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Original article

© *Bojana Bogdanović***THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE OF THE WOMEN'S PRESS IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA — THE REPRESENTATION OF MASCULINITY IN THE WOMEN'S MAGAZINE „BAZAR“ ***

The paper examines the way in which a male figure is portrayed in one of the oldest (at the same time, the most widely circulated) Yugoslav women's magazines, „Bazar“. In a methodological sense, the work is based on the data obtained from the analysis of textual and visual messages in the editions published in the tenth anniversary year (1973). The aim of the paper is to provide insight into 25 issues of an exemplary socialist magazine in order to 1) look at the media portrayal of men in the socialist women's press, 2) discuss some aspects of the construction of masculinity in the socialist media discourse, and 3) review the way gender relations in Yugoslav society were portrayed in the narratives of the women's magazine „Bazar“.

Keywords: *masculinity, Yugoslavia, socialism, media discourse, women's magazine „Bazar“*

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Introduction

It is clear that media texts actively participate in the construction and reproduction of „femininity“ and „masculinity“ in one historical moment, but also in what kind of gender relations are desirable in a certain socio-historical context.

(Vujović 2016, 276)

The gender perspective of the so-called *women's press*¹ in socialist Yugoslavia has been discussed within many disciplines so far (women's studies/ cultural studies/ communication studies / anthropology / sociology, etc.). The contents of women's magazines have been viewed from different theoretical and methodological angles — classifications of Yugoslav women's magazines have been offered, the characteristics of the reading audience have been considered, the media characteristics of femininity have been discussed, the importance of the women's press in the context of consumer society has been pointed out, it has been viewed as a product of popular culture, the categories of style / language / graphic equipment of women's press etc. have been analysed (Bogdanović 2023). The largest number of scientific papers published on this topic pointed to the ways and circumstances under which, within the framework of Yugoslav society, the process of *fabricating the archetype of the socialist woman* took place, which consequently modeled the „female reality“ and contributed to the formation of social consciousness, creating collective representations (see Petrović 1985: 55). In other words, for the majority of authors, dealing with the gender perspective of the „press of the heart“ / “sentimental press“ — as Neda Todorović and Edit Petrović called the magazines addressing an assumed female audience (see Todorović 2012; Petrović 1985: 53) — implied (research) accentuating the feminine side of gender polarity. Therefore, today, there are works dealing with fabricated *female role models*² (see Todorović 1987; Stojaković 2013; Jarić 2013; Vujović & Prokopović 2018; Bogdanović 2022, 2023), criticism of the way in which women / femininity / sexuality were constructed and presented in the media discourse of socialist Yugoslavia (see Papić 1981), and texts in which the ways of media portrayal of women in socialist women's magazines are compared with representational practices, gender stereotyping and discrimination in contemporary print media (see Todorović 2012; Vujović 2016). Summarizing the opinions of the aforementioned authors, it can be concluded that in the media discourse of the Yugoslav magazines for women, the socialist idea of gender equality was never fully implemented, but only partially, and that it (media discourse) was undoubtedly very stereotyped, shaped and rooted in traditional patriarchal patterns. In other words, *female characters* in the Yugoslav media space were constructed on the basis of cultural, social and gender remnants of traditionalism that socialism — as a doctrine of equality — could not (or did not want to) eradicate in practice (Bogdanović 2022: 90).

¹ Due to the limited scope of the paper, the emphasis in the text is on the so-called *women's press*, which is treated in different ways in the scientific discourse: as 1) „a kind of speech of the culture of a society“ (Vujović 2016: 5); 2) as „a specific system of signs within which certain messages are produced and articulated“ (McRobbie 2000: 68); 3) „as cultural texts, as works of increasingly concentrated media empires and as a means of selling very specific group of consumers through advertising“ (Gill 2000, 181) etc.

² *The role model woman* in the media discourse of the Yugoslav women's press ranged from a woman engaged in work and politics in the first post-war years, through a beautiful, likeable housewife who takes care of the house, cooks, dreams of love and raises children, to a „super-woman“, successful in all fields, at work and at home, as a wife, mother and a housewife (see Bogdanović 2023).

It seems, however, that in the corpus of published scientific works on the gender „reading“ of women’s press in socialist Yugoslavia, none focus on the process of *fabricating the archetype of the socialist man*¹. In the available works, *male characters* are found in a secondary analytical plan, mostly in the context of the narrative representation of gender relations in socialist culture. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how *male identity / masculinity / male role* is fabricated in women’s magazines. The initial (sufficiently broad) context for viewing the mentioned process within the media discourse of socialist Yugoslavia can provide some of the (newer) theoretical positions in masculinity research (Silverman 1992; Connell 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Glover & Caplan 2000; Kimmel 1994; Slapšak 2004–2005; Šmale 2011; Banović 2011). In this regard, in the theoretical part of the work, it is necessary to focus on a few key points. The first of them is that masculinities are constituted within the structure of gender relations, which have historical dynamics as a whole, i.e. they are socially and historically constructed (Banović 2011: 174). According to these assumptions, masculinities refer to social roles, behaviors and meanings prescribed for men in any given society and at any point in time (Banović 2011: 174). Given that there is no one (universal) form of masculinity, but it is rather a very fluid concept whose meaning varies depending on the social / individual / temporal / spatial / religious context, different forms / models / types of masculinity have been introduced into the analysis of gender relations over time. Some of them are *hegemony* that enable the understanding of masculinity through power relations characterized by male dominance; *traditional, heteronormative* in which the family and the phallus are the supreme signifiers both for the constitution of the subject and for the functioning of the entire community; *non-phallic* which is considered one of the most urgent feminist projects; *victimized* in which physical / moral / emotional „weakness“ appears as the main quality of the new male model; *vulnerable* that is a witness and victim of transitional changes; *alternative* that is symbolically assimilated into femininity, and many others. However, whether we are talking about „normative“ or „extreme“ models of masculinity, the facts are that: 1) masculinity is constantly in the process of transformation (Nedeljković 2010: 54); 2) the construction of masculinity is formed depending on the gender ideology of society under the influence of traditional views on the male gender role, sociocultural situation and economic-political reality (Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 289), and 3) masculinity can be used as an analytical tool only considering the quantity, intensity and frequency of use in a given community (Nedeljković 2010: 65).

In the introductory part of the paper, it is necessary to briefly comment on those cultural demands / expectations that the Yugoslav society placed before men in line with the defined gender roles. Namely, although in the period of socialism, at the level of doctrine, there was a discourse of gender equality (for example, in the sense of active participation of both sexes in politics, equal access to the labour market, egalitarian division of family responsibilities, etc.), the started (in theory) process of emancipation of women did not fundamentally threaten the principles of traditional normative masculinity:

„In Yugoslavia and all its parts, as well as in other socialist societies, the normative discourse of masculinity is defined through the figure of a worker and a sol-

¹ An exception is Marija Vujović’s doctoral dissertation, the subject of which is the visual representation of gender in advertising photos in products of women’s popular culture (women’s magazines). The case study is a women’s magazine with the longest tradition in Serbia („Bazar“), and socialism and transition are the observed periods (see Vujović 2016).

dier. Respect for masculinity that insists on work and discipline maintained heroic masculinity as the embodiment of physical and working prowess and military heroism, while women remained subordinate to male authority. Heroes of war and heroes of work were placed on the pedestal of the masculine ideal. Normative masculinity, understood in this way, represents a set of traits from which a desirable male identity is created, namely aggressiveness, physical strength, courage, dominance, ability to take risks, traditionalism, self-confidence, assertiveness, protective roughness, concealment of weakness, cruelty towards the enemy and accordingly, the absence of sentimentality, reduced tenderness and compassion.“ (Pavićević, Kron & Simeunović-Patić 2013, 81)

Therefore, warrior / heroic culture, strength, entrepreneurship, nationalism, patriotism, leader cult and heterosexuality were — along with aggressiveness, physical strength and patriarchy as three „traditional“ / basic / indispensable elements — features of the hegemonic / ideal type / most widely accepted model of masculinity in socialist Yugoslavia (see Rosić 2012; Nedeljković 2010: 54). In other words, the socialist man was expected to be self-reliant, courageous, hardy, independent and confident, as well as the „breadwinner“ and head of the family. It can therefore be assumed that it was rare (actually courageous) to break away from that (and such) gender norm, especially because this form of masculinity, due to propaganda, was continuously supported/maintained in almost all segments of public life. Moreover, it seems that the concept of masculinity had a non-discursive status, i.e. that masculinity did not have the significance of a concept but a (self) implied value, which, just like the values of ‘masculinity’ and ‘manhood’, was understood by itself, without any critical intervention of a discursive type (see Rosić 2012: 66).

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In light of the above, the aim of the paper is to use the example of the high-circulation Yugoslav women’s magazine „Bazar“ — which has been published since 1964 (until today) within the edition of the Serbian newspaper „Politika“ — 1) to reconstruct the way in which a man was portrayed in the media discourse of socialist Yugoslavia; 2) consider some aspects of the construction of masculinity in the socialist / Yugoslav illustrated press for women, and 3) discuss the way gender relations in the socialist Yugoslav society were depicted in the media discourse of an exemplary women’s magazine. Given that the defined time reference frame of the work provides the possibility of insight into a large number of „Bazar’s“ editions, and bearing in mind the limited square footage of the paper, the corpus of research included issues in one calendar year. The year 1973 was chosen according to the principle of a random sample, and the work, in a methodological sense, is based on the data obtained from the analysis of textual and visual messages in issues 208–233 of one of the oldest women’s magazines on the Yugoslav market.

Media portrayal of a man in the women’s magazine „Bazar“

Since the women’s magazine „Bazar“ was designed to address primarily female audience, and that in terms of content it „covers“ three basic areas - marriage, family and home (see Petrović 1985: 53) — it is expected that female characters are dominant in the discourse of the sample Yugoslav magazine for women. A cursory look at the front pages

and titles of magazine articles is enough to see that the focus of the magazine narrative is a *beautiful, young, modern and well-groomed Yugoslav woman*. As stated by Isidora Jarić, in accordance with the tendency of the new socialist state to consistently promote, at the level of ideology, the concept of a woman who can do anything, in contrast to the bourgeois concept of a woman whose social and personal life is limited by the social construction of her biology (Jarić 2013: 411), „the new“ Yugoslav woman is depicted as a „superwoman“ in one of the most popular women’s magazines on the Yugoslav market — a woman who is successful in all fields, at work, at home, as a wife, mother, housewife (see Jarić 2013; Vujović & Prokopović 2018; Bogdanović 2022, 2023). She also finds her place in the new consumer society, consumes products of mass culture, sexually educates herself, takes care of herself, follows fashion trends, travels, etc.¹ However, it would be hasty to think that men / male characters are not integrated into the media discourse of the exemplary socialist magazine for women. On the contrary, although in a much smaller percentage, men also grace the covers of the women’s magazine „Bazar“ (such as actor Milan Gutović, poet Ljubivoje Ršumović, singer Zdravko Čolić, etc.); some magazine articles have men as main characters², they share their culinary experiences and recipes, participate in polls (like the one about male-female friendships), there are fashion sections dedicated to them, etc.

In the media discourse of the women’s magazine „Bazar“, men are most often portrayed within the family, i.e. in the *roles of father / husband / partner*, which are emphasized already on the covers of certain issues. For example, on the front page of issue 226 (September 22, 1973), actor Ljubiša Samardžić poses with his wife and son; the cover of issue 225 (September 8, 1973) features smiling, newly married basketball player Dragutin Miško Čermak and actress Ljiljana Malohodžić; the cover of number 218 was dedicated to the comedian Miodrag Petrović Čkalja and his family, etc. There are numerous articles that bring stories from „cosy and warmly decorated apartments“ where well-known Yugoslavs live happily with their wives and children. Thus, the article „Sreća zvana Vasil“ („Happiness, your name is Vasil“, number 222, year X, July 28, 1973, pp. 46–47, Duško Kaurović) talks about the „kind young dad“ Zafir Hadžimanov who welcomes the press team with his wife, Senka Veletanlić, at home „in which (with the birth of a son, ed. author) the household order has changed a lot“. On that occasion, the well-known musician states that he „feels fulfilled and proud“ because of his new role — the role of a father. The article „Obraz uz more“ („Face by the sea“, number 223, year X, August 2, 1973, p. 24, D. Timotijević) reports on how a famous Yugoslav couple — model Nikica Marinović and director Zdravko Šotra — spend a vacation on the Adriatic Sea with a two-year-old son Marko. Photos accompanying the text show the author of „Face to Face“ show „introducing his son to the secrets of riding.“ The arrival of a new born to the Samardžić family is reported in the article „Srećni događaji“ („Happy Events“, number 226, year X, September

¹ More about the media portrayal of women in the women’s magazine „Bazar“ see Jarić 2013; Vujović 2016; Vujović & Prokopović 2018; Bogdanović 2022, 2023.

² For example, in an extensive article entitled „Nisam Romeo“ („I am not Romeo“, number 221, year X, July 13, 1973, p. 13, Z. M.) the young and promising Belgrade actor Milan Gutović is introduced; the article „Kaskao sam za modom“ („I trotted for fashion“, number 225, year X, September 8, 1973, pp. 46–47, Duško Karuović) is about a TV announcer from Zagreb Oliver Mlakar — his life, business success, but also his fashion taste; „Kad se talenti udruže“ („When talents unite“, number 222, year X, July 28, 1973, p. 52, Gordana Tasić) tells the story of the collaboration between two young artists, American Jerry Robbins, pianist, and Yugoslav Ivan Jevtić, composer, etc.

22, 1973, p. 9, M. Savić). In the editorial of the text, it is stated that „the father (not the actor, ed. author) Ljubiša - Smoki won the Golden Arena this year in Pula“. The popular actor — presented as an „extremely self-sacrificing and gentle father who devotes a lot of time to his son“ — talks about his perception of home as a space for „relaxation, pleasant rest and gathering strength for new tasks“, and that his wife Mirjana is full of „love, attention, tenderness and understanding“. The dominance of caring and self-sacrificing fathers / spouses / partners in the media discourse of the women's magazine „Bazar“ is also evidenced by many other articles in which Yugoslavs (less known to the public) are portrayed through family / partnership roles. One of them is the article „Tata sa velikim T“ („Dad with a capital D“, number 233, year X, December 29, 1973, pp. 60–61, Gordana Tasić) in which the Belgrade surgeon and author of over 25 scientific papers, Dr. Ljubinko Dikić, is not mentioned through the prism of his (very successful) professional engagement, but from the position of a single father of two children. Therefore, the focus of the magazine narrative is on their unbreakable relationship based on trust, respect and love, the household without „real female hand“ and distribution of duties within it, cooking, raising teenagers, etc. The article „Obožavani, zabrinuti...“ („Adored, worried...“, number 219, year X, June 16, 1973, pp. 8–9, N. Simić) also shows that the role of father / husband / partner is expected / presumed / desirable. In this article, „desirable potential husbands“ — Dragan Džajić, Mate Parlov, Ilija Petković, Dragan Kapidžić and Marijan Beneš — talk about why they are still single. The journalist's remark at the end of the text to curious (one might even say worried) female readers answers the question of why famous actresses still have not got married — „wise guys don't want commitments until they finish their military service“. However, in the narratives of the women's magazine „Bazar“ not only positive examples of fathers / husbands / partners are shown, but also the negative ones. Yet, not everything is always great and ideal in the Yugoslav family / partnership relations and that is stated in the article entitled „Očevi i deca“ („Fathers and Children“, number 224, year X, August 25, 1973, pp. 4–5, Mila Savić). There, female readers are drawn to the fact that „every woman should be careful what kind of father she chooses for her future child.“ The columns of the mentioned article were used to criticize the father model „who is occupied with work, friends, reading newspapers, afternoon naps and television“, and those fathers who act „bossy“ towards their children. In this context, in addition to the opinions of experts, from the book „Greet someone“ by Vesna Ognjenović and Budimir Nešić, there are children's confessions showing the „truth about fathers“: „If only someone would persuade my dad not to drink and to be good to my mom.“ / „My father beat me so much that my stepmother cried“ / „If my father and I went to the cinema once“ and others. Anonymous Yugoslavs speak for an exemplary women's magazine about the establishment of father-son and father-daughter relationships in the Yugoslav family at the time, as well as about how certain men coped with the role of the „modern father“ — a father talking to his child, showing love to them, using every free moment to spend together, but in such a way that he maintains discipline and makes final decisions.

Furthermore, in the narratives of the exemplary socialist magazine, men are portrayed as successful businessmen. In fact, in the majority of articles in which the main roles are assigned to men, it is emphasized that they are successful in their fields, skilfully deal with business challenges, balance family and business obligations with great success, etc. The women's magazine „Bazar“ constantly writes about the business achievements of well-known and lesser-known Yugoslav (rarely foreign) actors, poets, musicians, athletes,

etc. Some of the articles that illustrate the above are, for example, „Veliki i mali“ („Big and small“, number 223, year X, August 2, 1973, pp. 10–11, Mila Savić) in which the audience is informed about the success of the author’s television show of a well-known children’s poet Ljubivoje Ršumović’s „Poem about life“ which „both children and adults like“, awarded at the television festival in Portorož, or „The man beyond Rome and Paris“ (number 213, year X, March 24, 1973, p. 66, M.B.) which tells the story of the „virtuoso scissors“ of the tailor Sima Jović, unknown to the public, who in a „small and unknown tailor’s shop on the corner of Stevn Sremac and George Washington Streets in Belgrade takes measures of famous actors, writers, university professors, singers and journalists“.

Finally, the socialist man is also portrayed as a man who is appropriately dressed for every occasion (at work, on trips, formal occasions, etc.). He always adheres to the following rules: 1) does not chase fashion too much, 2) wears the right thing at the right time, 3) skilfully complements colours, 4) finds suitable fashion details, and 5) takes care of what he chooses from his wardrobe („Elegant Man“, number 215, year X, April 21, 1973, pp. 18–19, Čedomir Čedomir). Creator Čedomir Čedomir reports on the news in the world of fashion — current colors, cuts, patterns, materials, collections — in the regular column „Chats about fashion“ for the male reading audience. From the textual and visual content of the magazine articles, one can easily conclude that the Yugoslav man of that time was „in step with the times“ — he wore checkered jackets with slanted pockets and rounded lapels, striped shirts, blue jersey pants or suits made of woollen fabric in a pepita pattern with an appropriate tie or bow tie. Journalist Duško Karuović talks about men’s fashion, personal fashion tastes, clothing styles, etc., with „men with style“ (musician Džimi Stanić, football coach Miljan Miljanić, ballet champion of the National Theater Dušan Trninić and others) in the column „Fashion Time Machine“.

Model(s) of masculinity in the women’s magazine „Bazar“

By insight into numbers 208–233 of the women’s magazine „Bazar“, it can be concluded with certainty that in the sample year 1973, the so-called *hegemonic model of masculinity* was dominant, which is defined on the basis of several key points / stereotypes:

„the image of a strong, healthy (efficient) body that implies activity; the power of reasoning, firm will and self-control, in other words, the rationality that dominates nature and instincts and, as a result, dominates culture; an active paternal role in the form of an authoritative father as the bearer of the Name of the Law, that is, the bearer of power. This image of desirable masculinity is based on a model established in the Age of Enlightenment.“ (Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 290)

In other words, in the narratives of the exemplary socialist magazine, we recognize the intention to present traditional, heteronormative masculinity as a „dominant fiction“. Such function allows the formation of „a stable core around which the reality of the nation and the historical period is constituted, since it transmits the illusion of the real to everything that comes in a close and immediate connection with it“ (see Silverman 1992: 42). In line with the primary elements of the mentioned model of masculinity (the family and the phallus as the supreme signifier) both for the constitution of the subject and for the functioning of the entire community (Rosić 2012: 51), images of a healthy and physically strong man in different variants are constantly reproduced, a man able to master his instincts, active in the role of father/husband/partner, the one who enjoys his own embodiment. In this sense,

the list of male characters is coherent by „faith in the heteronormative family, traditionally present in Christianity, and in the power of the Father's Name, which symbolically marks and protects such family“ (Rosić 2012: 51). For example, some of them are the famous basketball player Dragutin Miško Čermak, thanks to whom the young and promising Belgrade actress Vesna Malohodžić got, as the author of the text states, „her most important role in life“ — the role of a wife („Njena najlepša uloga“ / „Her most beautiful role“, number 225, year X, September 8, 1973, K.M.) or, on the other hand, the driver of heavy trucks („road cruisers“) Ljubomir Todorović, who is capable of sitting behind the wheel for hours, resists constant and numerous temptations, does not sleep and does not eat on time, keeps his family together, educates the children, buys an apartment („Kamiondžija, ali onaj pravi“ / „Truckdriver, but the right one“, number 211, year X, February 24, 1973, pp. 4–5, Mihailo Blečić).

Considering the fact that for „establishing or producing an image of hegemonic masculinity, the nature of the relationship towards the other sex is of particular importance“ (Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 290), it is necessary, in this sense, to comment on the way in which the relationship between men and women is depicted in the media discourse of the magazine for women „Bazar“. The examples of „a 'healthy', balanced relationship, as well as the application of the so-called sexual economy, all in support of the fact that a male's reasoning has supremacy over his bodily pleasure“ (Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 290), are cited from issue to issue. Thus, in the article „Bez ljubavi žene muškarac nije muškarac“ („Without the love of a woman, a man is not a man“, number 215, year X, April 21, 1973, pp. 10–11, V. M.) Marlon Brando, „the man about whom all women are talking today,“ reveals his understanding of life and love — „a philosophy that goes much beyond sexual relations and which has been declared 'romantic',“ from many sides, concluding that „without the love of a woman, a man is not a man“. The „beautiful, attractive and cheerful“ Belgrade actor Milan Gutović thinks similarly, who in the article „Nisam Romeo“ („I'm not Romeo“, number 221, year X, July 13, 1973, p. 11, Z. M.) emphasizes that when it comes to women he „believes only in love“, and that he „remembers each of his girlfriends by the best and the most beautiful“. It is important to emphasize that precisely in the context of the aforementioned relationship — man → woman — *negative male characters* are introduced into the narratives of the sample women's magazine. There are not many of them, but they appear in sufficient number to question the (social / economic / physical) supremacy of men, which is „embedded and legitimized in social relations and structures“ (Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 289). For example, negative male characters appear in the feuilleton „What a girl should know about young men“, published in 14 parts by Žika Jovanović. In it, the attention of young female readers is drawn to men who seek only physical pleasure (without interest in female emotions), immature „conquerors“ who consider people of the opposite sex only objects for sexual play, male egoism, which can make sexual experiences unpleasant, etc. And the column „In four eyes“ — in which psychologist Ana Jugović responds to readers' letters — brings, first-hand, stories about husbands who are emotionally uninterested in their wives, men who are rude, unfaithful and lonely, alcoholics who mistreat families, etc.

In parallel with the hegemonic model of masculinity, in the discourse of the exemplary socialist magazine, there exists (barely noticeable) the image of a man who does not seek to get along with the hegemonic, i.e. normative masculinity, and remains deprived of obtaining some kind of patriarchal dividend and is symbolically assimilated into femininity

(Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 290). In other words, he represents a man with weak gender features - a non-subject (Oraić Tolić according to Đurić Paunović & Stevanović 2019: 290). That (and such) man was used as a conscious opposition to the hegemonic model that remains the dominant concept of masculinity in the narratives of the women's magazine „Bazar“. For example, one of the few characters who belongs to an *alternative model of masculinity* is an anonymous man who, in the column „In four eyes“ under the pseudonym „Loner“, seeks the advice of psychologist Ana Jugović and the help of the magazine's editors in his search for a „soul mate“ because, due to illness, „he didn't have time to live through boyhood and youth, so he can't establish contact with girls and he doesn't know how to manage in today's time“ (number 221, year X, July 13, 1973, p. 50).

However, despite the fact that both the hegemonic and the alternative models of masculinity are presented in the discourse of the women's magazine „Bazar“, it is more than obvious that the preference is given to the hegemonic type. One of the examples of the magazine texts that very vividly illustrates the above is the article entitled „Sirote — one“ („Poor — them“, number 225, year X, September 8, 1973, Danilo Ružić). It talks about an extremely important parameter that defines gender relations — the distribution of household duties. Already in the introduction of the text, the journalist asks a question that shapes the further narrative in, if not a sarcastic, then a humorous connotation: „Are there only few husbands who hide under their wives' laps, are there just few hen-pecked husbands?“. In the first part of the article, a couple of men from the Yugoslav public scene are presented in a (for a socialist society) gender atypical way — well-known actors, musicians and socio-political workers appear in traditionally female roles. Namely, the magazine narration tells the story of the cartoonist Feri Pavlović who goes to the market and prepares the best barbecue in Vračar (such that „his wife can't stop eating“); of the actor Ljubiša Samardžić, who „wraps around his wife, who is pregnant again“ and whom „every grocer in Dušanovac market knows“; of the adviser of the Foreign Affairs Federal Secretariat, Tonči Kolendić, who is waiting for the press team in the kitchen, wiping the dishes, etc. The photos accompanying the first part of the text show the director of the Belgrade Fair, Jaša Rajter, tidying up the kitchen, musician Zafir Hadžimanov bathing his new-born son Vasil, and RTS presenter Svetislav Vuković showing the living room decorated „with his own hands“ in his home. In the second part of the text, on the other hand, there are parts of the conversation with the water polo player Zoran Janković, who believes that „the very attempt to help his wife with household chores could, on her part, be interpreted as an insult“, and the statement of physical worker Desimir Jevtić (whom the journalist team found on the street doing his regular job) is quoted as well: „What, can you imagine me doing women's work? Are you normal? Who do you think I am? Terrible times have come — men doing women's chores, and women doing men's work!“ In the context of the dominance of the hegemonic over the alternative model of masculinity, it is particularly interesting to comment on two more „Bazar“ columns — „Confession of a gynaecologist“ and „Men are suffering“. In the first of them, from issue to issue, topics from the field of reproductive health / practices / experiences are discussed. The sixth part of the said column, under the humorous title „How a 'hero' was scared“ (number 221, year X, July 13, 1973, p. 51, unsigned), tells the story of a husband who becomes hysterical at the moment of his wife's delivery and faints (while his incredibly disciplined wife stoically endures the pains of childbirth), which actually puts on the „pillar of shame“ those men who are afraid of blood, who are not capable of providing moral support to their wives in the delivery rooms, who do not have enough courage to take a new-born in their arms, etc. Another

column, signed by Jovo Prižikoža, consists of texts that humorously describe everyday life of a Yugoslav man. Thus, for example, in the episode called „Thieves in the House“ they make fun of the so-called „blind men“ — men who live with mothers- and sisters-in-law, who are not able to earn money for a new car and a good TV, who do not know how to fix the tap in the bathroom, who listen to what they are told, who go around „scrappy“, etc. (number 224, year X, August 25, 1973, p. 9).

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of the research sample, which included the editions of the women's magazine „Bazar“ from 1973 (issues 208–233), it is clear that the media texts published in the exemplary socialist newspaper actively participate in the construction and reproduction of both „femininity“ and „masculinity“, but also on what kind of gender relations are desirable in a certain socio-historical context (see *Vujović* 2016: 276). Namely, in the media discourse of the women's magazine „Bazar“, in addition to the main female character — a beautiful, young, modern and well-groomed woman who is successful in all fields (at work, at home, as a wife, mother, housewife) — there is also a *caring and self-sacrificing father / husband / partner, successful in his field, a modern man*. In the media narrative of one of the most popular Yugoslav women's magazines, male characters are assigned three main roles — *He* is portrayed as 1) a *pater familias*, 2) a successful businessman, and 3) a modern man who follows fashion trends and keeps „in step with the times“. Therefore, the roles assigned to men in the media discourse of the women's magazine „Bazar“ are stereotypical and in accordance with the social constructs of the time, i.e. collective ideas about gender: women are mostly portrayed in the media in the home environment, as subservient, passive, focused on the family / children and preoccupied with their appearance, while men are the ones being outside the home, active, having power, dominance and control (see *Vujović* 2016: 5). In other words, the man is, in a discursive sense, unambiguously positioned in his gender role of „small and apparent master“, derived from the *hegemonic model of masculinity*. In the narratives of the exemplary socialist magazine, other/different/alternative masculinities, „which exist in every community synchronously with the hegemonic, are stigmatized, invisible and within the liminal zone of non-subjects“ (*Đurić Paunović & Stevanović* 2019: 298). One can assume that the strengthening of the hegemonic model of masculinity in the media discourse of the women's magazine „Bazar“ stems from gender (not sexual) duality within the binary patriarchal matrix that Yugoslav society inherited from the period that preceded socialism, and that it aims to strengthen the hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender roles in patriarchal societies. The above is vividly illustrated by part of the magazine article „Da sam muško“ („If I were a man“, issue 232, year X, December 15, 1973, pp. 10–11, Danilo Ružić):

„And generally, a kind of unusual time has come. A woman strives to equalize with a man in everything, and by God, a man does the same in some respects with a woman. As a result of these efforts, in recent years it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish who is male and who is female on the street. A child, galloping behind the back of his modern parents, often does not know who his mother and who his father is. Everything else is the same — long hair, bright colors, shoes with high heels. [...] Today, men walk around with aprons on their bellies and tote bags in their hands. Everything got messed up.“

Flipping through the pages of „Bazar“, it becomes clear that despite the change in the social paradigm in the years after the Second World War (the introduction of the socialist principle of equality as the dominant matrix in social / gender / economic / family relations), the policy of the male gender representation actually kept the same, precisely codified, patriarchal form — the man is dominant / the woman is subordinate to the man (see *Vujović* 2016: 9). In this regard, it could be said that in the narratives of the exemplary Yugoslav magazine, the primary function of the male characters was actually to complement the female ones — without *Him*, even the woman herself could not be portrayed as fulfilled in the roles that the socialist society primarily assigned to her, i.e. *She* would be neither a wife / partner nor a mother. The above is vividly illustrated by magazine articles (rather numerous) in which female characters are portrayed exclusively through their relationship with a man („Morin, žena ribara iz Ostendea“ / „Mauren, a fisherman’s wife from Ostend“, number 231, year X, December 1, 1973, p. 9, unsigned; „Pikasova golubica“ / „Picasso’s Dove“, number 225, year X, 8 September 1973, pp. 52–53, Lj. T.; „Muž, ili kako ga obući“ / „The Husband, or How to Dress Him“, number 231, year X, 1 December 1973, pp. 18–19, Čedomir Čedomir, etc.). Shifts in favour of gender sensitivity — those pointing to the importance of maturing of the concept of gender and gender equality in the socialist Yugoslav society — are almost imperceptible in the media discourse of the women’s magazine „Bazar“. Even in cases of rare breakthroughs from traditional gender roles, male actors were immediately returned to patriarchal frameworks of behaviour. Bearing in mind the fact that the annual circulation of Serbian women’s magazines (including „Bazar“) ranged from 250,000 to 350,000 copies (*Todorović* 2012), it can be assumed that, supported by specific mechanisms of the so-called „prints on glossy paper“ (Dardigna according to *Todorović* 2012)¹, the implementation of stereotypical messages / traditional gender roles in accordance with the patriarchal matrix was carried out on extremely „fertile soil“. Consequently, we come to the conclusion that the (primarily female) reading audience, in the social conditions of the 1970s, could not / did not want to recognize / decode these (and such) media messages, and form critical attitude towards them. The media images of men at the time could be different if certain individuals knew how to perceive the way(s) in which the Yugoslav media culture conveyed dominant representations of gender, influencing opinions and behaviours, create a critical distance towards the works of media culture and thus gain power over their culture (see *Kellner* 2004: 104–105). Therefore, it would be useful (and interesting) to turn some of the future work in the field of masculinity studies towards the reading audience of women’s magazines.

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¹ These include: the content belonging to a light genre, the visual moment which is more important than the textual one, photography dominating the text, aestheticism, attractiveness for advertising, etc. (see *Todorović* 2012).

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