: adaptation by Jug Grizelj, c. Stevan Mišković, pd. Zoran Zorčić, m. Darko Kraljić, e. Jelena Bjenjaš. Cast: Špela Rozin, Voja Mirić, Zoran Radmilović, Ljubiša Jocić.

PEŠČENI GRAD/SAND CITY
1962, Reflex-Viba film, dir. Boštjan Hladnik

LITO VILOVITO/CAPRICIOUS SUMMER
1964, Avala film, dir. Obrad Gluščević

GLASAM ZA LJUBAV/I VOTE FOR LOVE
1965, Bosna film, dir. Toma Janić

ČOVEK NIJE TICA/A MAN IS NOT A BIRD
1965, Avala film, dir. Dušan Makavejev

LUCIJA
1965, Viba film, dir. France Kosmač

DOĆI I OSTATI/TO COME AND STAY
1965, Jadran film, dir. Branko Bauer

LAŽNIVKA/LIAR
1965, Viba film, dir. Igor Pretnar

KO PUCA OTVORIĆE MU SE/THOSE WHO SHOOT WILL HAVE THE DOOR OPENED
1965, Kino Klub "Beograd", dir. Marko Babac

ČOVIK OD SVITA/A MAN OF THE WORLD
1965, Jadran film, dir. Obrad Gluščević

ŠTIĆENIK/PROTÉGÉ
1966, Avala film, dir. Vladan Slijepčević

VREME LJUBAVI/THE TIME OF LOVE
1966, Avala film, dir. Vladimir Petrić; Nikola Rajić

TOPLE GODINE/WARM YEARS
1966, Avala film, dir. Dragoslav Lazić

SRETNI UMIRU DVAPUT/THE LUCKY ONES DIE TWICE
1966, Bosna film, dir. Gojko Šipovac

LJUBAVNI SLUČAJ ILI TRAGEDIJA SLUŽBENICE PTT/A LOVE CASE OR A TRAGEDY OF AN POST OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR
1967, Avala film, dir. Dušan Makavejev

KADE PODOŽDOT/WHERE TO AFTER THE RAIN
1967, Vardar film, dir. Vladan Slijepčević

KAD BUDEM MRTAV I BEO/WHEN I AM DEAD AND WHITE
1967, FRZ Filmska radna zajednica – Servis za organizovanje proizvodnje i prometa filma, dir. Živojin Pavlović

TRI SATA ZA LJUBAV/THREE HOURS FOR LOVE
1968, Jadran film, dir. Fadil Hadžić, s. Fadil Hadžić, c. Frano Vodopivec, m. archives – Ozren Vuković, e. Radojka Tanhofer. Cast: Stanislava Pešić, Dragan Nikolić, Tatjana Beljakova, Predrag Tasovac, Mladen Crnobrnja, Lenka Neumann, Vanja Žugaj, Vladimir Ružđak, Mirjana Bohanec.

PODNE/NOON
1968, Dunav film, Avala film, dir. Puriša Đorđević

GRAVITACIJA ILI FANTASTIČNA MLADOST ČINOVNIKA BORISA HRVATA/GRAVITATION OR FANTASTIC YOUTH OF A CLERK BORIS HORVAT
1968, Jadran film, dir. Branko Ivanda

UĐI, AKO HOĆEŠ/COME INSIDE, IF YOU WISH
1968, Studio film, dir. Radenko Ostojić

VIŠNJA NA TAŠMAJDANU/A GIRL IN THE PARK
1968, Avala film, dir. Stole Janković

RANI RADOVI/EARLY WORKS
1969, Neoplanta film, dir. Želimir Žilnik

HOROSKOP/HOROSKOPE
1969, Bosna film, dir. Boro Drašković

NEDJELJA/A WEEK
1969, FAS – Filmski Autorski Studio, dir. Lordan Zafranović

DIVLJI ANĐELI/WILD ANGELS
1969, Jadran film, dir. Fadil Hadžić

BABLJE LETO/INDIAN SUMMER
1970, Dalmacija film, Kinematograf, dir. Nikola Tanhofer

JEDANAESTA ZAPOVJED/THE ELEVENTH COMMAND
1970, Jadran film, dir. Vanča Kljaković

DRAGA IRENA/DEAR IRENA
1970, Studio film, dir. Nikola Stojanović

BUBE U GLAVI/ THIS CRAZY WORLD OF OURS
1970, Inex film, dir. Miloš Radivojević

PRVA LJUBAV/FIRST LOVE
1970, Kosova film, Filmske Novosti, dir. Zoran Čalić

MLAD I ZDRAV KAO RUŽA/YOUNG AND HEALTHY LIKE A ROSE
1971, Dunav junior film, dir. Jovan Jovanović

BUBAŠINTER/THE BUG KILLER
1971, Film danas, dir. Milan Jelić, s. Gordan Mihić, Ljubiša Kozomara, c. Aleksandar Petković, m. Miodrag Ilić-Beli, e. Marko Babac. Cast: Radmila Savićević, Gizela Vuković, Danilo Bata Stojković, Zlata Petković, Dragan Radulović, Žarko Bajić, Dušan Janićijević.

MRTVA LAĐA/DEAD BOAT
1971, Društvo slovenskih filmskih delavcev, dir. Rajko Ranfi

DEVOJKA SA KOSMAJA/A GIRL FROM KOSMAJ
1972, FRZ Filmska radna zajednica, dir. Dragovan Jovanović

BREME/BURDEN
1972, Film danas, RTV Beograd, dir. Vuk Babić

BEZ/WITHOUT
1972, Bosna film, dir. Miloš Radivojević

DEVETO ČUDO NA ISTOKU/NINTH WONDER ON THE EAST
1972, Bosna film, dir. Vlatko Filipović

ŽIVJETI OD LJUBAVI/TO LIVE OF LOVE
1973, Croatia film, dir. Krešo Golik

KUŽIŠ STARI MOJ/YOU GET IT, MAN
1973, Jadran film, dir. Vanča Kljaković, s. Zvonimir Majdak, Vanča Kljaković, c. Branko Blažina, m. Alfi Kabiljo, e. Lida Braniš-Bobanac. Cast: Ivica Vidović, Eva Ras, Relja Bašić, Milutin Butković, Danilo Stojković, Zdenka Heršak, Mato Ergović.

ŽUTA/YELLOW GIRL
1973, FRZ Filmska radna zajednica, dir. Vladimir Tadej

BEGUNEC/FUGITIVE
1973, Viba film, dir. Jane Kavčić

PJEGAVA DJEVOJKA/THE FRECKLED GIRL
1973, Bosna film, dir. Mirza Idrizović

Appendix 2

A list of Yugoslav films with female protagonists, 1960 – 1968

The following list consists of 35mm fiction films in which women are either protagonists or part of the group of protagonists. All thirty-six films were made and distributed in Yugoslavia in the 1960s.

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PARTIZANSKE PRIČE/PARTISAN STORIES
1960, Ufus Beograd, dir. Stole Janković

KAPO
1960, Lovćen film, dir. Đilberto Pontekrovo

LJUBAV I MODA/LOVE AND FASHION
1960, Avala Film, dir. Ljubomir Radičević

KAROLINA RIJEČKA/CAROLINE OF RIJEKA
1961, Avala film, dir. Vladimir Pogačić

MIRNO LETO/PEACEFUL SUMMER
1961, Vardar film, dir. Dimitrije Osmanli

PLES V DEŽJU/A DANCE IN THE RAIN
1961, Triglav film, dir. Bostjan Hladnik

PUSTOLOV PRED VRATIMA/VAGABOODN AT THE DOOR
1961, Jadran film, dir. Šime Šimatović

DVOJE/THE TWO

1961, Avala film, dir. Aleksandar Petrović

IZBIRAČICA /THE SELECTOR

1961, Avala film, dir. Marijan Vajda

VELIKA TURNEJA/THE GREAT TOUR

1961, Bosna film, dir. Žorž Skrigin

ABECEDA STRAHA/THE ALPHABET OF FEAR

1961, Jadran film, dir. Fadil Hadžić

LETO JE KRIVO ZA SVE/IT'S ALL BECAUSE OF SUMMER

1961, Ufus, dir. Puriša Đorđević

SIBIRSKA LEDI MAGBET/SIBERIAN LADY MAGBETH

1962, Avala film, dir. Andžej Vajda

PREKOBROJNA/SUPERFLUOUS

1962, Avala film, dir. Branko Bauer

ČUDNA DEVOJKA/STRANGE GIRL

1962, Avala film dir. Jovan Živanović

MEDALJON SA TRI SRCA/MEDALLION WITH THREE HEARTHS

1962, Ufus, dir. Vladan Slijepčević

KAPI, VODE, RATNICI

1962, Sutjeska film, dir. Kokan Rakonjac

RANA JESEN/EARLY AUTUMN

1962, Jadran film, dir. Toma Janić

PEŠČENI GRAD/SAND CITY

1962, Reflex-Viba film, dir. Boštjan Hladnik

DANI/DAYS

1962, Avala film, dir. Aleksandar Petrović

ČOVEK NIJE TICA/A MAN IS NOT A BIRD

1965, Avala film, dir. Dušan Makavejev

DRUGA STRANA MEDALJE/THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MEDAL

1965, Jadran film, dir. Fadil Hadžić

DEVOJKA/GIRL

Puriša Đorđević, 1965, Avala film

LAŽNIVKA/LIAR

1965, Viba film, dir. Igor Pretnar

GORKE TRAVE/BITTER HERBS

1966, Avala film, dir. Žika Mitrović

VREME LJUBAVI/THE TIME OF LOVE

1966, Avala film, dir. Vladimir Petrić; Nikola Rajić

TOPLE GODINE/WARM YEARS

1966, Avala film, dir. Dragoslav Lazić

KAKO SU SE VOLELI ROMEO I JULIJA/ THE WAY ROMEO AND JULIET LOVED EACH OTHER

1966, Avala film, dir. Jovan Živanović

LJUBAVNI SLUČAJ ILI TRAGEDIJA SLUŽBENICE PTT/A LOVE CASE OR A TRAGEDY OF AN POST OFFICE ADMINISTRATOR

1967, Avala film, dir. Dušan Makavejev

KADE PODOŽDOT/WHERE TO AFTER THE RAIN

1967, Vardar film, dir. Vladan Slijepčević

PALMA MEĐU PALMAMA/A PALM AMONG THE PALMS

1967, Filmski studio Titograd i Avala film, dir. Milo Đukanović

BREZA/BIRCH

1976, Jadran film, dir. Ante Babaja

HASANAGINICA

1967, FRZ Servis za organizovanje proizvodnje i prometa filmova Beograd, dir. Mića Popović

TRI SATA ZA LJUBAV/THREE HOURS FOR LOVE

1968, Jadran film, dir. Fadil Hadžić

PODNE/NOON

1968, Dunav film, Avala film, dir. Puriša Đorđević

OPATICA I KOMESAR

1968, Studio film, dir. Gojko Šipovec

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