Contents

List of Illustrations viii

Acknowledgments xiii

Part I Introduction

1. The Lure of Utopia: Socialist Everyday Spaces
   Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik 1

Part II Remembering Tito and Yugoslavia Before and After the Fall

2. First and Last Emperor: Representations of the President, Bodies of the Youth
   Bojana Videkanic 37

3. Celebrating Yugoslavia: The Visual Representation of State Holidays
   Danka Ninković Slavnić 65

4. Officers without an Army: Memories of Socialism and Everyday Strategies in Post-Socialist Slovenia
   Tanja Petrović 93

Part III Popular Culture and Yugoslavness

5. European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest
   Dean Vuletic 121

6. Džuboks (Jukebox) – The First Rock'n'roll Magazine in Socialist Yugoslavia
   Radina Vučetić 145

7. A Tale of Two Subcultures: A Comparative Analysis of Hippie and Punk Subcultures in Slovenia
   Gregor Tomc 165

8. Yugoslav Past in Film and Music: Yugoslav Interfilmic Referentiality 199
Martin Pogačar

Part IV Leisure, Work and the State

9. Flirting with Television in Socialism: Proletarian Morality and the Lust for Abundance
Maruša Pušnik 227

10. Sportsmen of Yugoslavia, Unite: Workers' Sport between Leisure and Work
Gregor Starc 259

11. Adriatic for All: Summer Holidays in Croatia
Igor Duda 289

12. "SOBE": Privatizing Tourism on the Workers' Riviera
Karin Taylor 313

Part V Consumption, Fashion and Transgression

13. Shame, Desire and Longing for the West: A Case Study of Consumption
Breda Luthar 341

14. Cooking in Socialist Slovenia: Housewives on the Road from a Bright Future to an Idyllic Past
Blanka Tivadar and Andreja Vezovnik 379

15. Žuži Jelinek: The Incredible Adventures of a Socialist Chanel
Djurdja Bartlett 407

16. A Face in the Market: Photography, Memory, and Nostalgia
Hanno Hardt 429

About the Authors 440

Chapter 13

Shame, Desire and Longing for the West

A Case Study of Consumption[1]

Breda Luthar

Needs and Desires

Consumer culture is an inseparable part of the economic, political and cultural aspects of modernity. Each society formally and informally regulates the circulation of commodities. This means that it sets the rules with respect to the kinds of things that can be exchanged on the market, those that are excluded from the market and perhaps "sacralized"[8], and the conditions and means of exchange. In short, demand for products as an articulation of culturally constituted needs and desires is always culturally, legally, and economically regulated. The issue of needs and desires and of the meaning and definition of luxury is implicated in the broadly political question of the nature of social order and the definition of a good society. According to Berry, "the operant definition of luxury and need indicate a society's conception of itself ".[9] Thus the indirect control of demand, either by means of taboos, economic policy, fashion system, or by various promotional discourses such as advertising, is a universal characteristic of societies. Socialism, on the other hand, represents a political and social project and a form of economic organization characterized not only by cultural, legal, and economic constraints and control of demand, but also direct political forms of disciplining and limiting demand (i.e. the political and ideological "dictatorship over needs"). Féher et al. define "the dictatorship over needs" as the "determination of social production through the uncontrolled decision of a unified apparatus of power and through its underlying force".[10] It is, in short, the social formation that in principle organizes production from one administrative center and hence exercises political control over needs. However, political control over needs under socialism is not just the consequence of the power interests of a "unified

apparatus of power", but is based on the ideology of socialist egalitarianism and through it on the essentialist view of human needs and the division of needs into "real" ones and "false" ones. This division legitimizes a specific moral economy and conceptualization of authentic life that can be used as a basis for classifying some needs as more, and others as less, authentic.

It is a sociological truism today that individual preferences, needs and consumption practices always take shape in a culture and within a certain way of life and cannot be defined universally outside the specific culture.[11] Even "basic needs" such as food or shelter are always empirically accessible only in the specific cultural forms they take and are at the same time discursive, that is, constitutive, for the "needed subject". According to Doyal and Gough, needs are embodied in the culturally variable "discursive position,"[12] which constitutes the individual subject. Culture thus shapes needs and practices of consumption; these practices and needs, as "technologies of self,"[13] on the other hand, constitute the historical subject. If we say that we need something, we are making a claim to a way of life that embodies our particular values. Or, as Harré put it, human beings have always lived in a double social order, the practical order and the expressive order, and the social significance of material things can be understood only if their roles in both these orders are identified.[14] A definition of real needs is, therefore, always an articulation of a definition of the good life, of the way we imagine how we should live. It comprises a reflection of how material and symbolic social resources are to be organized in relation to the definition of the good life and to values implied by it. Basic needs can therefore be defined not as those that sustain us as physical beings and satisfy our pre-existing biological needs, but as those needs that are necessary conditions for our cultural citizenship.[15] The need, thus, with which a socialist consumer responded to the idea of having a Vespa scooter, Italian shoes or nice underwear, is fundamentally social and political.

In socialist Yugoslavia – at least during the first 10 years after the Second World War – demand and consumption were regularly subjected to social definitions and control by direct political appeals, by law, or by an economic policy that translated political and economic controls into

consumer demands. In the 1940s and 1950s, citizens of Yugoslavia were encouraged to defer consumption as a moral and political duty and political prerogatives framed the economic policy and individual consumption. But where there is power there is also resistance: the political control of demand in socialism was constantly threatened by oppositional behavior that challenged the official classification of needs and thereby also the dominant definition of the good life and official formulation of values and commitments. Shopping trips to the Italian city of Trieste may be understood as such a practice. For instance, our informants went shopping to Trieste to buy not only socks, nylon stockings, and Italian shoes, but also dolls, soft wool cardigans, bicycles, fabrics, blankets, washing machines, Vespas and fashionable underwear. These alleged luxury goods should not be regarded in contrast to necessities, but rather as "marking services", a notion used by Douglas and Isherwood as the opposite of "physical services" to emphasize the essentially social character of these goods – they are needed for mustering solidarity, exclusion, differentiation.[16] They are goods that enable cultural participation and "whose principal use is rhetorical and social, goods that are simply incarnated signs".[17] An Italian bicycle is just a physical object when observed independently of any system of social relations. But it is a luxury commodity and an object of aesthetic contemplation within a specific discursive configuration. The luxury status of a commodity, thus, is not the result of the intrinsic properties of the artifact, but the effect of its place within a determinate system of social relations, including the register of its consumption, which is defined by restricted access to luxury and its close connection with identity, subjectivity and the body. In this sense, these goods only responded to a fundamentally political necessity and, thus, represented an opposition to the order that operated on the official concept of needs. Beyond need and as a sign of personal autonomy, the experience of the consumption of goods acquired in Trieste may serve as a resource in the construction of individual and social identities, while on the other hand, border crossings represent the spaces of discipline and surveillance.

The Making of a Middle Class

Shopping expeditions to Trieste as a particular aspect of consumer culture that emerged at the end of the 1950s depended on political democratization and the open borders with Italy. However, they were as much a consequence, on the one hand, and a motor, on the other, of cultural and social transformations including a certain standard of living that redefined the value of needs and the notion of a "good life". We start with a brief examination of Yugoslav political, economic and social changes in the late 1950s and 1960s, the conditions of the modernization processes in socialism, and the making of the (socialist) middle class. Political changes, which led to partial democratization, were a result of the break with the Soviet Union and all other Eastern European countries in 1948, caused by persistent attempts by the Soviet Union to treat Yugoslavia as its satellite. The Soviet Union responded by reinforcing its economic blockade. By 1950, all trade between Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe was brought to a halt. Yugoslavia turned for military and economic aid to the West and began to moderate its previously extreme anti-western attitudes and to rethink the ideology and practice of Soviet-type socialism. As a pragmatic consequence of this opening towards the West, but also because of a genuine motivation to build an alternative model of socialism, the country transformed the Stalinist/etatist model of socialism and introduced certain political changes, as well as economic ones in the organization of "relations of production". Central planning was largely limited to the setting of long-term goals, while attributes of a market system and the concept of self-management were introduced in 1953. In practice, in the next 30 years, some aspects of industrial democracy were gradually established, and, from the mid-1950s onwards, the general political atmosphere allowed for a greater personal freedom, albeit without essentially affecting the Party's monopoly. Party control was, by and large, maintained, although it was decentralized and in the 1960s Party interference became less and less noticeable in everyday life.

Between 1953 and 1964, Yugoslavia had an extremely high rate of economic growth.[18] The rapidly growing Yugoslav economy was the result of a low starting point and of many structural changes influenced by industrialization, urbanization and modernization in general. The increased productivity brought a certain degree of prosperity which could

not be overlooked, especially if compared with other Eastern European countries. Although the period from the late 1950s to the early 1960s onwards was also the period of social modernization and of relative political and cultural liberalization in other Eastern European countries,[19] consumption of consumer goods in Yugoslavia rose faster than in any other country of "really existing socialism".[20] In 1965, for instance, Yugoslavia had more motor vehicles per capita than some of the people's democracies where national income and per capita consumption were substantially higher. Savings deposits increased 25-fold between 1955 and 1965 and helped keep demand for consumer goods at a high level, thus making it less dependent on current incomes. Moreover, by 1965 the possession of durable goods represented a much more significant element of personal wealth than at any time since the Second World War. In Yugoslavia, the index of consumption per capita rose from 103.6 in 1954 to 130.1 in 1957.[21]

These political and economic processes were accompanied by social and cultural transformation, including a rearrangement of social groups: differentiation, urbanization, and industrialization necessarily brought with them new modes of community, new forms of social etiquette in the cities, and a distinctive new sociality or "structure of feeling"[22]. Moreover, new forms of self-understanding and self-cultivation – in short, new forms of individuality with distinctive ways of life – were emerging. The increased differentiation in earnings and occupational reclassification was only one aspect of the changes in the "social opportunity structure". The latter– as a social-structural process that opens up social space for class differentiation – is comprised of educational, income, lifestyle, and occupational elements. A class structure based on "quantity of competence", as Klaus Eder would put it, began to emerge, while education and lifestyle differentiation rather than income marked barriers between social classes.[23] The result of the changes in the "social opportunity structure" was an emerging middle class with a specific internal differentiation and enough available economic and cultural capital (qualifications, taste, and morals) to be spent on "marking services". For instance, the "Italianness" of products (fashionable clothes and shoes, Vespa scooters, home design and decoration) epitomized

everything trendy, chic, modern, cosmopolitan, and international. These were the products to have, and they were part of an emerging tendency to use material goods as a means of representation, thus turning everyday existence into a symbolic display of taste and social affiliation and accepting everyday surroundings as the terrain for cultural distinction.[24]

Following our theoretical reasoning, the new middle class consisted of the first Yugoslav generation shaped by the socialist modernization process and marked by, among other things, free access to education and full-time employment for most women. The various groups of this generation were, by their position, bound to individualization. Individualization is understood here in two ways. First, as an objective individualization in the sense of detraditionalization, i.e. cutting off traditional ties and traditional social and cultural bonds, becoming an individual in an open space of options and, consequently, being condemned to constitute herself/himself as an individual. Second, individualization also stands for the chance to become a person with a highly individualized identity.[25]

Consequently, as Bourdieu would say, the ethos of necessity and morality of self-sacrifice and duty began to be replaced by the ethos of desire and a morality of fun.[26] The concern for the "seeming" is constitutive of the middle classes, and the phenomenon of cultural meaning and cultural production became an important factor in a vertical classification. Clearly, shopping expeditions to Trieste depended as much on the political changes and open border with Italy as on the transformation of the concept of the self and of the good life. This backstage and only semi-legal consumer culture was the result of a new structure of feeling characterized by changed identities and commitments. Essential to this structure of feeling was the privatization of the notion of "the good life". As noted previously, needs are discursive positions that articulate and constitute the collectivity and the individual subject. Therefore, shopping expeditions to Trieste were not only the result of an emerging middle class in Yugoslavia, but also a practice that constituted the middle class – thus a "technology of the constitution of the self" – through the practices of consumption.

Dreamworld of Consumption

Shadow Economy and Patriarchal Order

It is impossible to understand the nature of formal organizations without investigating the networks of informal relations and unofficial norms and describing how informal, unofficial rules govern the daily operation of organizations or local subcultures. What are the distinctive characteristics of shopping expeditions that defined them as part of the networks of informal relations and unofficial norms in socialism? Shopping expeditions were not part of everyday routine shopping experiences but were planned, aspired to and imagined long before the actual journey. A result of a "dictatorship over needs" in socialism was the formation of a new, semi-legal space in which the consumer first had to create access to opportunities for exchanging goods. This informal or backstage sphere of cultural and economic exchange included a whole range of practices, social relations, interactions, forms of communication in micro-situations, new forms and new spaces for asserting power and new forms of hierarchies. In order to take place at all, the shopping expeditions had to be part of clientelistic ties, of an informal network of reciprocal personal relations, and of a second or shadow economy that enabled the "good life"[27] and were, thus, a significant part of sociability in socialism. The exchange of goods and services in personalized relations was characteristic of Eastern European socialism in general. According to Lonkila, the network of informal relations, where people used their relatives, friends, acquaintances and colleagues at work to obtain the desired or needed products and services (such as favors or important information), was a significant aspect of sociability in socialism.[28] These backstage networks grew into a second society where the mediated and personalized forms of social life transformed replaceable social relationships into the personal and unique (instead of a doctor you had an acquaintance who was a doctor; instead of going to a bank in order to exchange your money into Italian liras, German marks or any other hard currency, your friend's colleague who had relatives abroad exchanged your money for foreign currency to earn some extra money, etc.). The gray economy and informalization of the economy, accompanied by a reciprocal exchange of favors, information and goods unavailable on the

market, instrumentalization of sociability, clientelistic and patron-client relations – all these resulted in particularism and in a culture of privatism that were constituent parts of social integration in socialism. Or, as one female respondent, an office clerk and engineer's wife responsible for the reproduction of the reciprocity networks, said, it enabled her family to have a "good life":

> You had to have somebody who could do the sewing, somebody who did the knitting, crocheting, somebody to buy smuggled things from, somebody to buy hard currency, then someone in the shop who was prepared to give you an imported item "under the counter".

The reciprocity networks were semi-public spaces, the extensions of the domestic sphere. It is thus not surprising that establishing, reproducing and maintaining the reciprocity of networks remained women's work in spite of the practically full employment of women in many parts of Yugoslavia, and their concomitant economic independence. Against the backdrop of the domestic revolution and of changes in organizing family economies, where a major shift from housework as production to housework as consumption took place, women remained responsible for the family economy, and shopping became an important aspect of housework (consuming as "doing for others"), reflecting a specifically feminine cultural competence through which a patriarchal order was expressed, while masculine domination remained unquestioned.

This, of course, shouldn't surprise us, as most of the research on consumer practices establishes the gendered nature of "shopping" and the association between shopping and femininity. The female character of shopping is an articulation of the symbolic cleavage between production and consumption and the equation of men with production and women with consumption in western societies. Shopping, together with window-shopping, with just-looking and browsing, is here, thus, a recreational practice possessing value in itself. Our interviews confirm that women were much more engaged and competent shoppers than men. Female respondents regularly shopped in the company of other women, looked

forward to shopping trips, combined shopping expeditions to Trieste with socializing, establishing and confirming social relationships and, in general, used shopping expeditions as a means to other ends, not just acquiring goods. For women shoppers, strolling around, usually in the company of other women, and the pleasure of looking at objects that are styled to be looked at, was a constituent part of "female" shopping practice and had a key role in the shopping experience. Only in the process of strolling around and looking at things can the experience of "longing" occur, which generates "wanting", as Campbell argues.[29]

Purchases for others, bringing items to those who could not come along, expressed a relationship between the shopper and a particular other (children, partner, or family in general). Schudson argues, that "… an enormous portion of total consumption, for necessities as well as for luxury items, must be understood as preeminently social in nature, not individualistic or crudely materialistic or connected to trends towards narcissism".[30] Miller also argues against the thesis of consumption as individual and individualized practice. Rather, the act of buying goods is mainly directed at two forms of "otherness": the first expresses a relationship between the shopper and a particular other, the second a relationship to a more general goal – which takes the form of the values to which people wish to dedicate themselves.[31] Numerous female interviewees were talking of buying for others, for loved ones.[32] Shopping is thus the construction of the other as a subject who desires something.[33] The purpose of shopping is not so much to purchase things that a person wants, but to establish a relationship with those who want things. Similarly, Švab, who investigates a later period of "shopping tourism" in the 1970s and the 1980s, understands shopping trips as both a practice aimed at the satisfaction of personal needs, and as a family event, in a sense that it was extended to a broader social network of family and friends.[34] Consumption in its essence was thus an expression of social relationships, not a private and atomized act. Like the creation and maintenance of reciprocal relationships, the practice of shopping was not gender-neutral, but rather linked to the feminine role in the household as the unit of consumption. The reminiscences of female informants were much more likely than those of males to make reference to anticipating

the needs and desires of significant others:

> … I used to buy things for my mum, and for my dad, slippers for mum, warm ones for the winter; whenever I went there I bought something for one or the other, or for my sister … always looked for something I could get for them.

By contrast, male discourse on shopping, together with the things that they bought in Italy and regarded themselves as responsible for (electrical goods, home tools and do-it-yourself shopping in general), confirm the notion of masculinity.[35] Male respondents were inclined to see shopping as a peripheral activity and interpreted shopping trips to Italy as instrumental and as purchase-driven activities related to the satisfaction of supposedly basic needs for goods unavailable at home. Their shopping expeditions were justified by their role in acquiring "important" commodities, or satisfying "basic" needs (such as bicycles, bicycle spare tires unavailable at home, Vespas; later, spare parts for the family car, car tires; and important family purchases in the early 1960s, such as washing machines, radios and gramophones), instead of buying clothes.[36] The interviews thus reconstructed the ideology of shopping, which served to maintain a continuity between shopping and traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity. While men are more inclined to see shopping as rational, instrumental and purchase-driven, women are more likely to view it as a pleasure-seeking activity, where "a fundamentally aesthetic and expressive gratification is involved".[37] In the words of a male shopper, men went to Trieste to buy urgently needed items. Women, on the other hand, went to buy desired goods:

> I used to buy technical stuff, things you needed but couldn't get here, or things that were cheaper there – like a radio, bike, later on tires, tools, car parts; and women, you know, they were buying clothes and bric-à-brac. There was lots of it in Trieste.

The masculine practice of shopping was thus placed in the framework of work and was based on the rhetoric of needs, while the feminine

practice of shopping was placed (by men) in the framework of entertainment, free time, and satisfaction of desires. Accordingly, interviews with men resembled more an attempt to make a factual reconstruction of shopping expeditions: male respondents were elaborating on price differences, changing laws for importing goods, lack of specific goods in different periods, or were telling stories about smuggling successes, that is to say, about their deftness in duping customs authorities. Interviews with women, on the other hand, were closer to life-stories and the "ego-expanding experience".[38] While female respondents were telling "their stories", male respondents tried more to reconstruct "the history". Women nostalgically linked their recollections of the desire for various goods and their strategies for acquiring them with their memories of youth, and yearning for the community and extra time for sociability in socialism:

> We did not have much but we still enjoyed ourselves.
> I'd say that it was better in those days – we had hard lives, but things meant more to us.
> I was young and so pretty and with that jacket and Italian shoes.
> It was not important if you were hungry or not, it was important that you had company, could sing together.

Nostalgia expressed by our female interviewees is less about socialism itself and more about "the unrealized dreams of the past and visions of the future that became obsolete".[39] Furthermore, contrary to men, women often tended to recall the sensual and aesthetic aspects of goods, that is, how desired objects felt and looked and what pleasures they extracted from them. Interviews with women were replete with stories about longing for material artifacts, about sensual and aesthetic pleasures, and emotional attachment to goods. In short, involvement and commitment to goods, or the "internalization of goods",[40] was much more explicit in women respondents:

> … I bought myself a coat, a nice one, and a leather purse, beige, and shoes, and when I walked around people looked at me as if I

> were an oddball. Once, when I went to Ljubljana, I had a plastic purse, blue with red lines, and everybody was asking me "where did you buy it?" and "where did you get it?" In Italy, I said.

However, in spite of the gendered nature of shopping, because of the specific situation (extraordinary circumstances and the unavoidable encounter with authority and the foreign), the gendering of shopping in Trieste was less than in ordinary, routine shopping. On the one hand, the male role was, because of the spectacular and extraordinary nature of shopping trips to Trieste, more important than in routine shopping trips: men were important as drivers, protectors, escorts, money-changers and mediators in relations with border authorities, and in this way participated in shopping while still maintaining their traditional role. The following is a recollection of one woman shopper of her husband's behavior in Trieste:

> He [the husband] … simply sat in the car while I was running around to get goods for the whole family. He took a walk, and would not even buy his own shoes. Once the shoes I bought for him were a little small, but he kept them anyway …

On the other hand, women were also compelled to remake the practice of shopping as a free-time activity, which implies not just the act of buying but includes, as stated above, also browsing, window-shopping, and daydreaming. That is, it was transformed from an expressive and aesthetic pleasure to a pragmatic activity: the purchase of everything unavailable back at home or buying until the money ran out. But clearly, women's responsibility for the family economy and shopping, despite changes, remained important. Despite the revolution in the private sphere, the dominant male position was unaffected: as with cooking and household chores, shopping also now took on the form of work "for others" and through this specifically female cultural competence the patriarchal order was expressed and reproduced.

Crossing the Border: Surveillance and Domination through Communication

Shopping trips were composed of a whole range of communicative interactions in which positions of superiority and subordination, power and powerlessness, class and ethnic differences, were established – the interactional order of reciprocal relations in the gray market of money and goods, communication at the border, interaction in Italian shops, the symbolic meaning of "western" artifacts, and so on. Crossing the border was one of the most important micro-situations of the shopping trip. The power relations were not only expressed through interactional patterns at the border crossings, but communicatively produced by the subjects involved in communication at the border. In Foucault's terms, crossing the border was a disciplinary practice through which the reality of power relations was produced and not just exercised. Buying foreign currency on the black market, smuggling money to Italy, queueing for a few hours to cross the border, smuggling goods back home, communication with the border officer … in short, the interactive order of the institution "crossing the border" was the most significant part of the entire expedition. Restrictions on exporting money and importing goods were extremely unrealistic, and customs regulations changed frequently enough for the majority of informants to emphasize their unpredictability. While smuggling money into Italy and goods back to Yugoslavia violated the law in both directions, it was, nevertheless, an important part of the expedition. On the other hand, however, "everything was allowed which was not explicitly prohibited".[41] In practice, official and formal rules were in such contradiction to the informal behavior that they did not operate at all. The roots of the informal system were therefore embedded in the formal organization itself and nurtured by the formality of its arrangements. The lack of predictability, the absence of positive rules or of the non-enforcement of formal rules and the arbitrariness of customs officials regarding law enforcement all contributed to the individualization of power (good vs. bad customs officials, informal conduct reserved for officers), to the feeling of uncertainty and risk taking, and to the internalization of restraint.[42] As citizens were treated as suspicious and guilty in advance, they were constantly under surveillance. The high degree of unpredictability meant that anybody could be defined as a criminal at any time and the arbitrariness of

authority became the central principle of the exercise of power, as the stories of good and bad border officers or memories of "how lucky I was","how I managed to outfox the authorities", or "how I got nabbed", testify:

> At times customs officials were insolent, they wanted to see everything, and at other times they just let us go, it was a matter of luck. One woman was telling us that she bought God knows how many sweaters and put on all of them to hide them from the customs official. He searched all her bags and then asked her if she was too warm, and smiled.
>
> A lady from our neighborhood bought a blanket with those tassels, and she fixed it under her skirt but the tassels dangled from underneath her skirt so the official told her that she should cut them off. And that was all he told her.
>
> Usually they asked if we had something to declare and we said "nothing". Everybody said "nothing". I thought it was so funny, how could you say "nothing" if you knew you had things to declare. But if they didn't ask directly, like "what is this?", we kept silent. Or, we said, yes, we have bought some trifle, like souvenirs. If the custom official was good, he said "OK", and we went through. And then we laughed.

The narrative reconstructions of the communication between the border officers and the informants/shoppers, who were always also smugglers, are among the most emotional topics of the interviews. They are also the most interesting from the point of view of how power was exercised through communication and performance in the process of border crossing. Memories of the respondents demonstrate that the arbitrariness of the customs officers or policemen and their individualized power were central for the shopping expedition. The antagonistic opposition between the official and unofficial sphere, and private and public language, as the most important structural element of the societies of "really existing socialism", defined the interactional order/practices in public. An important aspect of interaction was the lack of civility of

customs officials and policemen to citizens/shoppers. The lack of civility refers to the absence of "civil indifference" that "treats others as if they were strangers and creates social ties on the basis of this social distance".[43] A well-traveled woman in her 60s is still haunted by her memories of crossing the border and her feelings of powerlessness:

> I still tremble when I cross the border even if I have nothing to declare. I still feel like a criminal who has something to hide.

Interviews hence lead to a conclusion that the experience of arbitrary power and the experience of one's own powerlessness when crossing the state borders can be interpreted as a minor collective trauma. However, these events are not inherently traumatic. According to Alexander, for traumas to emerge at the level of collectivity, individual memory has to be objectified through the representational process and thereby transformed into a collective one.[44] Among generations of Yugoslav shoppers, trauma remains in a latent stage as a personal memory and commonality of experience of "victims" and as a somatization/embodiment of relations of domination and of the experience of arbitrary power.

Strategy of the State and Tactics of the Citizens

The arbitrariness of the power of customs officials reported by our respondents was just an articulation of the absence of power among shoppers and resulted in the development of various informal tactics in the process of adjusting to the unpredictability of customs officials. These tactics included the way one should walk and talk to customs officials in order not to provoke them, how to talk and behave at the border in order to be let through without paying customs duties, where to hide money and goods, or how to pack or wear purchases. These tactics found their expression in an oral culture of gossiping about good and bad border crossings, good and bad customs officers, recommended tactics of smuggling, or proper behavior at border crossings. Oral culture was at the heart of the institution of shopping expeditions as seasonal potlatches. Many respondents, both female and male, happily recollected their many

smuggling tactics and recounted how they deceived customs officials:

> In cigarette boxes, we opened them, then glued them back. Then in shoes, heels. We also ripped coats and stitched it inside. Then in shoe heels, I even took my shoes to the shoe maker to make a hole in the heel so I put money in it … I have to admit that we smuggled as many things as we could … And if we went by car we hid money in the back light.
> … on the train we put clothes on and put things around and pretended they were not ours. And if they asked whose bag it was, we were silent.
> All sorts of things, in the wallet, underneath the lining … As I said, I was never searched like that. But you were always scared because you saw them searching others. If they found money, they took all of it, they left nothing. They even, there was this man from the south, he wore a belt and stuffed money inside. Everybody used tricks. They had those brushes with handles, hollow, and money inside. And he came, pulled out that handle and took it out. They even put money into bread.

De Certeau's distinction between "strategies" and "tactics"[45] is useful for the conceptualization of the phenomenon of communicative construction of power when shoppers were crossing the state border into Italy. According to de Certeau, strategy as the manipulation of power relationships becomes possible when a subject of power (in our case a state power operating at border crossings) can be isolated from the "environment" and has a place of its own and can therefore determine the relationship with the outside Other (citizens-shoppers). Strategy is thus a function of space, while tactic, by contrast, is determined by the absence of a place of its own: "The space of a tactic is the space of the other" and "within the enemy's field of vision".[46] A panoptic practice is enabled by the division of space: foreign forces (shoppers) can be transformed into objects that can be observed and measured, and thus controlled. The architectural construction of border crossings between Yugoslavia and Italy enabled the panoptic practice: border crossings were built to enable

the visual surveillance of long lines of shoppers waiting for hours to cross the border to Italy. The smuggling tactics of citizens-shoppers and the trickery concerning communication with the border officials (from body posture to speech utterance) therefore operated on the imposed territory that belonged to the other – to the state and border officials as its representatives. They were determined by the absence of the power of the shoppers.

By operating within the framework defined by the state, the expeditions to Italy and tactical practices of shoppers-smugglers were actually contributing to the system rather than subverting it. They were, as de Certeau would put it, "a certain game with the system of defined space" […], "a maneuver within the enemy's field of vision […] and within enemy territory".[47] Because the tactic does not have an autonomous place of its own, it depends on time – it always tries to turn the events into opportunities that must be seized. According to de Certeau, the tactic takes advantage of "opportunities and operates in isolated actions, blow by blow". As a consequence, the tactic can never keep what it wins. The shoppers simply made use of cracks opened by particular conjunctions in the surveillance of proprietary powers. Although the art of the weak, and determined by the absence of power, the tactics were practices which the strategy of the authorities had not been able to domesticate. They were, however, not in opposition to the system. The value of a tactic is symbolic: it demonstrates that strategic surveillance and power can never be complete.

In Trieste: Work and Pleasure

Although shopping trips share some common formal characteristics with tourism as an experience and as a cultural and social phenomenon (the anticipation that is constructed and sustained before the departure, the notion of "departure", and a scopic regime characteristic of tourism[48]), they are not to be interpreted as a tourist cultural practice.

Wessely defines the shopping tourism of former socialist Eastern European countries as "travel abroad with the explicit aim to buy goods, unavailable, difficult to find, or inordinately costly in one's home country, for personal use or reselling to compatriots".[49] But in the case of Yugoslav

expeditions to Trieste, the term "shopping tourism" seems inappropriate, since the analysis of formal characteristics of the practice shows that they in fact had nothing to do with tourism as a distinct cultural form.[50] Shopping was not mainly a recreational practice as with tourist shoppers, who have a dual orientation, gazing both at the urban setting and at the goods on display in shops.[51] Typically, the Yugoslav shoppers in Trieste were under time pressure, and the shopping expedition was thus experienced as calculated work, which involved discipline and control to stroll past goods on display, not hedonistic strolling, browsing and shopping. There were very few flaneurs, city dwellers, browsers, or simply tourists among Yugoslav shoppers. When respondents were asked whether they ever went to Trieste as tourists or whether they ever visited tourist sites, only one respondent could recollect a visit to the Miramar Castle near Trieste, and even that was accidental – the family went to Trieste on the day of an Italian national holiday when all shops were closed, so shoppers could do nothing but become tourists. Moreover, shopping was as a rule integrated into business trips or even into tourist trips organized for workers by trade unions. Trieste was not perceived as a Mediterranean city worthy of a tourist's gaze, but rather a site of spectacular images of material artifacts in shop windows and well-dressed people in the streets. It was a series of images of "the good life" and a source of visual fascination, and the shoppers were the audience that was moving among spectacular images and establishing their own paths in the city, their own spatial narratives. The shopping, in fact, included visual pleasures and was, in this respect, closer to the viewing of pictures in a gallery than to buying. The mere act of buying should be understood in the context of the process of shopping, browsing, touching, window shopping, further, in the context of the experience of shopping as cultural practice and, lastly, within the broader context of the urban experience that includes the visual dimension of shopping. However, time limitations and the necessity of obtaining wanted or needed goods in Trieste required the capacity to manage swings between intense involvement and more distanced, aesthetic detachment. Even when Italian shops closed for lunch (between 1 pm and 4 pm) and shopping had to stop, Yugoslavs did not go for lunch and rarely went for a coffee,

but engaged in window shopping to plan their afternoon purchases.

> Never in those 20 years did we eat there, or drink, never. It was a terrible waste of money. We had food with us […] that was, for example, three pairs of stockings less.
> We always carried food with us, of course. Italians didn't like us much because of that, because we always ate there in secret.

Despite the fact that these expeditions included a ludic aspect, a purchase had a central role for shoppers coming to Trieste. The ludic, sensual aspect of the trip had to be integrated into the purchase-driven activity and within the instrumentalism of work. The movement of shoppers was goal-directed. They were moving faster than tourist-shoppers, and were, typically, almost running around the town. Many informants remember that all available money had to be spent prior to their return, which transformed the pleasure of shopping and strolling around town into real work and/or into destructive consumption and excessive expenditure at the same time. According to shoppers of both genders, many times it barely mattered what was purchased as long as the money was spent:

> Sometimes we didn't know what to buy but we had to go – we had 5000 lira to spend but we rushed around the town for so long that we spent those liras without looking for something specific, because we didn't get a chance to decide what we actually needed, we just looked at things, at what they had, weighing what could be a good buy. Later on […] I bought a ball.
> It was better to buy something, whatever, than nothing […] because that was it for the next six months.
> I always took care to spend all the money. Sometimes, if we couldn't find things we wanted to have, we spent money on ice cream, chewing gums and matches that had flames in various colors.
> … others finished their shopping, but I couldn't decide. Will you take the money back home?

As these recollections show, the expeditions to Trieste brought to extremes the contradictory relationship between the practice of spending and the experience of saving, on which consumption is based. According to Miller, even for the wealthy, the most important shopping experience is the experience of saving, where the value of commodity bought becomes not what it costs but what it saved. Thrift is, according to him, instrumental in creating a sense of future purpose that justifies present deferments.[52] The practice of shopping itself, thus, means spending, but shopping as experience means saving. The experience of saving has, of course, nothing to do with real saving. However, the shopping expeditions to Trieste were outside the boundaries of everyday social life and were the transgression of the ordinary, everyday, and routine shopping. Shopping became de-contextualized from social life, and the shopper engaged in self-indulgence, for only immediate gratification could have replaced the absence of the future purpose that justifies deferment and saving as an inherent part of the shopping experience.[53]

Clearly, shopping in Trieste was a highly contradictory practice: expeditions were generally labor-intensive activities executed under the constraint of necessity and social control. But although all kinds of constraints abounded (time constraints, lower status of Yugoslavs, small amount of money to spend), the expeditions were also part of a culture of semi-legal hedonism, indulgence, and temporary freedom from restraints of the identities and everyday life in socialism. Expeditions were therefore directed at the pragmatics of provisioning, but also at dreaming in a space where the objects of desire reminded consumers who they wished to be and how they wished to live, and enabled them to fantasize about themselves as someone else:

> There were Lambretta motorbikes, Vespa motorbikes, young men from rich families already had cars, and our young women in the first place found that alluring, but so did we, men, we were watching them, observing things.
>
> We put money aside all throughout the year, because you could not get anything in Ljubljana. I remember that you had to pay 5600 dinars for shoes, and my salary was 3000 dinars. So Trieste

> was like sunshine.
>
> They had nice textiles. […] Shoes, everything was nicer down there.
>
> The first experience – we were highly curious, that was in the year ’56 […] Well, shops were packed with things while here you couldn’t get anything; motor vehicles were all the rage at that time, you could see motorbikes of all sorts, nice motorbikes, so we felt like we arrived at some other place, different from here, like we were in a rich country, even though we were their first neighbors.
>
> Vespas came out in 1956 and came to Ljubljana around 1960. At that time the “hochstaplers” (“cool people”) in Ljubljana already had Vespas. […] and slippers, made of felt uppers and rubber soles, winter ones with a zipper. If you didn’t have a pair, you weren’t civilized, you had to have a pair of slippers like that.

As a ludic social form, shopping is closely associated with modern urban subjectivity and with fantasizing about “being as someone else”.[54] This inner world only constitutes shopping as daydreaming and the state “to be here for oneself” in an “as if” situation.[55] Sociability itself as offered by shopping thus contributes to the illusion that one can choose within the crowd any self that one wishes. Thus the feeling of well-being and the excitement which arises from the potential elimination of boundaries to the self are of fundamental importance, such that at the core of this ideal shopping experience is the feeling of freedom and erasing of limits that everyday life places on the self. The act of buying the necessities unavailable at home and to fulfill one’s desires was just the tip of a much deeper experience of shopping as a cultural practice. Just observing the merchandise on display, being with things, the experience of a visually relatively glamorous city and its inhabitants compared to conditions under socialism, becoming familiar with the goods, the acquisition of the necessary cultural capital and skills of discrimination, planning, dreaming, imagining oneself as someone else, establishing an emotional relationship towards the merchandise and relationships with others through merchandise, the freedom of choice and from the restraints of the

"dictatorship over needs" … all this was part of the Trieste cultural practice of shopping.

Ethnicity, Shame and Cultural Hegemony of the West

The expeditions made visible what was normally hidden and officially repressed. According to our interviews, ethnic differentiation (Slovenes vs. "southerners") was a constitutive part of the cultural practice of shopping in Trieste. For instance, the close proximity of ethnicities (Slovenes, Serbians, Bosnians, Kosovo Albanians, etc.), otherwise rarely in contact with each other, made ethnic and/or class differences visible. Hierarchical categories regarding an understanding of self (Slovenes) and others ("southerners"), civilized and less civilized, were regularly expressed by Slovene informants. The question of ethnicity intruded into the interviews mainly indirectly, when respondents spoke of the arbitrary power of the centralized state represented by the border officers "from the south", or more directly, when they spoke of "those from the south who were buying for the black market" or those shoppers from the south "who were badly dressed and behaved improperly".

> I am surprised that I never caught it in the neck. I never did, every time I managed to convince them. You know, customs officials were from the south.
> We were scared because you never knew what was going to happen. There were many people from the south, but no Slovenes.
> Yes, customs officials from the south were stricter. Stricter, sometimes unfriendly, like they wanted to show you that they were the authority.
> We, Slovenes, we did not go there like they did, the Yugoslavs. The whole families [of Yugoslavs] went there, and they … each with two to three bags, they went to buy, I don't know what, chewing gum. So you went to Trieste and you could see them, they were all around the town, especially in the center. These brothers of ours, who sat around with their bags.

Furthermore, many informants reported experiencing feelings of

shame and embarrassment that arose from discrepancies in dress between Slovenes/Yugoslavs on the one hand, and Italians on the other. Indeed, the definitional threshold for what is old and worn out was inevitably higher in socialist Yugoslavia than in Italy. The shame was articulated partly through the ambition of Slovenes to set themselves apart from "southerners", who joined the shopping expeditions at the end of the 1960s and who looked even poorer than Slovene shoppers. The "more civilized" were ashamed of the "less civilized".

> We were ashamed because we looked so miserable. At that time, at the end of the 1950s, Italians were already wearing casual clothes, khaki pants and polo shirts, but we still dressed in heavy woolen tailor-made suits and wore ties. We put on our best clothes when we went there, but it was obvious straightaway that we were Yugoslavs.
>
> When you got to the other side you saw a different life, different people, a different language. People there were well-groomed, their faces always looked so rested and happy, while we were glum and worn out by work …
>
> At that time we had enough to go to a coffee shop, there was a coffeehouse north of Ponte Rosso, so we could afford a coke or a cup of coffee. But those from the south sprawled on the grass and took out those … and ate.

Characteristic of the experience of shame mentioned by many interviewees is that it had little to do with the nature of the situation, or even with the characteristics of the person feeling it, but rather arose from the socially dominant classification and was intensified, actualized and embodied in the individual situation and self-perception: shame is always present where difference is converted into hierarchy. Social shame comes from the acceptance of the criteria of the Other and the application of these criteria to oneself. In this sense, it is the result of the western orientalization of easterners. As adjustment to the norms of the Other (subjectification) and internalization of these norms (i.e. self-disciplining), shame emanates from the cultural hegemony of the West, and is a source

of symbolic surveillance and domination. The source of shame is therefore social, the experience of shame, however, is subjective and embodied.[56] The dependence on the evaluation of the Others is of constitutive importance for the identity of the "easterners" and produces a specific subjectivity. Shopping in Italy became, thus, a permanent state of bodily insecurity and symbolic dependence for many Slovene/Yugoslav shoppers, who existed through western eyes. They anticipated an evaluation by the western Other and were condemned to the judgmental gaze of the Other, which constituted them as poor Slovenes/Yugoslavs.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of shopping expeditions to Trieste, which was triggered by the shortage of goods under state socialism in the 1950s, extended well beyond the satisfaction of needs. From a political perspective, shopping expeditions might be interpreted as containing an element of control. In this sense, they served to strengthen and legitimize the regime by offering freedom to travel and to consume that was otherwise denied by the political project of state socialism and its economic policy. Consumption was experienced as a domain of choice and as the evidence of personal autonomy also by those who could not participate in seasonal shopping trips to Italy. The politics of open borders can therefore be seen as a liberal tactic of localized subversion, or, in Barthes's words, "inoculation"[57] against a small evil to protect the larger system from a more generalized subversion. Yet, the political perspective still says nothing about the meaning of the shopping expeditions and their cultural and social implications. Using "thick description"[58], the expedition is explained as consisting of different micro-situations (interactions at the border crossing, interactions in Italian shops, smuggling situations, etc.) that have meaning only in the context of the entire expedition and that are shaped by the basic institutional parameters of the social system in which they were implicated.

Clearly, the principle of research at the micro level is the belief that microscopic observation will reveal aspects of the cultural form that were previously hidden and invisible to the analytic gaze, and, possibly, even

reveal the essential structural dimensions of the society. Although we should not forget that a micro-phenomenon is never a simple microcosmic model for the national society and its ethnic, power, gender, and other relations and, vice-versa, that structural properties of society are not simple articulation of interaction in micro contexts, we believe that shopping expeditions are more than simply comments on themselves. Therefore, the point of departure for this analysis was the question of what, if anything, these shopping expeditions were typical, i.e. the question of generalizability and the relation of this anomalous mundane culture of shopping to the social context. In brief, throughout our deconstruction of the meaning of cross-border shopping, we sought to explain the macro-cultural location of the shopping trip.

There was a dual relationship between this specific shopping micro-situation and the social context. On the one hand, the macro-social context (i.e. the political, social and economic modernization of socialistYugoslavia in the 1950s), briefly explained in the first part of the article, imputes meaning to the anomalous and seemingly insignificant practice of shopping expeditions by revealing its significance and, consequently, showing how it was tied in with the system. On the other, the analysis of the meaning of shopping expeditions revealed the hidden incoherence of the social system, and the individual's negotiation and manipulation in the face of normative reality. On the most general level, the study of shopping expeditions as a cultural form can help us explore the close entanglement of materiality and sociality, and contribute to the understanding of the politics of consumption under state socialism. The shopping expeditions in fact articulated a whole set of social relationships within which this periodic potlatch was taking place: the lack of civility, informalization of the economy and the resulting instrumentalization of sociability in socialism, privatization of the notion of "the good life", the dichotomous antagonism between private and public spheres of life as a structural feature of a society, specificities of a symbolic framing of material objects and the material framing of social relations, etc. Last but not least, they revealed the institutionalized patterns of patriarchal gender relations, ethnic relations, and the hegemony of the West.

Acquiring consumer goods in socialism became politicized because it

was a way of constituting selfhood against the dominant definitions of socialist subjectivity and collectivity and the corresponding definition of human needs. However, the acquisition of goods was politicized in yet another way: mass shopping trips across the border to Italy were indeed not against the law, but the regime at the border crossings did imply a moral condemnation of "capitalist materialism". The condemnation was manifest in unrealistic customs regulations, arbitrary treatment of shoppers by customs officials and their lack of civility, and in occasional but fairly regular politically driven tightening of border policies that were invariably unannounced and unpredictable. Another aspect of politicizing consumption was connected with the relation of the East to the West as expressed through shopping expeditions. As argued previously, basic needs can be defined not as those that sustain us as physical beings, but as those needs that are necessary conditions for our cultural participation. Eastern Europe or the European Orient was invented as an intellectual project of demi-orientalization.[59] Europe behind the Iron Curtain and beyond western civilization was Europe's periphery, excluded from the shared narrative of the capitalist "core", and, according to Wolff, occupying "an ambiguous space between inclusion and exclusion, both in economic affairs and cultural recognition".[60] Hence there was a lack of narratives through which the Yugoslavs could see and imagine themselves positively as Yugoslavs and Eastern Europeans. Being "outside" of the central narratives of European society and culture was a crucial dimension of inequality. We would like to suggest that shopping in capitalist Italy and acquiring western goods and knowledge about goods is to be understood as an attempt and a struggle to become part of western consumer culture and its practical and expressive order, from which Eastern Europe was excluded. The semi-oriental position of "those Eastern States of Europe" in relation to the civilized West was deeply implicated in even the most mundane and limited micro-situation of the shopping trip to Trieste.

Notes

[1] A version of this article was published in Journal of Consumer Culture Vol. 6, Nr. 2, 2006 under the title "Remembering Socialism. On desire, consumption and surveillance", 229–259. I am grateful to the Sage Publications for their permission to reprint the article.

[2] Actions that violate certain norms, but do so routinely. On the micro-historical study of "normal exceptions" see David A. Bell, "Total History and Microhistory: The French and Italian Paradigms," in *A Companion to Western Historical Thought*, ed. Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 262–76.

[3] The border between Italy and Yugoslavia, hermetically sealed after the Second World War, was partially opened for crossings in 1955. The border opened more widely in 1967 when visas were abolished (Jože Pirjevec, *Jugoslavija 1918–1992 [Yugoslavia 1918–1992]* (Koper: Lipa, 1995), 255). More on crossing the border in Vida Zei and Breda Luthar, "Shopping across the Border" (paper presented at the "Everyday Socialism: States and Social Transformation in Eastern Europe 1945–1965" conference, The Open University Conference Centre, London, April 24–26, 2003).

[4] The number of Italian motor vehicles that crossed the border between Italy and Yugoslavia had also increased from 42,995 in 1959 to 138,700 in 1963 (see Statistical Office of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, *Statistical Yearbook of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia* (Ljubljana: Statistični urad SR Slovenije, 1964), 260.

[5] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance – Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

[6] Interviewing was carried out in two stages: 20 pilot interviews in 2001 were followed by the redefinition of the concepts and a further 26 interviews were conducted between 2003 and 2005. Somewhere at this point it also became obvious that the collection of new empirical data fitted into the existing conceptual framework and that new interviews were only variations on the existing themes that supported our conceptualizations. In analyzing the transcripts, we tried to move continuously from data to theory and back again. On the one hand, we were looking for material in the interview transcriptions that had a bearing on the concepts being initially developed. On the other, however, we tried to redefine the theoretical concepts by cross-checking the empirical material.

[7] Giovanni Levy, "On Microhistory," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 96.

[8] Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91.

[9] Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 199.

[10] Ferenc Féher, Agnes Heller and Gyorgy Márkus, *Dictatorship over Needs* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 89.

[11] See, for example, Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 1996[1979]); Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997a).

[12] Len Doyal and Ian Gough, *The Theory of Human Need* (London: Macmillian, 1991), 18.

[13] See Foucault in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Penguin, 1984), 369.

[14] Rom Harré, "Material Objects in Social Worlds," *Theory, Culture & Society* 19 (5/6) (2002): 32.

[15] Or, as Slater argues: "'Real needs' are rather the way in which particular real people and communities formulate their values, identities, commitments in terms of what they 'need' in order to live a kind of life they deem good." (Don Slater, "Consumer Culture and the Politics of Need," in *Buy This Book. Studies in Advertising and Consumption*, ed. Mica Nava et al. (London: Routledge, 1997b), 57.)

[16] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, ibid., 1996[1979].

[17] Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 38.

[18] Economic growth between 1953 and 1964 was 12.7 percent (Michael C. Kaser, *The Economic History of Eastern Europe (1919–1975)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 38). The net personal income (wages) per worker rose 6.2 per cent per year (Harold Lydall, *Yugoslav Socialism. Theory and Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 74). The standard of living was lower in Yugoslavia during 1950–3 than anywhere else in Eastern Europe with the exception of Albania. The pre-war average level of consumption per capita was regained in 1954.

[19] Susan E. Reid and David Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 3.

[20] "Really existing socialism" is a term used by the so called Soviet-style societies themselves, in order to express the transitional reality of the existing system and distinguish it from the communism that was the ultimate goal.

[21] See Michael C. Kaser, ibid., 1986, 46, Table 24.2. These are index numbers of per capita consumption. In general, consumption increased as a share of national

income, and in absolute terms in all Eastern European countries at the time.

[22] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1992).

[23] Klaus Eder, *The New Politics of Class* (London: Sage, 1993), 76. Consequently, as argued by Klaus Eder (ibid., 1993, 90), in order to modernize the concept of class we have to take into account the increasing relevance of culture for the objective as well as the subjective side of class. In state socialism, particularly, the discontinuity of the reproduction of economic elites and the radical reduction of the private sector economy led to the central importance of cultural and social capital in class differentiation.

[24] It should be noted, however, that Yugoslav middle-class youth's perception of Italy was just part of a more general mythology of good Italian taste and a shared predilection for Italian culture by the younger generation of Europe in the 1950s and 1960s. In Britain, Vespa scooters became an identity marker for the "Mods" subculture in 1958–9. On Italianicity of the British youth culture of the late 1950s, see Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light: On Images and Things* (London: Routledge, 1988). Contrary to British Vespa owners or Mods, who were predominantly from working-class or lower middle-class backgrounds, in Yugoslavia, Vespa owners were older (according to eye-witness reports from 25 to 35 years of age) and well-educated urban youth.

[25] See Klaus Eder, ibid., 1993, 90.

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge, 2000), 367.

[27] Klaus Eder, ibid., 1993, 181.

[28] Markku Lonkila, "Informal Exchange Relations in Post-Soviet Russia: A Comparative Perspective," *Sociological Research Online* 2(2) (1997), http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/2/2/9.html (accessed January 2006).

[29] Colin Campbell, "Shopping, Pleasure and the Sex War," in *The Shopping Experience,* ed. Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (London: Sage, 1997), 170.

[30] Michael Schudson, *Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion* (London: Routledge, 1984), 141.

[31] Daniel Miller, ibid., 1987, 12.

[32] Miller convincingly links modern consumption and the ritual of sacrifice in traditional societies, and argues that the connection between shopping and capitalism is more indirect than suggested by the more simplistic theory of "the consumer society". See Daniel Miller, *A Theory of Shopping* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

[33] See Daniel Miller, ibid., 1998, 148.

[34] Alenka Švab, "Consuming Western Images of Well-Being – Shopping Tourism in Socialist Slovenia," *Cultural Studies* 16(1) (2002): 67.

[35] See Colin Campbell, ibid., 1997; Peter K. Lunt and Sonia M. Livingstone, *Mass*

Consumption and Personal Identity (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992).

[36] According to data from the federal customs administration, during the first 9 months of 1966, 22,500 washing machines, 13,000 cars, 8000 sewing machines, 1900 televisions and 2000 tape recorders were imported into Yugoslavia ("Redne Dajatve pri Zasebnem Uvozu Gospodinjskih Strojev [Regular Import Duties for Personal Household Appliences]," *Delo*, December 31, 1966, 14.) This of course refers only to goods on which customs were paid.

[37] Colin Campbell, ibid., 1997, 170.

[38] See Sharon Zukin, *Beyond Marx and Tito: Theory and Practice of Yugoslav Socialism* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 276.

[39] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xvi.

[40] Kaj Ilmonen, "The Use and Commitment to Goods," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 4(1) (2004): 27–50.

[41] Stark in Barbara Misztal, *Informality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 207.

[42] Žižek defines totalitarianism as a system without positive and universally valid rules; anything we do may be defined at any time as illegal or prohibited. The law exists, but it is completely arbitrary: we can at any moment become a criminal who violates the unknown law. See Slavoj Žižek, *Jezik, Ideologija, Slovenci [Language, Ideology, Slovenes]* (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1987), 218. More recently, he argued that "… the moment one accepts the notion of 'totalitarianism', one is firmly located within the liberal-democratic horizon" (Slavoj Žižek, *Did Somebody Say Totalitarianism?* (London: Verso, 2001), 3).

[43] Civility has in English etymological roots in city and civilization. According to Sennett, it has to do with protecting oneself against unknown others while maintaining the illusion of community and shared experience. See Richard Sennett, *Nestanak Javnog Čovjeka [The Fall of Public Man]* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1989), 350. On the problem of sociability and social integration typical for socialism, see the excellent book by Barbara Misztal, ibid., 2000. On civil inattention and civil indifference see Erving Goffman, *Relations in Public: Micro Studies of the Public Order* (London: Penguin, 1971) and Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Identity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 46–7.

[44] Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Toward a Theory of Cultural Trauma," in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander et al. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 1–30.

[45] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), xix.

[46] Michel de Certeau, ibid., 1984, 37.

[47] Michel de Certeau, ibid., 1984, 36–7.

[48] See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 1990).

[49] Anna Wessely, "Travelling People, Travelling Objects," *Cultural Studies* 16(1) (2002): 3.

[50] Lehtonen and Mäenpää, who write on shopping trips to shopping malls, propose the term "trippism" rather than tourism. The latter is actually derived from the verb "to tour", which etymologically means traveling around from place to place or a long journey. Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen and Pasi Mäenpää, "Shopping in East Centre Mall," in *The Shopping Experience,* ed. Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell (London: Sage, 1997), 148.

[51] See John Urry, ibid., 1990.

[52] Daniel Miller, ibid., 1998, 104.

[53] See Daniel Miller, ibid., 1998.

[54] Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen and Pasi Mäenpää, ibid., 1997, 160.

[55] Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 198.

[56] See Sighard Neckel, *Status und Scham: Zur Symbolischen Reproduktion Sozialer Ungleichheit [Status and Shame: Toward a Symbolic Reproduction of Social Inequality]* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1991).

[57] Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Paladin, 1983), 150.

[58] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 3–30.

[59] See Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

[60] Larry Wolff, ibid., 1994, 9.