

**PERFORMING SOCIALIST 'FEMININITY':
THE ROLE OF PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS
IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND REPRESENTATION OF GENDER
IN SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA**

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Abstract. *The article focuses on the socialist identity politics and representation of 'femininity' in the official discourse, examining the performances of the female singers at the public manifestation called the Village Gatherings (Susreti sela) in the rural area of Southeastern Serbia. The research showed that stage performances represented the optimal place for representation, social legitimization and negotiation of gender roles. Drawing on the post-structuralist concepts of identity as a fluid category opened to continuous resignification, the author explores the changes in the construction of the female singers' subjectivities and self-representations, highlighting the new ways of reconsideration and reinterpretation of the position of women in the rural cultural environment during socialism.*

Key words: *identity politics, stage performances, public manifestations*

This article is a part of my PhD dissertation entitled *Identity Politics and the Performances of Female Singers in Niško Polje (Serbia) in the Last Third of the Twentieth Century*, based on the field research carried out by the Center for Balkan Music Research from 2004 to 2006 within the project 'Research and Presentation of the Traditional Music and Dance Heritage of Niš Surroundings.' The project was endorsed by the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Serbia and the City of Niš.¹ During the fieldwork, an interesting phenomenon was noticed: women, typically placed in the background of the "traditional" social milieu, could perform only in private settings (in the house, during ag-

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ricultural work, or as part of customs or informal gatherings), while stage signing was taboo for them. During the 1970s and 1980s, as a result of the new identity politics introduced by socialism, new practice emerged enabling women, previously musically active only within the private settings, to start performing at *public manifestations* (lit. "javne manifestacije" i.e. public stage events of various kinds) organized by the state.

1. EXPERIENCING FIELDWORK

My approach has its foundation in the qualitative methodology, which considers the studied reality in a subjective and multidimensional way, created by personal interpretations.² This method provides an intensive connection with social environment and represents "first-hand involvement with the social world" (Adam 1982:166), which has proved to be an effective tool in social science research. The researcher does not assume an objective position, but constructs reality together with the social subjects involved in the research who participated actively in the research process, at times even becoming the coauthors of the project. Based on the qualitative approach, I create this paper as a "reconstruction" of the data I obtained in the field – as a "socially produced interpretation" (Stanley 1992:7). Although I am not taking an activist-like position of a feminist scholar, I cannot neglect the impact of ideologies and agendas, both those inherited and those adopted during the work on this project. As a woman and person who, at least subconsciously, empathized with my interlocutors, I certainly adopted some attitudes that can be recognized as engaged.

In the course of my fieldwork I spoke to 55 persons (mainly women) in 21 villages in the area of Niško Polje. My focus was on women born prior to and during World War II who had participated in custom practices during their childhood and youth, and who are perceived as the main preservers of "traditional music" in both their communities and the Serbian ethnomusicological scholarly discourse. Today, they are the oldest villagers of Niško Polje who have participated in organized amateur groups. I opted for the oral history method (also called the biographic method), which proved to be very appropriate in studying women of that generation. Autobiographical testimony made it possible to keep a record of their personal histories, points of view, and interpretations of the past. Authors such as Paul Thompson, Liz Stanley, and Donald A. Ritchie³ argue that the main purpose of this method is not to get information on value itself, "but to make a 'subjective' record of how one man or woman looks back on his or her life as a whole, or part of it" (Thompson 1978:199). Since my idea was to shed light on women's personal discourses through emphasizing their standpoint – the way they speak about their activities, what they highlight or what they miss out – I did not have any questionnaires prepared in

² The critical, participatory anthropology from the 1960s and 1970s introduced the qualitative research approaches as the "participation in" style fieldwork (the terms used for this method were also "participant observation" or "the Chicago School of sociology"). According to anthropologist Clifford Geertz, what is necessary on the fieldwork is a thick description of the network, its dynamic and the interplay of relations between people, things, activities and meanings (Geertz 1973:5). During the 1970s and 1980s, the qualitative research became a dominant methodology among the feminist researchers, even though the relevance of this paradigm produced many debates among theorists. This approach was consistent with feminist values with regards to critics of the essentialist view associated with the quantitative method (Jayaratne and Stewart 1991:85).

³ Thompson 1978, Stanley 1992, Ritchie 1995.

advance. Conversation was never particularly directed towards gender issues, but gave the female singers an opportunity to speak freely about their experiences during activities within the amateur groups.

Although the emphasis was on them as individuals, the fieldwork revealed that the female singers shared common experiences as members of local amateur groups, which shaped their discourses in a similar way. The women I conversed with were all very good singers, well-known in their villages. They had many public performances, mostly at events organized by various local cultural organizations (Houses of Culture – *Domovi kulture*, Cultural-Artistic Societies – *Kulturno umetnička društva*, KUDs). That kind of "discourse of competency" enabled them to be recognized within the community as the first-rate informants. On the other hand, they often did not perceive themselves as appropriate informants and usually suggested their husbands or local culture workers as a better choice. The cooperative nature of the oral history method created an opportunity for them to supply their personal interpretations, as Paul Thompson states in his book *The Voice of the Past – Oral History*, "to help give ordinary people confidence in their own speech" (Thompson 1978:135). Following that principle, a large number of quotations is included in this paper with the intention of giving a voice to the women involved in the research, but also of offering possibilities for further interpretation (or re-interpretation) of their stories by potential readers.

2. PORTRAITS OF THE FEMALE SINGERS

The women I have conversed with during the fieldwork have had a completely different way of life when compared to generations of women born after World War II. They represent the last generation of women who participated actively in the custom practice and who remember the old singing style and repertoire, but they were also the protagonists of important changes in Serbian rural society, its discourses and practices.

All of them have spent most of their lives as part of a large, extended family (the so-called *kućna zadruga*), under the strong sway of the norms of a patriarchal society:

"When I first came to my husband's house, I was the seventeenth member of the family: uncle, aunt, their three daughters, father-in-law, mother-in-law, two brothers-in-law, sister-in-law, girls, another aunt, my husband and me, and the daughter of my cousin –seventeen."

Ja sam bila sedamnajesta kad sam došla, čiča, strina, njine tri ćerke, svekar, svekrva, dever jedan, dever drugi, jetrva, devojke, strina, dever od čiču i muž i ja i na jetrvu devojčence – sedamnajest. (Desanka Petrović, Donja Vrežina village)

The father-husband authority was pivotal in this type of family as was the patrilineal inheritance of all real estate (Antonijević 1971a:113). In this specific kind of an age-based hierarchy (elders' dominance), women occupied a subordinate position within the family and were under the command of their husbands (or the eldest male in the household). The social hierarchy deprived women of the individual freedom to make choices about their lives, and their roles were established through their relationship with men: they were re-

garded as sisters, mothers, and wives.⁴ The bulk of their activities took place in the private sphere of the household, while the governed public sphere was primarily under the control of men. Women had no prospect of participating in decision-making on issues concerning the village, very often even concerning their own families.

In such a male-oriented society, cultural forms both openly and symbolically epitomized the domination of men over women. Gender norms were constituted in accordance with the socially dominant position of males, where women were positioned as inferior social subjects, pertaining to male domination and a hierarchical gender binary system (Butler 1999:25).

After World War II, both urbanization and ideology influenced changes in the structure and functioning of the family. An increasing fragmentation of the extended family resulted in the division of land and the establishment of the nuclear family. The way of living in which several generations of people lived in one household was abandoned. Civil marriage had become obligatory in the entire territory of Yugoslavia. Customs, which were recognized as discriminatory against women, such as the dowry or selling the bride, were forbidden (Božinović 1996:151). Women were permitted to choose between keeping their father's name and adding the name of their martial partner's family after marrying. State law safeguarded the reproductive rights of women, equal prospects for employment of men and women and various aspects of social security (such as maternity leave or care for the elderly) (ibid.).

On the other hand, although these changes provided more possibilities for women to build their social identity outside marriage and the family, these opportunities reached only a very small number of women, predominantly the urban middle class in the northern regions (Woodward 1985:240). My interlocutors told me that even though new legal rights improved their position in many respects, as a consequence of the fast process of industrialization their husbands, who were employed in factories, moved away to town, which influenced the changes in the distribution of labor. Much of the agricultural work fell on their shoulders – in addition to household and childcare duties they had to do the farm chores formerly done by their husbands. Women became the main agricultural labor force, but that "job" was masked by kinship, inseparable from the kin's joint work or kin obligation in general; it was considered simply a part of their lives (Todorova 1993:33).

Despite the ideology of equal employment possibilities and equally paid work, they rarely got jobs in local factories. Some of the women I have talked to started working after World War II in the textile industry, but quit because of the minimal social support for employed women in rural environments:

"I worked in the company '22 December' for four years and six months. We sewed in the sewing-factory. I also worked as a student. I quit the job a long time ago; I did not have anyone to take care of my children."

Radela sam u '22. decembar,' dole u preduzeće. Četiri godine i šest meseci. Šile smo u šivaru i ko učenica sam radila. Odavno

⁴ Only in two cases could a woman's social status be equivalent to that of a man: as a widow having taken over the role of a breadwinner, and as a sworn virgin (*tobelija* or *virđžina*) – a woman assuming the role of a man in the absence of male heirs (Gremaux 1996; Pettan 2003:293).

sam napustila poso, nemaše ko decu da mi čuva. (Mladenka Ristić, Vukmanovo village)

However, for long after World War II, employment outside home activities was considered inappropriate for women. All of my interlocutors remained housewives, without ambitions to develop professional careers. Just few of them were active in the labour co-operatives (*radničke zadruge*) established in villages, within the special sections – the Section of Women Co-operatives (*Sekcije žena zadrugarki*).

In general, the socialist identity politics did not seriously reconsider the relations of power; moreover, socialism in Yugoslavia preserved the long-standing gendered cultural roles. Results presented in Vera St. Erlich's book: *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages* (1971), illustrate how rural women remained in very difficult positions within families, and did not express any requirements for changing that inferior position (Erlich 1971:227). As discussed above, although socialist identity politics brought about the formal equality of gender, the patriarchal social order in rural areas remained strong.

3. STAGE PERFORMANCES AS A PERFORMATIVE ACT OF NEGOTIATING

As a part of the socialist identity politics, the image of the 'new woman' as the main driving force in the modernization of Yugoslav society was propagated in all official representations. Authorities called for effective action to boost women's active participation in village cultural life, claiming a low number of female participants in any kind of state-supported social activity.⁵ As the main goal, the policy makers emphasized the establishment of cultural and entertainment forms suitable to women, since their cultural activity was still strongly connected with the "old," "primitive" types of entertainment such as religious customs, weddings, and internal informal gatherings (*prela, slave*) (ibid.). In their opinion, the active participation of women in all aspects of social life would represent an important feature of their emancipation and the recognition of a newly established "freedom" (the so-called *oslobodenje žena*):

"A girl's participation in a theatre or folklore group represents her entrance into social life, liberation from conservative family restraints, and significant broadening of her personal horizons."
(AJ-142, Materials of the Committee for Ideological-Educational Work, 1956, 47-164)

However, the statements taken from the local workers in culture in Niško Polje prove that it was very difficult to find women willing to perform on stage during the first years of the Village Gatherings. Dragan Todorović, an amateur collector of folk music, who was the main organizer of the program in his village of Vukmanovo, reveals that he had to visit each house in the village and ask husbands if they would allow their wives to sing.

⁵ The official records of women's contribution to cultural and educational activities in Serbian villages from the beginning of the 1960s confirmed the low level of female participation at local cultural-artistic events and cultural life in general (it is specified that only 20% of young rural women in Serbia are members of Culture-Artistic Societies) (AJ-142, The status of women in villages, materials from 1959-1962, F-616).

He stresses that many of them were not open for cooperation and he explains it by the strong patriarchal model as the main reason:

"Why go there and waste her time? I did not bring her to my house so that she would doll up for everyone else. She has to be beautiful only for me."

A, ti li se dodesuješ tamo za nekoga? Ja sam te dovel ovde za men, ne za drugoga. Ako treba da budeš za men će budeš ubava a ne za drugog. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

The female participants at the Village Gatherings usually had a male guide, who was accountable to their husbands for their safety and proper behavior. Generally, husbands agreed to let their wives perform when accompanied by male supervisors, but in some cases they insisted on their own presence. For that reason, it was easier for the organizers to persuade their family members – sisters, cousins or wives to perform.

Considering that women who performed on stage became active in a domain predominantly reserved for men, their behavior was perceived as "inappropriate" by community members. The female singers' stories confirm that villagers viewed their performances as immoral and shameful:

"They tell us: where are you going, they will make fun of you. Oh, we suffered, me and her. They were gossiping and saying all kinds of things. Our neighbors did not understand that."

Kažu nam: "Kude će idete, će vam se smeju." Lele, mi smo muke patile, ja i ženava. Lele, te toj, te ovoj. Naši si u komšilak ovi ovde. Pa naplitamo se, što idete, pa ovoj, pa kakvoj. Oni ne razumeju. (Ilinka Despotović and Sevljija Stanković, Trupale village)

As women in rural societies shared a collective social identity with their family and kin (Abu-Lughod 1986:156), their activities were supervised particularly closely by family members, whose reactions toward the female singers' performances varied. In some families they were accepted well, but many women had problems, not only with their husbands but also with their sons and sons-in-law:

"He [my son] did not allow me to sing, he was ashamed, he said: What will you do there, you just open your mouths like fools. He threatened me: "Just show up on stage, you'll see what will happen!"

Moj sin mi ne dozvoli da idem, pa sramota ga, vika šta ćeš tamo, zevate vika, ko budale. Pretil mi, nemoj slučajno da si otišla će vidiš šta će bude. (Sevljija Stanković, Trupale village)

With respect to that, it was particularly important not to disgrace a family by performing in public ("They were afraid I would shame myself" – *Oni su mislili ću se obrukam ja tam*, Sevljija Stanković, Trupale village). The consequence of such a public expression of individuality was its recognition as a subversive act of breaking moral norms: "...social inappropriate behavior, with community disapproval and something which could be judged as dishonorable" (Sugarman 1997:188).

On the other hand, the public performances provided an opportunity for women to move their activity from the periphery to the center of social happenings. Through performing on stage, female singers got an opportunity to challenge their position on the margins of social relations and to become visible as individuals for the first time. Taking into account the above-mentioned specific kind of restriction concerning the women's activity in the public sphere that was typical of a patriarchal rural society, the female singers' engagement as important protagonists in the organized culture life provided an opportunity for them to challenge their current social position. First, they started performing alongside their husbands and other male relatives, which destabilized the boundaries between gender segregated performances in the field of vocal practice:⁶

"This practice emerged at the beginning of the 1980s. I do not know if that was some kind of fashion, or what. Something like – we are married so why not start singing together."

To se pojavilo tu početkom 80-tih godina, ne znam zbog čega da li je to neko pomodarstvo, bilo. Ajde sada ja i moja žena Radmila pa ćemo zajedno pa pevamo i muški i ženski glas.
(Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

This practice of appropriating the "other's" genres influenced negotiation at the level of repertoire.⁷ The female singers got more freedom in performing different genres without shame or hesitation. They started to perform not only men's songs and genres associated with the male, but also "newer," "widespread" or "urban" musical genres, songs which they heard from other amateur groups or on the radio. They transgressed social taboos connected to certain song genres, performing them regardless of the ritual prohibitions that had existed when these songs were performed within everyday practice.⁸ Hence, bearing in mind the restrictions on the women's mobility, which was typical of the rural society, travels with the amateur groups marked one big step in attaining their social freedom.

Employing Judith Butler's theoretical concept of performativity,⁹ I create a theoretical basis for my assumption that the stage performances of female singers can be analyzed as a performative act of negotiation of the existent gender roles in Niško Polje. Butler claims that discursive practices not only represent gender relations, but constitute it, having two functions – representative and productive. Within the frame of public manifestations as representatives of the official discourse, the performances of female singers became one

⁶ The general claim of scholars is that gender segregation in traditional musical practices in Serbia has been there for many generations. They assert that old practices in music performing required that women and men always sing separately (Vlahović 1980:16; Dević 1990:70; Golemović 1997:117).

⁷ Women's appropriation of the repertoire which previously belonged to men and vice versa is noticeable in various societies such as Corsica or Greece in the second half of the twentieth century (Bithell 2003, Holst-Warhaft 2003).

⁸ For example, customs such as *Lazarice* or *Durđevdan*, which were forbidden to some categories of women (e.g. the performing of the *Durđevdan* custom excluding married women or old women), were challenged.

⁹ The notion of the term *performative* was primarily related to theatrical performance. John L. Austin conceptualized this term quite differently and defined it as the nature and potential of a language, where "to say something is to do something" (Bial 2004:145). Judith Butler combined these two meanings and established the theory of performativity, by which gender is not a condition which one *has*, but is contained in a social role which one *performs* (1999:XV).

of the important elements in the construction of socialist female subjectivity in the rural cultural environment. The identity politics influenced the shift in the **representational discourse** of gender, at the same time producing new discourses on 'femininity.' With regard to the concept of social temporality, where every identity is played (Butler 1999:33), the one played cultural role of women (woman as a subordinate social subject in the patriarchal society) is substituted with another (socialist woman who is equal to man, the new driving force of the socialist society). Through the stage performances, by appropriating activities normally reserved for men, the female singers gained power in an officially recognized way. From that viewpoint, the changes in gender relations in Niško Polje were performatively produced by regulatory practices.

Did the female singers import that "new role" into their personal lives? Did the reality which they staged become legitimate in their communities? Had the imaginary line drawn between performance and everyday life been transgressed?

4. NEW CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY, SUBJECTIVITY AND SELF-REPRESENTATION

Their involvement in amateur musical activities was an extremely important factor in the personal identification of women I have conversed with. Performing at the Village Gatherings provided possibilities for reinterpretation, reconsideration and resignification of the position of the female singers as subjects. Since they destabilized the strong boundaries between male/female spheres of activities, their status inside the family and society changed.

The female singers' narratives about public performing showed an implicit dichotomy in their attitudes. In the beginning, they were ashamed to talk about the music activities, but as the conversation became livelier, they gradually abandoned the position of being on the margin and became the main subjects of the narrative. Mirka Jovanović's story precisely describes that ambiguous attitude concerning stage performing: when local organizers from the House of Culture in her village of Malča insisted on her participation in the Village Gatherings, she was worried of the reaction of her husband and relatives. Since she had a large family and lots of household duties, she thought that it would not be appropriate to accept that activity. She refused the organizer's proposition, but since they were uncompromising, she finally agreed to participate. At the end of the story, she told me that in time she realized that singing at the Village Gatherings was actually a very pleasant experience. Now she remembers the great times spent during the travels, and often talks about that to her grandchildren.

That double-voiced talk in the narratives of women showed how they started to change their attitudes not only about performing, but also about their own individuality. Public performances influenced a new self-awareness and self-recognition of the female singers, which caused a shift in their understanding of their social environment. Gradually, women who were ashamed to sing, as organizers confirmed, started joining amateur groups on their own initiative:

"I went to the village fountain and the women asked me:
"Dragan, can I sing, I see that it is very pleasant to this girl."
And I said: "Yes, but would your husband allow it?" And she
answered: "I will ask him to let me, but if he doesn't, you come

and ask him." There were women whose husbands agreed when they talked to them and everything was ok."

I ja otidem tamo na češmu i one žene: "Dragane, ako li i ja da idem da pojem, vidim mnogo ubavo onoj." Ja kažem: "Pa ako, će li te pušti muž." "Ali ću ga pitam pa ako me pušti, pušti, ako me ne pušti, ja ću da ti reknem, pa ti dođi pa ga zamoli." I ima recimo slučajeva, gde žena porazgovara s mužem i onda ok. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

From the women's stories, it is also evident that they were personally very proud of their stage performances and travels. They were undoubtedly delighted by the geographical and social mobility they attained, and the important parts of their stories were travels and contacts with people from various places:

"I do not want to brag with you here, but I can sing every song. When I went to Zagreb and started to recite some songs, both love and tragic ones, one man gave me 50 dinars to write it to him and send him."

Da si ti kod mene ovde, na primer, da se ne hvalim, svaku bih ja opevala pesmu. Kad sam ja išla isto za Zagreb, pa svi, svi kad počeše. Kad ja poče da pričam neke pesme, i ljubavne i žalosne, jedan mi je dal pedeset dinara da mu samo napišem i da pošaljem. (Jagodinka Mitrović, Rujnik village)

"I have pictures from the Village Gatherings, when I went to *Bubanj* and three days in *Aleksandrovac*. There was a banquet, the wine...you just pour it and drink. I have pictures, I will show you later. I have traveled, I have seen things, so, if I die now, I will not be sorry."

Imam i slike sa Susreti sela, pa kako sam i u Bubanj bila, pa tri dana u Aleksandrovac, bijemo li, bijemo. Ono gozba, ono vince točiš, piješ. Imam slike, imam slike, posle će da vidimo. Putovala sam..sad da umrem neće mi bude žao. (Grozdana Đokić, Leskovik village)

Women talked about the most memorable performances, describing the reaction of the audiences and juries. As the Village Gatherings were structured as a form of competition, some aspects of rivalry were visible in the female singers' stories:

"There were lots of people, me and Miltana and Nastasija, Majonka and Radmila and some woman also, six of us. But she, she was unique, no one could match her. She sang articulately, every word clear, but Marijonka didn't. But as she sang every word was understandable."

Ono narod puno i ja i Miltana i Nastasija, Majonka i Radmila i još jedna neka, šest bejomo, ma presenitelj kaže, Žiko i tvoja majka peva. Ali ova, ovoj ne može da zameni niki. Njoj se sve

razume šta izrica, a Marijonki se ne razume. A ovoj se sve, kako reč izreče, sve se razume. (Ilinka Despotović, Trupale village)

That competitive nature of the event was very important in the creation of the so-called "discourse of competency:"

"We in *Gornja Studena* sang best and our songs were the best."

Mi u Gornjoj Studeni smo najbolje pevale i najbolje su nam pesme
(Rada Zlatanović, Petrija Vučković, Gornja Studena village).

Namely, stage performances gave a specific position of musical authority to the women who publicly performed: "Performing at events, particularly the big ones, the members of the group became important persons, and the first known experts, artists and tourists from their areas" (Ceribašić 2003:20).

CONCLUSION

Through performances, the female singers challenged the patterns of "propriety" and "impropriety" in the patriarchal environment of Niško Polje. This performative act enabled subversive resignification of the existing gender hierarchies and proliferation of their visibility as social subjects. On the other hand, the stage performances of the female singers, as a way of expressing their individualities, appeared to be very important to them, but hardly acceptable to the patriarchal community. As already mentioned, the transformation of the rural society occurred slowly and many traditional attitudes remained. That kind of dualism, the misbalance between an identity politics imposed by the authorities (gender equality brought by socialism) and the actual practices, was represented through the structure of performance and repertoire. Although women were displayed in the public sphere in the new role, their appearance did not essentially transgress existing norms. There were no drastic changes in the field of musical activities: for women, the predominantly male domain, such as playing instruments, still remained a non-legitimate sphere of activity. This was reinforced by the fact that the leaders of amateur groups as well as the main organizers of the Village Gatherings were men. Women were still dismissed and marginalized as "just" performers, rather than authors or organizers. In such a way, the representation of women still retained the same framework without fundamental changes in the gender hierarchies. In that way, the stage performances of female singers crossed the boundaries but did not dissolve them, whereby the relations of power were not transgressed, but only challenged.

Given the above discussion, I can conclude that even though the performances of female singers within village amateur groups proved to be ineffective in fully establishing new gender relations and overcoming exclusions, they provided possibilities for future (or further) reconsideration of the position of new generations of women in rural environments in Southeastern Serbia.

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507 – Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

**OBLIKOVANJE SOCIJALISTIČKE "ŽENSKOSTI":
ULOGA JAVNIH MANIFESTACIJA U KONSTRUKCIJI I
REPREZENTACIJI RODA U JUGOISTOČNOJ SRBIJI****Ana Hofman**

Rad istražuje politike identiteta u socijalizmu i reprezentacije "ženskosti" u oficijalnom diskursu, analizirajući nastupe žena u na javnoj manifestaciji Susreti sela u ruralnim oblastima jugoistočne Srbije. Istraživanje je pokazalo da su javni nastupi optimalna mesta za reprezentaciju, društvenu legitimizaciju i pregovaranje (negotiate) rodnih uloga. Primenjujući poststrukturalističke koncepte identiteta kao fluidne kategorije otvorene za konstantna preznačavanja, autorka istražuje transformacije u konstrukciji subjektiviteta i samoreprezentacije žena-pevačica, osvetljavajući nove načine razmatranja i reinterpretacije njihovih rodnih i društvenih uloga u socijalizmu.

Ključne reči: *politike identiteta, javni nastupi, javne manifestacije*