

PERFORMING MODERNIZATION: SOCIALIST CULTURE POLICY AND FOLKLORE MANIFESTATIONS IN SERBIA

ANA HOFMAN

(Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)

The author has chosen as subject of her paper a phenomenon that existed not only in Serbia, but also in other socialist countries of the South-East: the folklore performances, intended to emphasize the village modernization.

Key-words: socialism, folkculture, populism, festivals.

Manifestations and festivals are instruments of both social and cultural control and change, since they “transmit and transfer knowledge, technology, mediate between individuals, groups and cultures.”¹ The state sponsored public manifestations² represented an important part of the culture policy strategies and ideology of modernization and emancipation in socialist Yugoslavia. This paper focuses on the public manifestation called the *Village Gatherings* (*Susreti sela*), which represented a corner stone of the culture life in villages from the 1970s to the mid 1990s, examining their role in the everyday life of people in the rural areas in Southeastern Serbia. Analyzing the official discourses of this manifestation as well as the personal accounts of people involved into organization and participants, my aim is to show the ways state-supported culture activities and socialist ideology of modernization were employed in the everyday live strategies of villagers.

I opted for the oral history method, which main goal is not to get information of value itself, but to understand the complexity of different interpretations of a past experienced both individually and collectively.³ This approach highlights the life experiences of individuals, remaining the definitions, articulations, formulations, and representations of the people’s interpretations, rather than imposing categories derived from the theoretical frames.⁴ With that respect, I based this work in the qualitative methodology, which considers the researched reality in a subjective and multidimensional way, created by personal interpretations. As Katharine Verdery

¹ O. Ronström, “Concepts and Festivals: Public Performances of Folk Music in Sweden,” *The World of Music*, Vol. 43, No. 2–3, 2001, 49–64, 62.

² This term is a literal translation of the phrase *javne manifestacije* – the public stage events of various kinds.

³ P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past – Oral History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1978, 135.

⁴ M. E. Bruner, “Experience and Its Expressions,” *The Anthropology of Experience*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 1986, 3–30, 9.

points out, this method enables a multidimensional analysis and comprehension of the political practices and numerous contradictory social phenomena.⁵ I do not assume an objective position, but construct reality together with the social subjects who took an active part in the course of the research process. Adhering to that principle, I write this paper as a “reconstruction” of the data obtained in the field – as a “socially produced interpretation.”⁶ The main idea of this essay is to question a fixed and monolithic view and representation of socialism, illuminating the multifaced and polyvocal interpretation of the official ideology of modernization in everyday lives of my interlocutors.

In the first part of the essay I will describe the official narratives on socialist culture policy related to the creation of the concept of new folk culture. Second part will be reserved for analyzing the discourses of the Village Gatherings in the different institutional contexts of socialism and postsocialism (the rule of Slobodan Milošević and the period after the Fifth of October – i.e. the “Democratic changes”), and the personal accounts of people who were (and still are) actively involved in organizing the Village Gatherings, as well as those of its participants.

1.1. THE IDEOLOGY OF MODERNIZATION AND CREATION OF CONCEPT OF “NEW FOLK CULTURE”

In socialist Yugoslavia, the political agenda of progress and modernization was directed at eliminating national differences, building a concept of shared identity on economic development and equality, tolerance among nations, gender balance and equal legal and rights for all citizens.⁷ The official narratives claimed that existent differences would vanish under “the supremacy of the proletariat.”⁸ The official culture policy also aimed to achieve the balance among the ethnic and regional diversities by creation of the multicultural canon of culture, which was represented a joint product of the all working people (peasants, workers and intelligentsia). Party administrators emphasized that “national” had a different meaning compared to its past when it favored exclusively the rural environment. The socialist notion of the term *narodno* (which actually means ‘people’s’ or ‘popular’) included both the rural population and the so-called working intelligentsia and therefore the inhabitants of both villages and cities.⁹ In that way, the concept of

⁵ K. Verdery, *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and New Jersey, 1996, 11.

⁶ L. Stanley, *The auto-biographical I*. Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1992, 7.

⁷ D. Sekulić, G. Massey, R. Hodson, “Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 59, No.1, 1994, 83–97, 95.

⁸ J. M. Echols, “Does Socialism Mean Greater Equality? A Comparison of East and West along Several Major Dimensions,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1981, 1–31, 4.

⁹ J. Marjanović, *Narodnooslobodilački rat narodna revolucija u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945*, Kultura, Beograd, 1959, 108; D. Nedeljković, “Prva etapa prelaženja kolektivnog u individualno i

the folk culture changed, since the “new folk culture” (*narodna* or *pučka kultura*) now included all people (all working masses).

The concept of amateurism (*amaterizam*) was represented the important feature in creation of the “new folk culture” in the official discourse. Amateurism was presented as a “spontaneous culture activity” and a basic necessity of every individual subject in aspiration to be a part of the “wider social community.”¹⁰ In the official narratives, this concept of practicing culture emerged as a response to the old traditional culture life on the one, and elitist oriented activities of the high culture, on the other hand. The shared cultural activities and their voluntary character were particularly presented as a symbol of the new enthusiasm: “Amateurism connected volition and creativity with the new ideology and the true belief in a better future.”¹¹ The state created new institutions and agencies suitable to demands of the new culture policy such as the Culture Houses (*Domovi kulture*), Collective Houses (*Zadružni domovi*) Culture-Educational Associations (*Kulturno-prosvetne zajednice, KPZ*), and various amateur associations and groups.

The creation of new folk culture was the part of the broader ‘modernization project’ that was characteristic for socialist societies in general. It was particularly directed toward groups that were associated with “backwardness” such as peasants or women. According to official rhetoric, by providing of education, health care, infrastructure, services such as electricity or running water, the peasants will be emancipated sufficiently: “Peasants became the backdrop against which ‘progress’ was measured, while at the same time they were its source.”¹² Hence, the Marxist-Leninist notions of “progress” and “improvement” of the entire society included not only economic but also spiritual aspects. As Deema Kanef claims, the development program needed a display that the social transformations occurred, and folklore was one public field where the state commitment to progress was shown.¹³ The main intention was to offer some new, “contemporary” contents created in accordance with socialistic demands. Emphasis was on the most “artistic” presentation of the folk heritage and improvement of the traditional culture. The emancipatory approach was dominant in the official discourse, emphasizing the battle against “backwardness” associated with the old forms of culture activities. The new folk culture should be represented in a “cultured way” as confirmation of the society overall development. Party administrators generally

obrnuto u narodnom stvaralaštvu i kriterijum ovog prelaženja,” *Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor*, Vol. 2, 1962, 98–108, 100; D. Nedeljković, “Problemi razvitka sadržaja i oblika savremenog narodnog stvaralaštva.” In *Zbornik XII kongresa Jugoslovenskih folkloristov*, Ljubljana 1968, 45–50, 45. In comparison to the connotation that this term had in the nineteenth century, especially in relation to romantic nationalism, during the socialist period it was used to propagate the homogeneity of people and “undifferentiated” masses, D. Buchanan, *Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 2006, 35.

¹⁰ R. Supek, “Sociološki značaj amaterizma,” *Kultura*, Vol. 26, 1974, 8–16, 8, 9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Buchanan, op. cit. 9, 41.

¹³ D. Kanef, *Who Owns the Past? The Politics of Time in a 'Model' Bulgarian Village*, Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, 2004, 140.

criticized the old concept of folk culture, connecting it to the retrograde social forces which are not able to participate in the modernization and development of the country.¹⁴ On the other hand, they perceived the traditional culture as a mere amusement, not a real treat to the state's multicultural politics, but just a way of people's entertainment – customs, music and dances were regarded as a part of people's everyday lives, deeply rooted in their lifestyles and mentality:¹⁵

But church gatherings (*crkveni sabori*), *slava*, and various entertaining village dances from the ancient times are not only the outcome of some backward influence or a result of wider intention for their perseverance, but in a great part a desire for amusement and expression.¹⁶

For that reason, the policy makers did not consider useful forbiddance of the "old" patterns of village's entertainment life in though administrative regulations:

The folklore groups should not be administrative banned or transform in some kind of "rhythms groups" (*ritam sekcije*), even though stylized performances of folk dances can further develop many elements of our folk dances. New folk dance groups should not be established and favorites the in urban environments (for example by the festivals). Other contents of amateur work should be developed.¹⁷

One of the main protagonists in policymaking and bearers of the amateur cultural activities were the state-sponsored Cultural-Artistic Societies – KUDs, established or reconstituted all around Yugoslavia after WWII.¹⁸ They usually consisted of junior and senior dance groups, singing groups and folk music orchestras. KUDs performed at the various state, republic or local manifestations, but also traveled to the international festivals.¹⁹ The ideology of "brotherhood and unity" was advocated through KUDs' repertoires based on the folk heritage of all "nations" and "nationalities" of Yugoslavia apart from the local (national) repertoire.

¹⁴ In the same way, the ambiguous nature of the very peasants was asserted: they were seen as the owners of the precautions' sources like capitalists, but on the other hand, they work by themselves as proletariat, V. Puljiz, *Jugoslavensko selo: problemi i perspektive*, Centar za idejno-teorijski rad, Osijek, 1989, 6.

¹⁵ As Mirjana Laušević points out, the traditional rural music since its a local rather than a national (ethnic) identity had never been considered dangerous to the supracultural ideology and so was not placed under the strict control. M. Laušević, "The *Ilahiya* as a Symbol of Bosnian Muslim National Identity," *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1996, 117–135, 119.

¹⁶ Archive of Yugoslavia, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in the further text: AJ, AJ-142. The report from the plenum of the Socialist Federation of Working People of Yugoslavia 1959, F–616.

¹⁷ Op. cit. 16, The report from the plenum of the Socialist Federation of Working People of Yugoslavia 1959, F–616.

¹⁸ The professional state culture-artistic ensembles were established in the capitals of every of the six Yugoslav republics. The most prominent ensembles in Serbia were KUD "Branko Krsmanović," KUD "Žikica Jovanović Španac" and KUD "Kolo" from Belgrade. These top ranking ensembles, led by professional choreographers and experts in the field of folk heritage, were and still are considered to be the so-called "folk-ballet" ensembles (http://www.krsmanovic.co.yu/files/main_en.php).

¹⁹ KUD "Kolo," founded in 1948, in the first twenty years of work gave concerts in more than thirty countries: Switzerland, Austria, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Monaco, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Soviet Union, China, Burma, Canada, USA, Israel, Poland, Tunis, Japan, Australia, Indonesia, India, Egypt, Morocco, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Ireland, Hungary, Finland etc. (www.kolo.co.yu).

By practicing each other's folk songs and dances, the sense of unity and the first-hand experience of multiculturalism were provided. The higher authorities particularly insisted on the close cooperation between KUDs from cities and villages in all Yugoslav republics.²⁰ On that way, through the inclusion of a dance and music heritage from all Yugoslav republics, the diversity was displayed as a positive aspect of Yugoslav society.²¹ The purpose was to express Yugoslavia's multicultural policy and "unity" of existent nations and nationalities (*naroda i narodnosti*), alike to the Eastern Bloc countries where this process had strong connection with the national agenda.²² Regarding KUDs repertoires, apart from the representation of all Yugoslav national cultures, it was insisted on the "appropriate" representation of cultural heritage.²³ In that way, the KUDs created the highly standardized version of folk culture, presenting each nation or ethnic group through its most "representative" folk pieces. These "stylized performances," were presented as the main elements in the battle against "backwardness" associated with the old forms of folklore performing. Making of "highest quality of interpretation," by opinion of the policy makers affected on the further development of folk dances and music.²⁴

1.2. CHANGES IN THE OFFICIAL CULTURE POLICY

The dominant narratives regarding folk culture had been changing in accordance with the overall socio-economical transformations in Yugoslavia. In the first years after World War II, the centralized system of party committees supervised all aspects of social activities: civil organizations, economy, international relations, education and culture.²⁵ The Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (*Ideološka komisija Centralnog komiteta komunističke partije Jugoslavije*) and the Commission for Education of the Department for Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (*Komisija za školstvo Uprave za propagandu i agitaciju Centralnog komiteta SKJ*) called the *Agitprop* services were aimed at "channeling" all spontaneous behavior of the people, and directing it in the "right direction."²⁶

²⁰ M. Fulanović-Šošić, "O tendencijama koje se kod nas uz novije doba ispoljavaju u prikazivanju narodnog stvaralaštva," *Rad XXIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Zagreb, 1981, 267–268, 268.

²¹ Op. cit. 15.

²² See: J. Olson, *Performing Russia: Folk Revival and Russian Identity*, New York and London, Routledge, 2004; A. Stere, "The Social Dimension of the Folkloric Text in the Postwar Totalitarianism," *Symposia. Journal for Studies in Ethnology and Anthropology*, 2003, 83–93; T. Rice, *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1994; S. Radulescu, "Musique traditionnelles et ethnomusicologie sous pression politique: le cas de la Roumanie," *Pom pom pom: musique et caetera*, Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel, 1997, 203–226; op. cit. 13.

²³ B. Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1988 (Vol.3)*, Nolit, Beograd, 1988, 319.

²⁴ Op.cit. 16, Materials of Commission for Ideological-Educational Work, 47–165.

²⁵ Op.cit. 23, 72.

²⁶ Op.cit.16, Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Minutes from the Commission Meetings, 507, VIII–I.

With the beginning of the 1950s, the political relations with the West progressively warmed up, which effected further liberalization of certain segments of political, public and economical spheres of life in Yugoslavia.²⁷ In rural areas, the process of collectivization was abandoned in 1953 since its discrepancy with the dominant ideology of self-management (*samoupravljanje*). The post-war project of establishing the Collective Houses in villages around Yugoslavia began losing momentum by the early 1950s as a result of the changes in policy regarding collectivization. In the dominant narratives, the invasion of amateurism (also called *folkloromania*), particularly a “low” quality of repertoire and absence of contemporary topics was criticized:

Performing of folk dances today in culturally developed environments neither represent artistic event for audience nor for performers themselves. These kinds of widespread activities emphasize negative aspects of folkloromania as a phenomenon in our social life, which represent the rural influences and the retrograde past. Dominant orientation toward folk dances and songs ensembles suppresses other, more appropriate forms of amateurism, which makes poor and affects decline of culture-entertainment life in general.²⁸

From the 1960s, various councils for culture or culture funds were established, with an idea of more centralized institutionalization of culture activities. The Council of Culture-Educational Associations of Yugoslavia (*Kulturno-prosvetno veće Jugoslavije*), which was established as a joint Yugoslav institution in 1954, reactualized its activities. In Serbia, the most important was the network of the KPZ. In the official discourse, festivals and reviews were singled out as crucial elements in representing amateur cultural-artistic activities²⁹ and the “natural process of the development of folk heritage” in the future development of the nation.”³⁰ With the establishment of brass band’s festivals and corresponding manifestations, the re-actualization of discourses of amateurism began, along with a new phase of revival of local heritage.³¹ Amateur organizations were the main organizers of the culture manifestations together with individuals from local communities – writers, ethnologists, composers, journalists, along with local authorities and party administrators.

After the mid-1960s, the cooperation with the West even more intensified. The economy reforms in 1965 were marked by the extensive industrialization. The tourist industry that developed in Yugoslavia called for the establishment of several

²⁷ S. Naumović, “Identity Creator in Identity Crisis: Reflections on the Politics of Serbian Ethnology,” *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2006, 39–128, 56.

²⁸ Op.cit.16, The report from the plenum of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia 1956, F–616.

²⁹ Op.cit. 16, Materials of Commission for Ideological-Educational Work, 47–164.

³⁰ S. Zečević, “Uloga smotri i festivala u razvitku našeg narodnog stvaralaštva,” *Rad XIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Skopje 1968, 219–224, 219.

³¹ M. Lukić Krstanović, “Folklorno stvaralaštvo u birokratskom kodu – upravljanje muzičkim događajem,” *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti*, knj. LII, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Beograd, 2004, 53–65, 57.

regional folklore festivals.³² By the end of 1960s, more precise 1968, after the intervention of the Culture Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia (*Savet za kulturu Socijalističke Republike Srbije*) and Culture-Educational Council of the Parliament of Serbia (*Kulturno-prosvetno veće Skupštine Srbije*), relatively new phase in the culture policy regarding rural culture begun. The problems of culture in rural areas were presented as the acute question of the culture policy in general. That was the time of beginning of the more intensive urbanization of villages, foremost in the field of electrification and infrastructure. With the revived interest in village culture and increasing scholarly work in the field of folklore, different courses of action in the preservation of musical traditions were undertaken, not only at the state level, but also in local settings.³³ This shift in policy resulted with the foundation of the new state-supported culture manifestations dedicated to rural culture at the Republic level, and one of them was the Village Gatherings.

The period during the 1970s was marked by the significant political and economic transformations, which made social climate in Yugoslavia more complex. The Constitution adopted in 1974 introduced a concept of cooperative relations among the republics as independent entities within the Yugoslav federation.³⁴ The Constitution contained the Associated Labor Act, which regulated the position of the private farmers, and generally the position of the peasantry and its rights.³⁵ The Act guaranteed the private farmers “fundamentally same rights” as workers, asserting that the living conditions of the people working in the villages have to be improved. The trend of urbanization of rural areas continued, particularly the processes of mechanization and modernization of the agriculture work enlarged.³⁶ In the field of culture, the Tenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (Belgrade, 27–30 May 1974) brought about the most significant shift in the official culture policy. The struggle against the all features of nationalism and all kinds of kitsch in culture was proclaimed, as a response to the overall intellectual crises and tensions among the national cultures.³⁷ That radical shift in the course of the culture policy revealed the growing of the nationalistic forces in Yugoslavia and increasing conflicts among the national culture leaders. The struggle against rising nationalism was dominant narrative in the public discourse and particularly visible in the field of culture, which became the main arena for articulation of the problematical identity issues.

Presented narratives of the official culture policy illustrate the concepts and goals of the intellectual and political elites, while their applications in practice were

³² Within the organization of the First Belgrade Touristic-Fair in Belgrade in 1960 was organized the Balkan Festival of Folk Dances, Music and Songs, op.cit. 16, Materials of Commission for Ideological-Educational Work, 47–165.

³³ R. Petrović, S. Zečević, “Narodna muzika i igra na smotrama u Srbiji,” *Rad XXIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1981, 283–285, 283.

³⁴ Op. cit. 23, 415.

³⁵ R. First-Dilić, “Changing Economic Roles of Farm Women in Socialist Development of SFR Yugoslavia,” *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, 341–358, 355.

³⁶ Op. cit. 14, 19.

³⁷ R. Dokić, “The expert meeting on the financing of culture,” *Kultura*, Vol. 53, 1981, 91–132, 131.

quite often problematic. The discrepancies between the official narratives and a very practice seem to be particularly visible in the field of rural culture. Despite the ideological emphasis on progress and modernization, sluggish agrarian reforms, industrialization and low investment in agriculture showed that the rural areas were largely neglected by official policy in socialism.³⁸ Regarding the culture in villages, the situation was quite the same. Even though the official representatives propagated the development of the “culture backwardness,” in practice, there were no many concrete actions in the field of culture in villages. Generally low level of investment in rural culture in Yugoslavia,³⁹ the culture activities in villages in Serbia depended on the level of overall development, with visible inequalities among regions. Strong birocratic structure and centralized budget resulted with the fact that more than 90 percent of money went to the financing of the very institutions in municipalities, and just 10 percent actually reached villages. As a result, the culture life mainly depended on the local culture workers and local enthusiast, who usually work as volunteers. With that respect, the culture activities in villages was merely neglected by the state authorities. In the article about impossibility of culture development of villages, Ivanišević argues that the treatment toward a culture life in villages actually revealed the marginal position the rural culture in the overall policy in Yugoslavia occupied. He points out that village was always recognized as a retrograde force of the society and a symbol of backwardness, neglected by the authorities and official policy strategies.⁴⁰ Unlike the way the state manifestations at Republic or Federal level had highly formalized structure and were supervised by the party leaders and policymakers,⁴¹ the local village culture events in Serbia stayed far away from control of authorities. Manifestations such as the Village Gatherings, which was focused on the achievements in local rural culture, were rather considered marginal.⁴²

³⁸ G. W. Hoffman, “Yugoslavia: Changing of Rural Life and Rural Economy,” *American Slavic and East European Review*. Vol. 18, No. 4, 1959, 555–578, 562.

³⁹ In 1978, from the whole budget of the Republic of Serbia’s Culture Association (*Republička zajednica kulture*), only four percent was dedicated to rural areas, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ M. Ivanišević, “Nemogućnost kulturnog razvoja sela,” *Kultura*, No. 38, 1977, 165–173, 173.

⁴¹ The most important and the biggest ones, which were organized on federal holidays (such as the celebration of 25th of May – Marshal Tito’s birthday, 29th of November – The Day of the Republic).

⁴² Since the Village Gatherings was focused on rural life and achievements in the local rural culture, the public at large was not particularly interested in this event. As Rudi Supek in his article about amateur activities and public practices in Yugoslavia during the 1970s wrote, the manifestations focused on village culture were not promoted and propagated in public. Not only the authorities, but also the media considered them irrelevant and did not pay enough attention to this type of activities, *op. cit.* 16, 15. My interlocutors also emphasized that at the regional reviews, which took place in the city of Niš, the audience consisted mainly from the participants’ relatives and friends, while the urban population was not interested in this kind of events. This is in opposition with the neighboring Romania and Bulgaria where the village music and dance became a central part of the urban soundscape. Since the “village art” was taken as a symbol of the nation, it should be accepted by the sophisticated urbanities and the elites, Rice, *op. cit.* 22, 18; Radulescu, *op. cit.* 22, 208.

1.3. THE VILLAGE GATHERINGS

The Village Gatherings were established in 1973, by the Government of the Republic of Serbia (official name of the Manifestation was "The Contest of Serbian Villages," but in local variations as well as in colloquial language it was called the Village Gatherings). There were some corresponding manifestations in other republics of former Yugoslavia, but, on the whole, the manifestation mainly focused, and still does, exclusively on Serbia and its two provinces, Vojvodina and Kosovo. It was organized as a state (republic) project, but the very organization was based on the work of culture organizations and amateurs at a local level. The official organizer was the Serbian Culture-Educational Association (*Kulturno-prosvetna zajednica Srbije*) situated in Belgrade with its local branches in all regional centers. However, the real organizers, as well as the last link in that bureaucratic chain, were the KPZ and the Culture Centers in villages. The competitions were organized at four levels of the territorial governance: the local (*lokalni-seoski*), the municipal (*opštinski*), the regional (*regionalni*) and the republic (*republički*). Local competitions were organized within one region as a specific kind of gathering of two villages, where one village hosted its rival. Local winners were given the opportunity to compete at a regional level, and if successful, at the final manifestation organized at the republic level. All activities were assessed by a jury appointed by the Regional Board of the manifestation and comprising of five to seven qualified cultural and educational workers, medical doctors, agricultural experts, architects, ethnologists, music teachers and journalists (taken from the Regulation of the Village Gatherings).



The Performance of "Old" Folklore Group, Donja Vrežina village (1980s)⁴³

⁴³ I have to express my gratitude to Mr. Velibor Stanković from the village of Prosek, who borrowed me the photograph and allowed me to use it in the publication.

The principal objective of the manifestation, according to the Regulation, was estimating the conditions the villages were in and enhancing the developmental prospects of the villages, providing better living conditions and upgrading culture life, as well as production, health, communal and other services concerning the village populations:

“The main goal of the manifestation was the development of inter-village cooperation, culture life and agricultural production and other activities in the villages.”⁴⁴

The villages competed in five domains:

- The organization of agricultural production and the results accomplished in the field;
- The development of education;
- The building and settling of the village;
- Culture activities;
- The protection and development of the environment.

In the field of the so-called cultural activities, villages competed in the following disciplines:

- Usage and popularization of books;
- Usage of press, radio and television;
- Organization of amateur cultural activities and mass-participation of children, teenagers and adults in work in different courses (theater, music, dance, literature, visual arts, photography, etc.);
- Collecting, systematizing and preserving the cultural heritage;
- Knowledge on local history;
- Collection of oral folk heritage and data for the book series “The Chronicles of Villages” (Hronike sela);
- Variety of cultural events (literary and music events, theatre shows, exhibitions, movie shows, etc.);
- Sports activities.

These kinds of communal activities were highly encouraged by the local authorities. The activities within amateur groups and collectives were seen as crucial in reinforcement of sociability, sense of responsibility and organization and many other positive qualities to young people.⁴⁵ More extensive participation in the Village Gatherings was requested, which could include all villagers regardless of their age and occupation:

We had here all generations from pre-school children to people hundred years old. All them were united by the culture-artistic life through folklore, all were united. (Velibor Stanković, Prosek)

⁴⁴ T. Mladenović, *Donja i Gornja Studena, Biblioteka “Hronike sela” 213*, Kulturni centar, Niš, 2002, 168.

⁴⁵ Op. cit. 16. Materials of Commission for Ideological-Educational Work, 47–164.

The educational aspect of the manifestation in suppressing “retrograde” ideas and an “old” attitude towards life and culture, and the creation of “healthy” socialist subjects, appeared as very important. Improving of local artistic activities was represented as a part of the education and emancipation policy:

“Today’s village, a village of socialist relations, maintains only the socialist culture. That requires that the amateurism in a village should be, in true meaning, part of the overall amateur and culture life in our society.”⁴⁶

Bearing in mind the socialist concept of “village development” along with the ideology of modernization, the principal aim of the Village Gatherings was to enhance development and improvement in the field of culture in rural areas. The activities within amateur groups and societies were seen as essential in displaying villagers to be “modern” and “progressive,” and prove how “cultured” they are.⁴⁷

1.4. THE REPERTOIRE

The modernization project, as one of the primary objectives of the socialist regime, was embodied in the structure of the repertoire through importation of “high culture” elements into the program. The Village Gatherings represented the rural social milieu, as well as the urban, in an attempt to reconcile the “old” with the “contemporary” which was a feature of the socialist agenda in Yugoslavia in general. In addition to the performances of local folklore and vocal and instrumental groups, the required part of the program included school choir performances, a music school students’ performance, or a modern dance. The emphasize was on equal significance of rural and urban cultures and an attempt at their mixture, as a part of the socialist lifestyle in general and the ongoing process of integration of all social subjects in building up a classless socialist society.

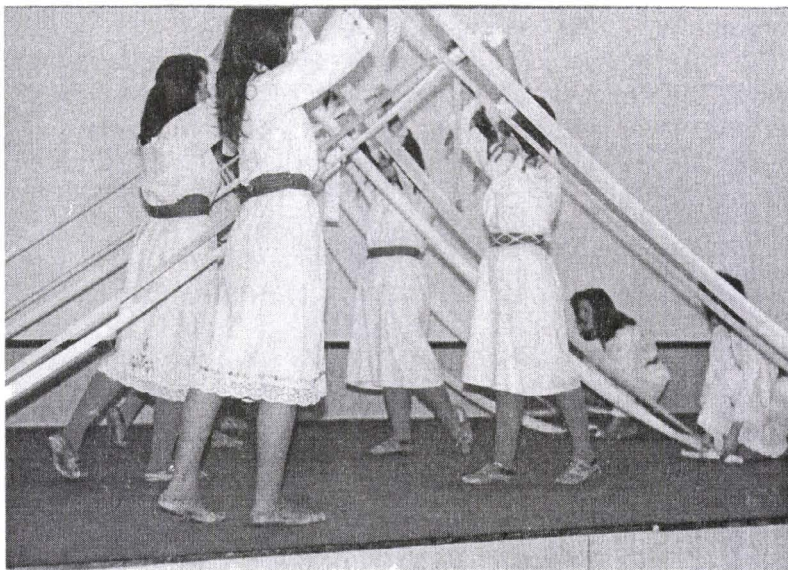
Local organizer’s stories confirm that the regional organizers and the leaders from Regional KPZ in Niš did not insist on socialist or political content of the programme (such as revolutionary songs etc.). It is important to underline that in contrast to other socialist countries such as Soviet Union, Bulgaria or Romania, where the rural people were forced to write new politically conscious songs or the village tunes were arranged for choral performances,⁴⁸ in the Village Gatherings the existing song repertoire was presented on stage, without introducing political elements or undergoing significant transformations. As one of the main reasons for this absence of the strong state control over the Manifestation’s programme, the organizers cited the lack of a firmly established framework for music making and

⁴⁶ V. Radojković, *Mali*, Časopis Kultuno-prosvetnog centra u Gornjem Matejevcu, Vol. 6, 1974, 7.

⁴⁷ Op. cit. 13, 13.

⁴⁸ Stere, op. cit. 22, 85; Olson, op.cit. 22, 41; Radulescu, op. cit. 22, 208. Rice and Kanefl also write about a highly folklorized versions of songs, predominantly choral arrangement of village tunes in Bulgaria, Rice op cit. 22, 176, op. cit. 13, 152.

the representation of traditional music.⁴⁹ Mr. Marković, former secretary of the main KPZ in Belgrade was of the opinion that the Village Gatherings were established with a specific purpose, as a free, unsupervised space, an outlet for subversive activities, allowing people to express their feelings and opinions: “People could talk about everything without repression and fear of imprisonment.”⁵⁰



The Modern Dance Performance, Trupale village (1990)⁵¹

On the other hand, although the strong censorship regarding the repertoire did not exist, a certain degree of guidance was existent: the programme which contained elements of the revolutionary past, as my interlocutors stated, usually got the highest assessment grades. Furthermore, it was not appropriate to adapt old customs with some religious content as, for example, the family's Patron saint's day custom (*Slava*). These kinds of performances were not explicitly forbidden, but got extremely low assessments. In this way, certain customs (and songs associated with them) were more appropriate for stage adaptation (e.g., the wedding ceremony, *Sedenjka*, *Lazarice*, etc). The amateur groups were encouraged to perform them, while some other songs were considered not enough “proper” to be included into repertoire.

The programme requirements concerning stage presentation of folk heritage included one dance performance (so-called *folklore*), reconstruction of one custom,

⁴⁹ I would also add the existence of other genres of popular music which were supported by the state, such as entertainment music (*zabavna muzika*) or rock music.

⁵⁰ A good illustration of that is the song “Heroes dance on the ground of Serbia” that was often performed at the Village Gatherings despite its overt national connotation.

⁵¹ The photograph is borrowed from the archive of the Culture center in village Trupale, thanks to Mr. Vukašin Mitić.

a performance of “genuine” songs and an instrumentalist playing on a traditional instrument. The repertoire was mainly based on the choice of the local cultural workers in villages, but the jury composed of eminent cultural workers had the final say. Village organizers were given formal propositions and programme requirements by the deputies of the regional KPZ: every year they held a meeting with the regional organizers who forwarded to them the instructions concerning the contents of the programme. According to the stories from the field, the regional organizers insisted on the local (village) heritage and a more “authentic” style of performing:

They asked for traditional customs or rituals. Yes all that, but to be adapted for stage. And furthermore, they asked for songs, music, groups, duets or solos. That was a rule for both sides, female and male. Regarding dances, they asked for old dances and original costumes. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

We had original costumes. For example, these yellow scarves. They were, as folk say, folded, not under the chin, but around the head. Well, we looked for that. Old traditional peasant footwear, we even made them of pig pelt. (Velibor Stanković, Prosek village)

The jury members asserted that new genres, as for example, newly-composed folk songs⁵² or genres of popular music could not be included in the repertoire. They stated there had been attempts to introduce these kinds of genres to the main repertoire, but the jury would not relent. They added that it was very interesting that after the official programme, at a dinner party, the participants indulged themselves by singing the newly composed hits. On the other hand, when I asked the village organizers about the newly-composed folk song performances, they confirmed that they sometimes included singers or instrumentalists who perform that kind of genre:⁵³

They asked for a ballet group, for example. They also asked for the newly-composed folk songs, and also for modern instruments such as the accordion, synthesizer and so on. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

Taking into account the competitive nature of the manifestation and the important role of the jury, the local culture worker's main aim was to create the most striking performance. Amateur groups practiced for a few months in advance having rehearsals at the village's House of Culture or in group members' houses. They tried to create a distinct programme for every year:

We anyway changed songs, because it was part of the competition, that you cannot sing same songs every year. (Jadoginka Mitrović, Rujnik village)

⁵² Newly-composed folk music – NCFM (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*) emerged in the mid-1960s in the former Yugoslavia. Its emergence is placed within a process of the migration of rural populations to cities, visible in its aesthetic duality which converged in pop culture and idealization of peasant ‘roots.’ Lj. Vidić Rasmussen, “From Source to Commodity: Newly-Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia,” *Popular Music*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1995, 241–256, 241.

⁵³ Contradictions in the statements of the jury-members and local organizers illustrate differences between the “official” discourse and the “unofficial” one: the jury-members obviously wanted to present to me (as an expert, an ethnomusicologist) the Village Gatherings as a manifestation which was dedicated to the preservation of “authentic” musical forms, where any kind of “kitsch” was unacceptable.

Conforming to the prescribed procedures, every local organizer of the Village Gatherings had to make decision about the performance which could bring them more chances of winning:

As this modern trend came, the programme was more and more arranged in accordance with contemporary requirements to gain the attention of the audience. (Vukašin Mitić, Trupale village).

Aiming to present an attractive programme and get better assessments at the Village Gatherings, many villages employed professional musicians (instrumentalists, singers), music teachers, choreographers or directors:

We did not have a gusla-player, so we brought one Montenegrin man who works here, he is a colleague of mine. Unfortunately, he passed away. He had a gusle and we brought him to contribute to our programme. But there were people who worked; sometimes we could not do it alone, if we wanted to produce something of good quality. I am not skilled enough for that, I can organize a programme, but I did not have enough quality and I am not qualified and knowledgeable enough to do that. But we engaged people from Niš to do that. Mića Verić was the director of that programme; maybe you have heard of him, he is now the director of the Puppet Theater. Thus, for example we brought choreographers from Abrašević, Stanka Paunovića and Din-a (all KUDs). (Vukašin Mitić, Trupale village)

The important changes in the local repertoire influenced by participation in this manifestation were visible in the practice of “borrowing” the repertoire from other villages and regions, which resulted in the mixing of local repertoires and styles of performance. The organizers confirmed that they included songs from neighboring villages which they had heard from individuals, groups or at village informal gatherings:

I have taken something from Suvi Do, from Prva Kutina. For example, I have one song from Matejevac (all villages around Niško Polje). (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo)

In this way, the creators of the repertoire at the Village Gatherings largely influenced the selection of songs that would be remembered and reinterpreted as “representative” within my field research decades later: according to the acquired information, this manifestation now epitomizes the “authentic” and “pure traditional style,” not only in the eyes of the performers themselves, but also in the eyes of the wider community. Through this Manifestation, the canonized repertoire itself was created, but also the musical memory was re-freshed, which enabled certain songs to stay vivid in the memories of the villagers.⁵⁴ The Village Gatherings institutionalized and canonized villages’ culture practices, creating the static and homogeneous representations of the local culture, but also keeping a good part of

⁵⁴ Since after the post-World War II some customs were forbidden by the authorities, and this period was also characterized by intense industrialization and rural-urban migration, old rituals and musical genres associated with agricultural cycle vanished.

the repertoire vivid in memory: "Such manifestations and festivals supported by cultural policy continued transition and enabled preservation of folk culture."⁵⁵

1.5. AFTER THE 1990S

The attitude towards the manifestation varied over the years, depending on both political and economic changes in Serbia. The Village Gatherings began losing momentum after the breaking up of Yugoslavia, but still continued to exist during the leadership of Slobodan Milošević.⁵⁶ Milošević's controversial politics of flirting both with socialist and nationalist ideas (propagating at the same time both Serbian nationalism and the Yugoslavian idea) resulted in a phenomenon that many of the socialist culture practices sustained, in addition to the new ones created in accordance with the new political demands.⁵⁷ That politics of continuity with the socialist past enabled the preservation of several socialist culture patterns. Paradoxically, in the rural environment, which was at the time proclaimed to be the main force supporting nationalist politics, culture life functioned the same way it had in the previous thirty years, and the Village Gatherings continued to be held in many areas without considerable changes.

However, with the beginning of the 1990s, the weakening of the administrative system of the Culture-Educational Associations and generally unstable political climate caused a loss of interest in the Village Gatherings in villages. Interlocutors emphasized that the multiparty system, which brought about strong polarization of political orientations, was the main obstacle in organizing the manifestation. One of the main organizers of the manifestation and the former General Secretary of the Serbian KPZ, Mr. Marković, emphasized that after the democratically orientated parties won at the local elections in 1996, and the dissension between the republic and local authorities, organizing the Gatherings became increasingly difficult. Many of the people who had actively participated in organizing this manifestation stated that the frequent alternation of the local authorities and the party conflicts were the principal reasons why it was very difficult to find people willing to cooperate on the same project in the second half of the 1990s.

After the end of Milošević's rule and with the new democratic changes which began on the Fifth of October 2000, the KPZ was recognized as inappropriate due to its association with socialism and connection with the Milošević's policy, and

⁵⁵ A. Czekanowska, "Continuity and Change in Eastern and Central European Traditional Music," *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1996, 92–98, 93.

⁵⁶ Marija Bišof, the current secretary of the Serbian Cultural-Educational Association, states that some of the leading administrators of that organization during the 1990s were closely connected to Milošević's Socialist Party of Serbia.

⁵⁷ S. Jansen, *Antinacionalizam: etnografija otpora u Zagrebu i Beogradu*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2005, 21.

stopped being supported by the state. The closing of the state institutions that made up the institutional framework caused the Village Gatherings to be deemed as irrelevant and frivolous:

The Village Gatherings lasted long, until 1996, or maybe 1995. And then the politics started and the war and it all changed, shut down and changed. (Vukašin Mitić, Trupale village)

In general, this event was criticized because of its “old fashioned” concept, which is not in accordance with the current social and political moment, and the new demands of the market economy and entertainment industry. As a result, once the most important culture institution in socialist Serbia – the Serbian KPZ in Belgrade with more than its 80 local branches lost its official status and financial support. As a specific kind of substitution for the KPZ, the Ministry of Culture established the institution called “The Agency for Culture Production.” As a result of controversial culture policy, both institutions exist formally today. Main KPZ is one step from closing, with two employees (including the director), and without any financial support, waiting for the official decision about its formal status.

As for the KPZ at regional level, almost all of them were shut down, transformed into Culture Centers or acceded to existent ones. Only six of them are still active in various areas of Serbia without changes in their programme orientation. The dissolution of the once strong system of institutional networking at various levels Republic, Regional and Local, was particularly visible at a local level. In many villages the KPZ and Houses of Culture are closed, their possessions stolen, clubs and other social organizations given up on. The ruining of that administrative network caused the discontinuity of the Village Gatherings, which stopped being organized in many villages.

Although the Village Gatherings was recognized as irrelevant by the so-called Democratic bloc parties, the attitudes of the local authorities varied regardless of their political orientation: in some municipalities, the Socialist Party of Serbia, which was the main supporter of the KPZ’s activities during the 1990s, declared against the Village Gatherings, while some local authorities which belong to Democratic parties bloc maintained both the Association and the manifestation. As a result of such a policy, the Village Gatherings still has continuity in certain regions of Serbia (predominantly in Eastern and Central Serbia: Zaječar, Jagodina, Kruševac, Kraljevo, Kučevo, Leskovac, Požarevac and Petrovac na Mlavi), but only as an independent project of the local culture institutions, without the government support.

1.6. EXPERIENCING SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

The personal discourses of my interlocutors about the Village Gatherings also contain certain controversies. Local organizers asserted villagers strong resistance to rapid industrialization and urbanization, as well as to the emergence of new patterns of daily life in the rural environment after WWII. They pointed out that

new ways of practicing and representing the culture by replacing the existent community rituals and celebrations was not taken with approval in the villages.⁵⁸ The villagers were not open to new tendencies and the socialist concept of “modernity” and the institutionalization of the village culture. Organizers emphasized that during the first few years of holding the Village Gatherings, it was very difficult to introduce this new activity to villagers:

You know, that was all a difficult struggle, I needed great patience. That could not be worked out so easily. (Stanković Velibor, Prosek village)

Dragan Todorović from Vukmanovo village explained to me how he had serious problems in pursuing people to participate in the Village Gatherings. He decided to apply for participation in the regional competition in the name of his village by himself. Yet, Vukmanovo was a very poor village and there were not enough ambitious people to support that idea:

No, they did not know what was good. I told them: People, we are expanding our society, but we are stuck here, we closed ourselves and do not talk with anyone, just field – house, field – house and that’s it. We are blind, what is there, here we are blind even though we have eyes. Let’s opening to neighboring villages, to see how they live, what kind of people they are, what they drink, eat, and wear, what they think. And to get to know that, let’s apply. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

He had obstacles in organizing vocal and dance groups in the first years of the manifestation, as villagers considered his work as faulty and irrelevant:

I went from house to house to ask the housemaster first: “Would you allow your wife to sing in the group, we want to perform at the Village Gatherings?” – “No chance, to go there to waste her time, go away, you do not have more important work but to go around the village gathering women.” My God, they told me something like that, like I was a loser. (Dragan Todorović, Vukmanovo village)

He started preparations without a proper place for meeting and training, and in the beginning they had rehearsals in a big room, performed in the old school or built stages out of benches and equipages. This kind of improvised stage was not convenient for dancing, as it was very unstable and precarious for dancers.

However, all of my interlocutors pointed out that after the first difficult years, this event became one of the most popular culture activities for the villagers and that this manifestation was extremely beneficial to the development of village.

⁵⁸ In the first years after WWII, the higher authorities sanctioned customs and celebrations which were seen as not appropriate to the Communist Party ideology. Deemed as especially “dangerous” were the collective customs connected with the religious holidays and the Orthodox Church. first and foremost a custom called *Krstonoše* (village custom dedicated to fertility of the fields, led by an Orthodox priest). Local authorities punished un-loyal villagers who practiced customs such as their family’s Patron Saint’s Day (*Slava*). Orthodox holidays, Mother’s Day (*Materice*) and Father’s Day (*Oci*) or celebration of the Old New Year (*Vasuljica*). On the other hand, the new holidays were established such as the First of May, the Day of the Republic or the New Year with an intention to replace existent holidays. However, villagers told me that in the first years following World War II, there were many punishments for practicing the old customs, but later the authorities became more lenient and many people practiced religious customs but mainly in the domestic sphere.

They emphasized that the Village Gatherings were an excellent opportunity for young people to be engaged in some extra activities, to learn the old songs, dances and customs, and to meet their peers from the neighboring villages. For older people, it was a good means of reviving memories from the past and having a great time together.

In talking about the Village Gatherings, my interlocutors particularly emphasized that the people involved in the organization were enthusiasts who worked without being paid. Even though the culture centers' halls had not been established yet in many villages of Southeastern Serbia, or were under the construction and without the windows and heating, they were always crammed with audience during the performance of the program. Villagers were delighted by the opportunity to welcome people from other villages and promote their village in the best possible way:

Everyone brought what he or she had. And people do not bring just anything. From food, drinks, roast meat. And also barrels of bear, those big schooners. (Velibor Stanković, selo Prosek)

All local organizers pointed out that the villagers were very dedicated to preparing for the competition at the Village Gatherings. The members of local amateur groups especially enjoyed travelling and participating in different culture manifestations in the former Yugoslavia such as the Festival of the Folklore Heritage of Serbia (*Sabor narodnog stvaralaštva Srbije*), the Review of the Folklore Groups (*Smotra narodnog stvaralaštva izvornih grupa*), the International Folklore Festival in Zagreb (*Međunarodna smotra folkloru u Zagrebu*) and the Balkan Festival of Folklore Heritage held in Ohrid (*Balkanski festival narodnog stvaralaštva u Ohridu*). People I conversed with were most certainly delighted by visiting various places around Yugoslavia, and the important elements of their stories were the travels and contacts with people from other areas:

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 travelled, I have seen things, so, if I died now, I would not be sorry. (Grozdana Đokić, Leskovik village)

In that way, people involved in this manifestation achieved certain level of geographical and social mobility, which was not common for rural areas: "By performing at manifestations, particularly at big ones, the members of the group became important persons, and the first known experts, artists and tourists from their environments."⁵⁹

While working on the organization of the Village Gatherings the community members shared common duties, interests and goals, which provided cohesion of the rural community. That was a significant feature in creating the image of the sociable past, where everyone tried to help and contribute to the development of

⁵⁹ N. Ceribašić, *Hrvatsko, seljačko, starinsko i domaće: Povijest i etnografija javne prakse narodne glazbe u Hrvatskoj*, Biblioteka Etnografija, Zagreb, 2003, 20. According to Stef Jansen the sense of mobility is generally present in the memories of former Yugoslavia. Longing for the "big country" and free travelling is the result of the post-Yugoslav restriction in mobility caused by war, difficult economic circumstances and visa policy. op. cit. 57, 224.

the community. To quote the people I conversed with, the main life qualities of those times were socializing (*druženje*), helpfulness (*pomaganje*) and unity (*zajedništvo*). The stories of my interlocutors illustrate how the Village Gatherings, as a new way of cultural activity in the rural environment of Niško Polje, became a popular and important part of the everyday lives of the villagers. As the older customs were not practiced anymore, the Gatherings, in their place, functioned as a new way of socializing and a specific “outlet” for villagers’ everyday life. The collected stories disaffirm the attitude that all socialist state-sponsored manifestations represented artificial and imposed forms of communal activities in rural society.⁶⁰ In the personal discourses of my interlocutors, the Village Gatherings were recognized as a significant part of their everyday life strategies and the culture activity with the longest tradition. At this point, I find Gerald W. Creed’s study on the erosion of ritual practice in post-socialist Bulgaria particularly useful in demonstrating the role of public manifestations as an important forum for sociability during socialist times. Creed points out that the village social networks in socialism were not ‘family-atomized’ as it was usually interpreted.⁶¹ The Village Gatherings confirm a similar practice whereby the social relations during socialism were strengthened not only by the informal family festivals and gatherings, but by the state supervised manifestations as well.

CONCLUSION

The presented discourses of the Village Gatherings disaffirm the attitude that all socialist state-sponsored manifestations represented an artificial and imposed form of culture activity. On the contrary, they illuminate a significant role of these events in the everyday life of villagers, as a crucial element in providing a sense of social unity and cohesion. As Predrag J. Marković claims, the processes of urbanization and modernization had a particularly important role in shaping the memory of the rural population in Serbia, since the development and prosperity are recognized primarily as a legacy of socialism.⁶²

As opposed to the villagers’ attitudes, in postsocialist context this event is not seen as an important part of the village cultural landscape, but recognized as negative recidives of the socialist past. The new established state institutions favorize the events which do not have the “socialist” background, trying to establish

⁶⁰ Many scholars writing about socialist culture assert that the stage performances were “artificial,” “falsified” and “unnatural” way of presentation of culture, since they were “artistic” and much differ from “real life.” Olson, op. cit. 22, 13; op. cit. 13, 141; O. J. Habeck, “Neighborhood, ethno-culture, and social recognition: community-related functions of the House of Culture in Siberia” (in manuscript), 11.

⁶¹ G. W. Creed, “Economic crisis and ritual decline in Eastern Europe.” In *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, 57–73, 64.

⁶² P. J. Marković, *Trajnost i promena: Drušvena istorija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2007, 31.

culture continuity with the pre-socialist period. For that reason, the collapse of the socialist state cultural institutions which were the main supporters of the village culture life in Southeastern Serbia resulted in the overall declining of villages followed by the fragmentation of the social and culture infrastructure. Post-socialist theorists claim that the rural population is one of the most endangered in the processes of transformation in former socialist countries. Seems to that once again, like in the years after the WWII, peasants are resisting the emerging social transformations, feeling offended and confused in the volatile and paradoxical social and political climate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- BUCHANAN, D., *Performing Democracy: Bulgarian Music and Musicians in Transition*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 2006.
- CERIBAŠIĆ, N., *Hrvatsko, seljačko, starinsko i domaće: Povijest i etnografija javne prakse narodne glazbe u Hrvatskoj*. Biblioteka Etnografija, Zagreb, 2003.
- CREED, G. W., "Economic crisis and ritual decline in Eastern Europe," *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, 57–73.
- CZEKANOWSKA, A., "Continuity and Change in Eastern and Central European Traditional Music," *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1996, 92–98.
- ĐOKIĆ, R., "Razgovor o kulturnoj politici," *Kultura*, No. 53, 1981, 91–132.
- ECHOLS J. M., "Does Socialism Mean Greater Equality? A Comparison of East and West along Several Major Dimensions," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1981, 1–31.
- FIRST-DILIĆ, R., "Changing Economic Roles of Farm Women in Socialist Development of SFR Yugoslavia," *Visibility and Power: Essays on Women in Society and Development*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1989, 341–358.
- FURLANOVIĆ-ŠOŠIĆ, M., "O tendencijama koje se kod nas uz novije doba ispoljavaju u prikazivanju narodnog stvaralaštva," *Rad XXIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Zagreb, 1981, 267–268.
- HABECK, O. J., "Neighborhood, ethno-culture, and social recognition: community-related functions of the House of Culture in Siberia" (in manuscript)
- HALPERN, J. M., "Yugoslav Peasant Society in Transition – Stability in Change," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, 1963, 156–182.
- HANN, C., HUMPHERY C., and VERDERY K., "Introduction: Postsocialism as a Topic of Anthropological Investigation," *Postsocialism: Ideals, ideologies and practices in Eurasia*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, 1–30.
- HOFFMAN, G. W., "Yugoslavia: Changing of Rural Life and Rural Economy," *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 1959, 555–578.
- IVANIŠEVIĆ, M., "Nemogućnost kulturnog razvoja sela," *Kultura*, No. 38, 1977, 165–173.
- JANSEN, S., *Antinacionalizam*, Biblioteka XX vek, Beograd, 2005.
- KANEFF, D., *Who Owns the Past? The Politics of Time in a 'Model' Bulgarian Village*, Berghahn Books, New York and Oxford, 2004.
- LAUŠEVIĆ, M., "The *Ilahiya* as a Symbol of Bosnian Muslim National Identity," *Retuning Culture: Musical Changes in Central and Eastern Europe*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1996, 117–135.
- LUKIĆ-KRSTANOVIĆ, M., "Folklorno stvaralaštvo u birokratskom kodu – upravljanje muzičkim događajem," *Glasnik etnografskog muzeija SANU*, Vol. LII, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Beograd, 2004, 53–65.

- MARJANOVIĆ, J., *Narodnooslobodilački rat narodna revolucija u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945*, Kultura, Beograd, 1959.
- MARKOVIĆ, P. J., *Trajnost i promena: Društvena istorija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2007.
- MLADENOVIĆ, T., *Donja i Gornja Studena*, Biblioteka "Hronike sela," Niš, 2002.
- NAUMOVIĆ, S., "Identity Creator in Identity Crisis: Reflections on the Politics of Serbian Ethnology," *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1996, 39–128.
- NEDELJKOVIĆ, D., "Prva etapa prelaženja kolektivnog u individualno i obrnuto u narodnom stvaralaštvu i kriterijum ovog prelaženja," *Narodno stvaralaštvo – folklor*, Vol. 2, 1962, 98–108.
- NEDELJKOVIĆ, D., "Problemi razvitka sadržaja i oblika savremenog narodnog stvaralaštva," *Zbornik XII kongresa Jugoslovenskih folkloristov*, Ljubljana 1968, 45–50.
- OLSON, L. J., *Performing Russia: Folk Revival and Russian Identity*, Routledge, New York and London, 2004.
- PETROVIĆ, B., *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918–1988 (treća knjiga)*, Nolit, Beograd, 1988.
- PULJIZ, V., *Jugoslavensko selo: problemi i perspektive*, Centar za idejno-teorijski rad, Osijek, 1989.
- PETROVIĆ, R., ZEČEVIĆ, S., "Narodna muzika i igra na smotrama u Srbiji," *Rad XXIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Zagreb, 1981, 283–285.
- RADOJKOVIĆ, M., *Donji Komren*, Biblioteka "Hronika sela," vol. 69, Beograd, 1997.
- RADOJKOVIĆ V., *Mali*, Časopis Kultuno-prosvetnog centra u Gornjem Matejevcu, Vol. 6, 1974.
- RADULESCU, S., "Musique traditionnelles et ethnomusicologie sous pression politique: le cas de la Roumanie," *Pom pom pom pom: musique et caetera*, Musée d'ethnographie, Neuchâtel, 1997, 203–226.
- RICE, T., *May It Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music*, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1994.
- RONSTRÖM, O., "Concepts and Festivals: Public Performances of Folk Music in Sweden," *The World of Music*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 3, 2001, 49–64.
- SEKULIĆ, D., MASSEY, G., and HODSON R., "Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of a Common Identity in the Former Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 59, No.1, 1994, 83–97.
- STANLEY, L., *The auto-biographical I*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1992.
- STERE, A., "The Social Dimension of the Folkloric Text in the Postwar Totalitarianism," *Synopsisia. Journal for Studies in Ethnology and Anthropology*, 2003, 83–93.
- SUPEK, R., "Sociološki značaj amaterizma," *Kultura*, Vol. 26, 1974, 8–16.
- THOMPSON, P., *The Voice of the Past – Oral History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1978.
- VERDERY, K., *What Was Socialism and What Comes Next?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and New Jersey, 1996.
- VIDIĆ RASMUSSEN, Lj., "From Source to Commodity: Newly-Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia," *Popular Music*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1995, 241–256.
- ZEČEVIĆ, S., "Uloga smotri i festivala u razvitku našeg narodnog stvaralaštva," *Rad XXIII kongresa Saveza Udruženja Foklorista Jugoslavije*, Skopje, 1968, 219–224.

Archival Resources:

Archive of Yugoslavia, League of Communists of Yugoslavia, funds:

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

142 – Federal Conference of Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia

Electronic Resources:

http://www.krsmanovic.co.yu/files/main_en.php (accessed 17.2.2007)

<http://www.kolo.co.yu> (accessed 17.2.2007)