Decoding the Dress.
Reading features of costume design in films of Emir Kusturica.

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Abstract

This thesis considers fashion and cinema as crucial embodiments of Yugoslavian culture. As such, it gives a shine to the potential inherent in film costume for the historical analysis of Yugoslavian national identity and its politics. The focus is on the semiotic analysis of costume design in two native films by Emir Kusturica: *When Father Was Away on Business* and *Underground*. Social relations are investigated through the lens of a critical theory, with particular interest in questions of gender, violence, education and sexuality. Taking the idea from a critical theory - that power constitutes all human relations - this thesis considers dress as a core symbol for performing power in Yugoslavian society.

Keywords:

- costume
- film
- national identity
- fashion
- culture
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Introduction

As one of the most celebrated film directors worldwide, the cinema of Emir Kusturica has been a subject of numerous debates among film scholars. The reception of his films, and particularly those which deal with national representation, varies from the pure enthusiasm to the excessive adherence. For instance, French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut stated in Le Monde, about Underground (even before he watched the film):

In recognizing Underground, the Cannes jury thought it was honouring a creator with a thriving imagination. In fact, it has honoured a servile and flashy illustrator of criminal clichés. The Cannes jury highly praised a version of the most hackneyed and deceitful Serb propaganda. The devil himself could not have conceived so cruel an outrage against Bosnia, nor such grotesque epilogue to Western incompetence and frivolty.\(^1\)

However, after he saw the film, Finkielkraut apologized, stating for Libération that he was “unfair with Emir Kusturica”.\(^2\) On the other hand, Dina Iordanova argues that: “if Underground is Serbian propaganda, then it is so cryptic that no one noticed it as such”.\(^3\) Accordingly, she notes that When Father Was Away on Business “confirmed his reputation as an indigenous director through the truthful and self-confessed devotion to his roots”.\(^4\) To name another example: during the public discussion between the Slovenian philosopher Slavoj Žižek and Bernard-Henri Lévy on the issues surrounding the historical and social significance of May 1968 in France, Žižek brought up Underground and Kusturica to Lévy by saying:

Let me find another point of contact with you. I hope we share another point, which is – to be brutal – hatred of Emir Kusturica.

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\(^1\) Alain Finkielkraut, Le Monde, 2nd June 1995, p. 16.
\(^2\) Alain Finkielkraut, Libération, 30th October 1995, p. 7.
\(^3\) Dina Iordanova, Emir Kusturica (London: British Film Institute, 2002), p. 50.
\(^4\) Ibid.
We do agree here. **Underground** I think is one of the most horrible films that I have seen.⁵

Yet, Lévy answered that he considers himself “an enemy of Kusturica, but **Underground** is not a bad film”.⁶

As we have seen, Kusturica’s films most often sustain deprecatory political interpretations, and many see them as excessively exoticized. Sean Homer would argue that: “Kusturica’s reputation varies from being an emancipator of Yugoslavian culture, language and identity to that of a betrayer of the nation”.⁷

Yet, I am of the opinion that Kusturica’s masterful depiction reflects in his outstanding ability to relate brutal realism with artistic escapism into the world of metaphors and allegories. His works often introduce highbrow literary references intertwined through the simple events of everyday life. He captures reality though the use of tiny details, representing life with all its imperfections. Nevertheless, the language in his films is dynamic and often hard to understand, particularly for an international audience. A variety of local motives and traditions in combination with abstract language full of local remarks and humours become increasingly cryptic for a foreign spectator. And, if some of those messages are noticeable, they are usually misunderstood. As a native Yugoslavian, I aim to interpret an extraordinary visual pleasure which Kusturica’s films bring, and therefore decrease the space for misinterpretation of his ethnographic films.⁸ This thesis aims to explore exclusively visual perspective of Kusturica’s national films, and thus suggest a new way of understanding his imaginative representation.⁹ Personally, I am always left moved by his brutal honesty and his

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⁵ Public discussion between Slavoj Žižek and Bernard-Henri Lévy, a debate investigated by Paul Holdengräber: *Violence and Left in Dark Times*, 16th September, 2008. Available at: [http://library.fora.tv/2008/09/16/Violence_the_Left_in_Dark_Times_A_Debate](http://library.fora.tv/2008/09/16/Violence_the_Left_in_Dark_Times_A_Debate)

⁶ Ibid.


⁸ Here the term *ethnographic film* differs from a common understanding of ethnography as a research method where the researcher immerses into the culture in order to observe it. Under ethnographic films, I refer to Kusturica’s native films about his own culture and country.

⁹ National cinema is often considered as opposed to Hollywood cinema.
impressive knowledge about the culture we mutually share, and I hope that this study will bring at least a small part of it.

Kusturica himself believes that visual spectacular equals the plot: “if you do not give the same chance to both, the spectacularity and the plot – you lose the film”. He adds that in his films: “every single word is followed by my strong effort to support it with visual, since the visual expression tells much more than the dialog itself ". Accordingly, Patrizia Calefato argues that:

The representation of the visible offered by cinema, constructed by the camera lens as if it were reality before our very eyes, communicated and reproduced in millions of copies, is unique and irreplaceable.

In this regard, Bill Nichols explains that our pervasive hunger for information about historical world surrounding us is less for information in raw, than the stories fashioned from it. This is because we hunger for news from the world around us, but desire it in the form of narratives, stories that make meaning. In this line of thought, Patrizia would add that “in the great sense-making machine of cinema, costume represents yet another signifying system, the signs of which become distinctive features, functioning as linguistic units that are often more important than script or sound track”. Accordingly, many would argue that dress is a crucial part of mise-en-scène, since its purpose is to create a ‘real’ character. In the words of practitioner Deborah Nadoolman: “the purpose is on the ‘real’ because whether it is about formalist or realist film, the purpose of costume design is to create real people, adequate for

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11 Ibid.


14 Patrizia Calefato, *The Clothed Body*.

15 To name a few: Patrizia Calefato, 2004; Stella Bruzzi, 1997; Adrienne Munich, 2011; Sarah Street 2001; Eugenia Paulicelli, 2004; Anette Kuhn, 1985.
the narrative, in order to support the composition”. At first sight, costume provides essential information for the spectator, even before the dialog starts. Constructing the character starts with her/his physical appearance; but once the story begins, the costume is used to create and support the identity of character in depth. In the words of Adrienne Munich, “costumes fuse seamlessly with character’s identities”. The costume often seems natural to the spectator, but in fact, it is a product of complex processes. Calefato would add that in cinema every sign on the body of the character has a precise meaning, linked to social characterisation, historical identity, grotesque emphasis, and transformation in terms of personality or feeling. Here Calefato points to the complexity of the costume design process, emphasizing the requirements for the profound research and analysis of the character’s identity, before the craft begins. By the means of costume designer, character’s inner world is expressed through something that is visible on the screen. In this sense, costume designer plays a crucial role in creating characters’ identities, and thus, projecting different meanings and sensations.

On the other hand, costumes in national and historical films are to be considered as contemporary fashion which often expresses very elaborate culture, composed of symbols, ideologies and lifestyles. In this sense, fashion could be considered as an “ambassador” of culture, a fundamental part of national identity and its representation. As Simona Reinach argues:

The “production” of fashion in the broadest sense, as more complex than just manufacturing, is necessary as a prerequisite for an active participation in the culture of globalization. [...] The construction process of fashion nations is very advanced and involves many other sectors besides fashion. Because it is concrete, but at the same time also the most immaterial of products, fashion lends itself to being an optimal synthetic indicator of a nation’s position, amidst memory, mystification, and imaginary.

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16 Deborah Nadoolman Landis, higher seminar, Stockholm University, 5th November, 2015.


18 Patrizia Calefato, The Clothed Body.

In my view, this is a valuable component since geography divides countries physically, and ultimately creates a divide in almost all aspects of culture – including history and nevertheless fashion. This division creates numerous interesting topics to be studied; while this study aims on strengthening the importance and role of fashion in relaying messages of political and social nature.

Consequently, considering dress and cinema as a ‘mirror’ of culture this study explores national identity through the costume design represented in film. Therefore, throughout the analysis, I pose the following questions: What role costume plays in depicting the history of the nation? How dress is used in films that depict national identity? What meanings of national representation can costume indicate? In this way, fashion and cinema are considered as two crucial mediums of culture; while the interpretation of costume design represents various meanings exchanged through dress practices. In particular, my interests, in regard to this study, are driven around questions of gender, power, education, violence and sexuality. I am eager to understand what Yugoslavian people believed and desired, and what kind of institutions they formed. Finally, this study intends on raising awareness on the importance of films to fashion and history; that cinema is critical means of communication, and that costume design is an integral process of that communication.

Primary empirical sources for this investigation are two Kusturica’s films: When Father Was Away on Business (1985), and Underground (1995). Scenario for When Father Was Away on Business is written by Abdulah Sidran, while costume design was directed by the most prominent Yugoslav costume designer of the time, Divna Jovanović, who died in 1991. Scenario for Underground is co-written with Dušan Kovačević. Costume designer, Nebojša Lipanović, about the work with Kusturica and the rest of the creative production team on Underground states: “I have an impression that we worked in Andrea del Verrocchio’s studio, that we filmed March Chagall, and that we experienced Veronica Messina”.

20 Although, there is a long version of Underground (5 hours), broadcasted in episodes on Yugoslavian and French television, this study focuses on the original version which lasts two hours and fifty minutes. When Father Was Away on Business takes two hours and ten minutes.
Initially, I was eager to study Underground, yet, I realized that although Underground is oversized in the complexity and ambiguity of characters and their stories, the narrative is located in the capital, Belgrade, and the film focuses on the modern circles of society. Therefore, I still lack information about this diverse culture. Then, I realized that When Father Was Away on Business is a perfect supplement, because it represents Yugoslavia from another perspective, exactly the one which Underground omits. When Father Was Away on Business represents the life in the smaller community, at the time when the country itself was at the economic peak. This film represents two years of a purge in Yugoslavia, during the Cold War regime, while Underground focuses on the perspective of war-time struggles, and delineates the whole era of Yugoslavian society, comprising more than sixty years of life. Therefore, these films together represent a thorough image of what did it mean to be Yugoslavian, when the country itself consisted of stark regional differences and complicated social discontinuities.

Although made within the same decade, both films won Golden Palme D’Or at Cannes Film Festival. This simultaneously means that these are the most celebrated and the most criticized Kusturica’s works. It is important to emphasize that both films were made during the years that followed the end of the event which they portray; which means that impressions were still fresh and intense during the filmmaking process. This is indeed significant notion, because both films bring the sensibilities of the time to the spectator, with each and every viewing.

Throughout this research, I have also lead a semi-structured discussion with my grandmother. Her oral history narrations I consider as a secondary empirical source for this investigation. Perhaps, before moving on, I shall explain her cultural context. She is born in 1935, in the middle-sized city in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where she had lived all until the final demise of Yugoslavia. She is highly educated woman, born and raised in a traditional Muslim family, among five sisters and two brothers. She has one marriage, and two daughters. Her husband died at an early age, from the heart attack; and she was left as a widow at the age of 42.

During the whole her life, my grandmother has worked as a sociologist, due to which her narrations are always eloquent and edifying, which I particularly enjoy. Therefore, I told her that I am doing a research about Yugoslavian history, and asked her to spontaneously
speak with me about that. Stories which she told precisely described “the life in Yugoslavia”, and comprised information about her life, and her family, relatives and neighbours. Her stories were particularly helpful because they recalled old cultural values which I did not have the opportunity to learn before, since I was born in the midst of the demise of Yugoslavia and I have been raised in the wake of the new country, which developed a completely different cultural context.

When I started to analyse the films, I realized that *When Father Was Away on Business* is somehow less familiar and understandable for me. Obviously, this happened because I originate from different cultural context; and because the event portrayed in this film occurred 50 years before I was even born. Furthermore, the story which this film represent is the greatest taboo in history; therefore, I have never learned about that in school, or have the opportunity to hear about that in the public media. Nevertheless, after I roughly defined my spheres of interest, I asked my grandmother to watch the film together with me. During the viewing, I led a spontaneous dialog with her regarding contemporary traditions represented in the film. Relevant parts of this dialog I included in the analysis. A particularly interesting was to observe her reactions during the viewing process, which indeed helped me to get the impression of the time.

**Methodology**

Based on Hayden White’s thoughts, Alun Munslow argues that every discipline is constituted by what it prohibits its practitioners to do.21 He would add that every discipline consists of a set of restrictions on thought and imagination. Thus, every historical narrative must consider the relation between the ‘story’ and the ‘fact’. In this line of thought, post-modern historian Keith Jenkins has established a critical approach towards the construction of historical knowledge.22 Since historiography is no more than another discourse about the world, a critical approach towards the construction of historical knowledge is essential. According to Jenkins, the basis for all historical writings is to make a clear distinction between the past and the history. In order to do this, I provide a historical chapter, before the actual analysis of

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22 Jenkins Keith, *Re-thinking History* (London: Routledge, 1991). His book is considered as an encyclopedia among history scholars. For instance, Hayden White described it as: “far and away the best introduction to the state of the question currently available”.
films. A concise historical discussion aims to represent the common sense of the time. In addition, social and political discontinuities are investigated through the lens of a critical theory. Consequently, the analysis of the films, this thesis considers as the past. This method is conditioned by my strong desire to make a clear distinction between the common sense of the time and the horrible outcomes which it had produced. Furthermore, it is inevitable to introduce the reader into the complexity of both films and complicated political references they take. According to Raymond Bellour:

> The lived, more or less collective experience of a film projected in a cinema, in the dark, according to an unalterably precise screening procedure, remains the condition for a special memory experience, one from which every other viewing situation more or less departs”.

To reflect on this, I shall mention that the first viewing of both films for the purpose of this research is arranged explicitly on the cinematic screen, due to several reasons. Firstly because any visual analysis of actual garments requires the visibility of tiniest details. Secondly, in terms of spectator’s experience, the cinematic environment is incomparable to the small screens. Hugo Münsterberg, the father of the film theory argues that any deep experience of cinema requires a sort of attention, memory, imagination, and emotion. In the dark cinema, the aura is associated with the artwork. Additionally, during the four subsequent viewings of each film, arranged on my computer, I screenshot almost all scenes which portray different outfits and saved them in a chronological order. After that, I started to narrate the story of each film, through clothes, while constantly being in a dialog with the historical references.

As Jenkins argues: “history is one of a series of discourses about the world. These discourses do not create the world but they do appropriate it and give it all the meanings it has”. Yet, fashion discourse relies mainly on visual culture, which means that its


25 Keith Jenkins, Re-thinking history, p. 5.
interpretation is based on visual evidences rather than on spoken or written facts. According to Roland Barthes, the starting point of every visual study is to read the denoted message, which is the pure description of what can be seen in the image.\textsuperscript{26} Denoted message serves as a platform for further defining the connoted message, and it determines which signs the researcher chooses to interpret. Reading the connoted message, is the act of giving the meaning to what can be seen in the image.\textsuperscript{27} In this sense, connecting garments to the cultural context provides better understanding of how cultural values and contradictions are embodied. Therefore, garments used in films are observed as cultural systems, taking the idea from Barthes semiotic analysis.\textsuperscript{28} According to Barthes:

> Semiology therefore aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification.\textsuperscript{29}

Barthes applied Ferdinand de Saussure’s postulation about the existence of a general science of signs, \textit{Semiology}, on the research of fashion photography in magazines; and therefore initially proposed the idea of semantic analysis of garments, as a systematized set of signs and rules. Accordingly, he describes the language of fashion clothes as the “vestimentary communication”.\textsuperscript{30} In this argument, Barthes departs from Nikolai Trubetzkoy’s classical distinction between language and speech, and applies it on the garment system. Thus, Barthes argues that language in the garment system is made: by the opposition of garments and accessories, the variations which entail a change in meaning; and by the rules which govern


\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., p. 9.

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., p. 26.
the association of garments and their pieces among themselves.\textsuperscript{31} Yet, the speech in the garment system, Barthes sees as an individual way of wearing clothes (for instance: size of the garment, degree of cleanliness or wear, personal quirks, free association of pieces).\textsuperscript{32} Finally, he argues that the dialectic in the garment system, unites costume (language) and clothing (speech), where the costume precedes clothing.\textsuperscript{33} Nevertheless, Barthes also argues that clothes described in a fashion magazine by means of articulated language, has practically no ‘speech’:

The garment which is described never corresponds to an individual handling of the rules of fashion, it is a systematised set of signs and rules: it is a language in its pure state.\textsuperscript{34}

In this line of thought, this thesis considers cinema as the dialectic in the garment system, since it provides an intersemiotic analysis of costume (in terms of fashion language) and clothing (in terms of speech). Unlike fashion magazines, where we can read the “fashionable language” (that is: what is fashionable and what is not); in film costume design, we can read a dialog between the “fashionable language” and the “clothing speech” (that is: the ways in which people use their fashionable or unfashionable garments in everyday life). In this sense, film costume becomes increasingly relevant for historically based analysis of cultures and their traditions. Accordingly, many film costume scholars argue that cinema forms a closer relation to fashion, than photography.\textsuperscript{35} For instance, Calefato argues that:

Today cinema, in particular, represents one of the most complete and multifarious universes of social imagery, and has a more relevant role in relation to fashion than photography even, since

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{35} See for example: Sarah Street 2001; Patrizia Calefato 2004.
it empowers human sensibility through the complexity of signs, discourses and forms of perception that it triggers.\textsuperscript{36}

Significantly, cinema has the ability to objectify modes of reception and to portray the body in motion.

\textbf{Theoretical framework}

\textit{Critical theory}

According to Kerry Howell, critical theory is based on positivist and phenomenological perspectives, and aims to identify and perhaps challenge what was taking place in institutions, from historical perspective.\textsuperscript{37} Critical theory is an interpretative approach combined with an emphasized interest in critical discussion on actual social realities; the aim is to serve to the liberation of thought.\textsuperscript{38} Howell argues that individual hypothesis are influenced by social and historical forces; and that individuals are never completely free from the social and historical structures they originate from, but also construct through life.\textsuperscript{39} The general idea of critical theory is that reality is constructed through social and historical processes; and that researcher and researched must be linked through historical values, which inevitably influence the purpose of investigation.\textsuperscript{40} Howell describes that the pivotal idea within critical theory is that power dominates human beings in social settings.\textsuperscript{41} In other words, power constitutes the foundation of social existence in that it constructs social and economic relations; thus, power is the basis for all political, social and organisational relationships. In addition, hegemony is crucial factor to take into account when researching power relations.\textsuperscript{42} She notes that hegemony includes means by which individuals or groups gain consent for domination. Of course that power originates from ruling elites, but through cultural institutions, it is disseminated widely, in order to become a common sense. She further argues that the means

\textsuperscript{36} Patrizia Calefato, \textit{The Clothed Body}.

\textsuperscript{37} Kerry Howell, \textit{An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology} (London: SAGE, 2013), p. 75.


\textsuperscript{39} Kerry Howell. \textit{An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology}.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 85.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
by which domination is accepted in society is ideology; and that ideology “incorporates meanings, norms, values and rituals” which enables the acceptance of power as a norm. This is certainly well done through cultural institutions such as media, education, etc.; but isn’t fashion the one which creates meaning, sets norms, determines values, and implies performing rituals? According to Christopher Breward, the relation between representation and social meaning lies in the centre of any definition of fashion. The problems of social identity are directly linked to the concerns regarding body, gender, appearance or representation. In the same line of thought, based on Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, Marco Pecorari argues that fashion discourse serves as practice that systematically form the construction of value and meaning in society. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault elaborates his own historical model for analysis, arguing for fashion discourse as power and control. He concludes that fashion discourse is not a field specific, but it circulates, and perhaps dominates through different fields. Therefore, costume as a key signifier in film’s narrative serves as a prominent tool for analysing struggles within social relations. Considering the dress as a political tool, this study argues that power is the basis for all relationships in Yugoslavian society: and that all social institutions communicate through power. More importantly, it argues that power relations are most vividly seen through dress. In other words, this study argues that appearance is a visual hegemony, and as such it is the most eminent means for communicating the power.

**Film Theory**

Film scholar Malin Wahlberg sees images as microorganisms, since they have an intense capacity for propagation. She would also add that the life of images consists from different relations between people and technologies. In this way, the life of images is more persistent

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46 Ibid.

47 Malin Wahlberg, “The Trace”, in *Cinema’s Alchemist: The Film by Petër Forgacs* ed. by Bill Nichols, Michael Renov, and Davis Whitney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. 119-133.

48 Ibid.
than real life, thus the shot could be seen as an extension of the moment. In other words, the moment that is captured by the camera lens, could never disappear, since the image is the evidence that it existed, and this image will always evoke a sort of a memory with reference to the present time.\textsuperscript{49}

The films where the subjectivity of the filmmaker is expressed in relation to political struggle or historical trauma, Michael Renov defines as the commemoration.\textsuperscript{50} Commemoration is the act of giving an honour to an important event or a person from the past. Renov explains that the commemoration creates cultural memory, thus the film becomes the element for constructing the history. A common way of creating commemoration is developing a critical re-enactment. Joram Brink and Joshua Oppenheimer in their book \textit{Killer Images} explain that the “re-enactment” became a much wider, popular method of studying history by using theatre, live historical public events, museum work, and film.\textsuperscript{51} Michael explains that the notion of subjectivity plays a crucial role in understanding such film. He describes subjectivity as a “multilayered construction of selfhood imagined, performed, and assigned”.\textsuperscript{52} In fact, he points to the way in which filmmaker perceive things in his own mind, therefore the subjectivity determines the self-expression. The filmmaker’s desire to produce visible evidence of his own memory, so as to provide an element for constructing the history, lies in his subjectivity.

Accordingly, Kusturica’s films bring the force of history, memory and knowledge down to the level of immediate experience and individual subjectivity. On the other hand, they are inevitably products of the thriving imagination. In this sense, his works are hardly classified under classical genres, and are an embodiment of what Nichols describes as \textit{blurred genres}.\textsuperscript{53} He argues that when stories are set out to represent the world around us, they enter into the realm of those \textit{blurred genres} like historiography and documentary that use imaginative techniques to tell the tale of actual occurrences.\textsuperscript{54} In his words:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{50} Michael Renov, \textit{The Subject of Documentary} (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{52} Michael Renov, \textit{The Subject of Documentary}.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{53} Bill Nichols, \textit{Blurred boundaries}.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\end{quote}
We enter a zone where the world put before us lies between one not our own and one that very well might be, between a world we may recognize as a fragment of our own and one that may seem fabricated from such fragments, between indexical (authentic) signs of reality and cinematic (invented) interpretations of this reality. Stories offer structure; they organize and order the flux of events; they confer meaning and value.\(^{55}\)

In regard to epistemology, Nichols argues that huge shift occurred, and what counts as knowledge is not what it used to be:

> History and memory intertwine; meaning and action, past and present, hinge on one another distinctively. Documentary and fiction, social actor and social other, knowledge and doubt, concept and experience share boundaries that inescapably blur. We are entering a realm of specificity and corporeality, of embodied knowledge and existentially situated action.\(^{56}\)

In addition, Nichols makes a sharp distinction between embodied and localized knowledge, arguing that localized knowledge “constrains inquiry to a carefully delimited frame”, while embodied knowledge “exceeds such frames”.\(^{57}\) He concludes that: “its inclusiveness (self plus other, body plus mind, system plus environment) makes such knowledge a strong approximation of wisdom”.\(^{58}\)

\(^{55}\) Ibid., p. ix.

\(^{56}\) Ibid., p. 1.

\(^{57}\) Ibid.

\(^{58}\) Ibid., p. 2.
Literature review

Fashion

For identifying contemporary fashion trends, I have used two books which are to be considered as encyclopedias among fashion history scholars: *The Culture of Fashion* (1995) by Christopher Breward and *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History* (1996) by James Laver. Breward in his volume considers dress as a cultural system and this exhaustive study provides a chronological evolution of dress from medieval period until the late twentieth century. The chapter on early twentieth century serves as a guiding for the recognition of various fashion trends, since he discusses systems of dressing that were highly differentiated in terms of class, age, gender, sexuality and location. In addition, Laver brought equally comprehensive study, which investigates dress practices from Ancient civilizations up to late twentieth century. Although, Laver’s study largely ignores the relation between psychology and dress because, as he argues: “it has been adequately dealt elsewhere”.

Fashion and film

The chapter “Fashion and Cinema” in *The Clothed Body* by Patrizia Calefato has inspired my initial interest in the relation between the two. Calefato explores various perspectives in which cinema and fashion intertwine, while seeing them as two institutions, two sign systems, and two languages that pose the problem of the relation between image and identity:

Since cinema, like fashion, mobilizes the gaze, inviting it to change, to transform, it can narrate these metamorphoses, can narrate itself and display the cultural and technical processes that generate meaning.

Sarah Street in her book *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film*, puts an emphasis on the claim that costumes on film used to explore the theme of identity could be read on many levels: “as instruments of plot development; as signs of character’s personality;


61 Patrizia Calefato, *The Clothed Body.*
as accomplices in the development of an overall “look” and visual style of the film; and as evidence for the application of theoretical concepts”. In order to understand the representation of Yugoslavian national identity, this study reads costume as the ‘sign of character’s personality’, and as the ‘evidence for the application of theoretical concepts’; nevertheless, it simultaneously suggests how costume contributes to the ‘plot development’, so as to the ‘overall look and visual style of the film’. In her book, Street emphasizes and elaborates the idea that fashion forms a closer relation with films than with magazines: “unlike the ‘frozen’ text of magazine, the study of film fashions invite consideration of their role in the overall narrative”.

Throughout the comparative analysis of Titanic and A Night To Remember, Street stresses a variety of class codes exchanged through costume. She emphasizes the importance of reading these films with contemporary politics of Cold War in mind. For instance, she elaborates restrictive features of dress used to represent willingness of masses to conform to ruling elites. She also defines a stereotypical costume which is often assigned to lower circles of society. In this sense, her ideas are particularly helpful for understanding fashionable features of Communism represented in When Father Was Away on Business. Furthermore, Street widely elaborates features of realist film costume, where she concludes:

From these analyses of two versions of Titanic disaster it is clear that as a key element of mise-en-scene, costume is capable of conveying many complex meanings. As we have seen, while a director might proclaim an overall commitment to realism, this is compromised by the tension between authenticating processes and narrative pleasure. ‘Authenticating processes’ refer to the ways in which films based on historical fact are obligated to present some semblance to ‘the truth’ as it has come to be understood.

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63 Ibid., p. 5.
64 Ibid., pp. 13-35.
65 Ibid., p. 30.
In “Desperately Seeking Susan: Textures of Transformation” Street investigates the representation of female identity and its transformation, with particular emphasis on film’s motive of female dichotomy and different lifestyles. This helps me to understand how film costume engages a comparative representation between different female identities. As for instance, the dichotomy between traditional and modern woman, a theme which both films engage. Street notes that in this way, the film uses fashion as a means of advancing the plot.

John Flügel provides a relevant study about film costume, from a psychoanalytic perspective. In *The Psychology of Clothes* he explores notions of exhibitionism, fetishism and sexuality which are crucial for understanding gender relations in Yugoslavia. Flügel argues that clothes are the extension of “bodily self” and can be used as protection, as a sort of armour that conceals vulnerability but also as display, often of a sexual nature. In regard to sexuality, Flügel recognizes the problem within the relation between dress and fetishism.

In her book *Undressing Cinema*, Stella Bruzzi argues that Flügel’s study is a pure transposition of Freud’s ideas about sexuality and fetishism. In this regard, her chapter “Desire and the costume film” explores gender relations with particular focus on sexuality, where she refers to Freud and Flügel. Here, Bruzzi recognizes decorative woman as the source of male’s erotic pleasure, and how woman’s dress represents her relation to man. Another valuable contribution for this theme is Laura Mulvey’s article “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”. This is a significant study for understanding the idea of eroticism and sexuality in films. Mulvey also discusses Freud’s idea of fetishism through which female becomes a symbol of masculine desire, yet, Mulvey develops this argument further by arguing how female becomes addicted to the male gaze. In addition, Mulvey discusses female castration which is an important perspective to encounter when researching war-time struggles within society.

*Undressing Cinema* is a psychoanalytical study which explores intersections between fashion and cinema, throughout essays centred around the themes of gender and beyond.

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66 Ibid., pp. 55-73.


69 Ibid., pp. 35-67.

gender. Particularly relevant for this study is her essay “The Instabilities of the Franco-American Gangster” which investigates codes for representation of aggressive masculinity and violence.\(^1\) This essay inspired my understanding of how costume is used to represent a patriarchal society; and also how costume is used to construct and support characters with militant behaviour.

*Fashion in Film*, is an extensive study, edited by Adrienne Munich, where she explores the synergy of dress and cinema, “a force as old as film itself”, as she argues.\(^2\) In the opening essay Munich argues how film costume often navigates among national borders.\(^3\) Hence, all essays in this compilation touch upon the theme of national identity from another perspective. For instance, Drake Stutesman’s exploration of American culture through Hollywood films, Guliana Bruno’s chapter on ethnically tailored Japanese films of Wong Kar Wai, or Caroline Evans’s investigation of almost parallel development of fashion shows and silent films, both emerging from France, etc.

Jacqueline Reich’s article “Slave to Fashion: Masculinity, Suits, and the Maciste Films of Italian Silent Cinema” engages a discussion about representation of negotiations within masculine identity, with particular focus on suit and its meaning.\(^4\) She argues for the restrictive and unifying nature of suits, which coalesces with an embodiment of the twentieth century male (communist) figure in Yugoslavia. Reich also discusses the representation of naked strong muscle male body in Maciste’s films which signifies strength, moral and courage. This representation forms a direct relation with male heroism and moral nationalism represented in Kusturica’s films.

In “Subversive Habits: Minority Women in Mani Ratnam’s *Roja* and *Dil Se*” Sarah Berry explores how costume articulates female subversion in Indian films.\(^5\) Berry elaborates a variety of ways in which female is represented as marginalized group of society in films. For instance, Berry notes how female characters in Ratnam’s films often represent a national

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\(^1\) Stella Bruzzi, *Undressing Cinema*, pp. 67-95.


\(^3\) Ibid., p. 6.


embodiment, while we can read issues of national identity out from female costume. In this line of thought, we shall see how in Kusturica’s films female characters often represent a projection of Yugoslavian multiculturalism. Berry also discusses the problem of Indian female warriors, which is helpful for understanding the representation of Yugoslavian female Partisans who were active participants in the Second World War. In relation to this, Laura Mulvey in “Afterthoughts on Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema” elaborates a highly relevant Freud’s idea of women who accept “masculinisation”. According to Mulvey, Freud recognizes a “masculine phase”, occurring in the early development of female identity, as an increasingly influential.

Nevertheless, a particularly relevant for this study is Kristin Hole’s article “Does Dress Tell the Nation’s Story? Fashion, History, and Nation in the Films of Fassbinder” in Fashion and Film. In this article Hole explores the ability of dress to recreate and reimagine the fascist national identity in Fassbinder’s trilogy. What particularly attracted my attention in regard to this article is the emphasis which Hole puts on the “history lessons” we can read out form costumes in film, which thoroughly coalesces with my arguments represented in this thesis. For this reason, the question Does Dress Tell the Nation’s Story? I borrowed for the title of my concluding chapter. Accordingly, it seems as the most appropriate for redefinition of my ambiguous analysis of Kusturica’s films, and therefore for accentuating the potential inherent in fashion for the historical epistemology.

Theory

Features of Marxism are highly influential for understanding the social context of Yugoslavia, since a fundamental knowledge was based on Marxist thought. Nevertheless, as Anthony Giddens explains, when analysing Marx we must encounter a spatiotemporal context, because for Marx socialism was a project, a set of possible developments for the future; on the


78 The whole epistemological process in Yugoslavia was based on Marx’s writings represented in: *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1848) and *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* by Karl Marx (1867).
contrary for us, socialism is actually existing. In this sense, I aim to understand features of Marxism through the lens of the two most influential sociologists of the twentieth century: Michel Foucault and Anthony Giddens. A particular reason for choosing these theorists is because Foucault and Giddens are highly associated in regard to the theme of power, which takes a central position in this thesis. In this way, their complementing ideas helped me to understand dysfunctional characteristics of Communism.

Throughout the interpretation of sociological traditions of Communism in *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*, Giddens focuses around themes of state power and control, citizenship rights, epistemology, etc. In regard to these themes, Giddens expresses a particular sympathy with Foucault’s thoughts. He argues that Foucault’s writings not only include “the all-enveloping character of power, its priority to values and to truth, but also the idea that the body is the surface upon which power impinges”. Another relevant study, particularly valuable for understanding the method which this research employs is Giddens’s sociological enterprise represented in *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity*, edited by Christopher Pierson. In the “Introduction” Martin O’Brien argues that, for Giddens, sociology performs a “double hermeneutic: it spirals in and out of the knowledges of everyday life”. These everyday knowledges are in fact, common sense accounts by which people understand and explain their world. In this respect, Giddens defines “social reflexivity” which considers sociology as a critical endeavour: “it draws upon the ordinary meanings shared by people in society but reformulates and expands them in order to assist in the process of positive social change”.

A particularly inspiring study for this research represents a contribution brought by Lawrenze Kritzman: *Michel Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and other writings 1977-1984*. This book is an overview of all Foucault’s writings focused around

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80 Ibid., p. 219.


83 Ibid., p. 5.

discourses of culture, and it touches upon themes of knowledge and education, state power and control, violence and sex. For instance, in chapter “On Power”, in interview with Pierre Boncenne, Foucault recognizes that problem with Communism is that all knowledge was based on Marxism:

I think it was bound up with the fact that theoretical and political discussion was entirely dominated by Marxism, understood as a general theory of society, of History, of revolution, etc. To bring into the political field that sort of problem was, therefore, a sort of act of indecency in relation to the acquired hierarchy of speculative values.\textsuperscript{85}

Furthermore, the chapter “Politics and Reason” represents a highly valuable lecture which Foucault delivered at Stanford University, in 1979.\textsuperscript{86} Here, he discusses Plato’s myth of the shepherd followed by the flock, where he elaborates hierarchies of pastoral power. Foucault’s lecture is particularly important for understanding the overall concept of \textit{Underground} and its inscription of patriarchal society. Another valuable compilation of essays which explore Foucault’s writings, that I have used for this research, is \textit{Foucault on Politics, Security and War}, edited by Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal.\textsuperscript{87} In “Strategies for Waging Peace: Foucault as \textit{Collaborateur}”, Stuart Elden elaborates Foucault’s idea about internal national conflicts in the form of racism.\textsuperscript{88} Foucault believes that historical war is replaced with the biological struggle for life: “differentiation of species, selection of the strongest, survival of the fittest races”.\textsuperscript{89} In this respect, Foucault’s ideas are crucial for understanding the construction of Yugoslavian nationalism.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., pp. 97-98.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., pp. 57-85.
\textsuperscript{87} Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal, \textit{Foucault on Politics, Security and War} (London: PALGRAVE, 2008).
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p. 23.
Outline of the thesis

As mentioned before, I choose to provide a “historical chapter”, before the actual analysis of films. The following is the analysis of each film, which lead a constant dialog with historical references represented in the first chapter. By engaging with the emergence of both political values and historical facts, this research will depict the contrasting natures of fashion evident in films and costume design. Throughout the analysis, the aim is to dissect the integral components of the films wherein fashion is used as a module to emphasize political views and cultural values as per the historical relevance of each scenario. The concluding chapter uncovers similarities and ultimately highlights fashion’s role in costume design as a story telling vehicle.

First Chapter

*Balkan Story from Andrić to Kusturica*

The resurrection of Yugoslavian nationalism is not a direct cause, but rather a sad consequence, of outside shifts of power. Interestingly, Balkan nationalism throughout history was ‘resurrected’ only in conjunction with the tempering and pressure which came from abroad. In fairness, one should add that Southern Slavs have always been easily pitted against each other. Still, it was usually in the cause of someone else’s interests and someone else’s wars, in which the disempowered locals hoped to gain something they could never do in peacetime.90

For a deeper understanding of the complicated conflicts in Yugoslavian history, one must examine references which often date back to pagan times. It has been widely established that Slavic tribes reached the Balkan Peninsula around the 7th century, and by the 9th century,

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they were thoroughly Christianised. Afterwards, Balkans fell under the Turkish rule during their invasions of Europe in the 14th century. All communities who lived on Balkan were brought under the influence of Islam, both politically and culturally. Due to being under the Turkish jurisdiction for five centuries, the sense of the Orient is intensely etched into the Slavic culture. However, Turks had the strongest impact in Bosnia, since the people who lived on this territory were never Christian Orthodox. Throughout the time, native families converted to Islam deliberately, in order to improve their social status. As Goran Gocić describes:

> Being a Muslim in the Ottoman Empire of the Middle Ages was equivalent of an EU citizenship today: for many Slavs it meant prosperity and a possible advancement in the social hierarchy (as well as substantial protection by the state legislation-'human rights' in contemporary language).

On the other hand, since Turks occupied Balkan for five centuries, numerous Muslim families from other Turkish territories moved to Bosnia. The most heated discussions have always been lead around the questions of “converted” and “original” Bosnian Muslims. Even if Bosnians spontaneously adopted Islam, they were vigorously resistant to any other Turkish attempts to establish a dictatorship over them. This was the time when Bosnians gained the reputation for being “romantic heroes” which is persevered to the present days: “… Bosnia and Herzegovina, known for its frequent mutinies and violent abuse of power. Traditionally, the region has been a place of guerrilla resistance: Bosnia boasts several real-life Robin Hoods”. Indeed, Bosnian cultural identity turned out to be the most impressive phenomenon. Since the territory of Bosnia is located in the heart of Balkan, it has always been the subject of diverse influences in terms of religion, politics and culture. Thus, what makes Bosnian culture so exceptional is the fact that it has always represented the meeting point of the Orient and the Occident. As multinational and religiously diverse society, it represents the core phenomenon within Yugoslavian culture.

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91 Ibid., p. 7.
92 Ibid., p. 8.
93 Ibid.
At the beginning of the 20th century, eastern Europe was ruled by the Ottoman Empire in the East, and by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the West. The border between the two empires went throughout Balkan. While Bosnia (together with Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija) was the most western province of Ottoman Empire, its neighbour Croatia (together with Slovenia, and autonomous province Vojvodina) was the (south-)eastern province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Croatia was under the Austro-Hungarian Empire from mid-16th until the 19th century, and this was the point when Croats converted from Christian Orthodox to Catholic. Serbs were the most resistant because they were Orthodox. At the turn of the 20th century, Russia challenged the Turkish dominance over Orthodox Slavs. After two Balkan wars, (where all Slavs united together) with the help of Russia, Turks almost disappeared from Europe. While most nations hurried to purify their language and toponymy from ‘Turkisms’, again Bosnia was most resistant to the process, keeping both Islam and ‘Turkisms' as inevitable elements of its culture.

The idea to unite Southern Slavs was initially proposed by the Croats, but since they were still under the influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the rest of the Slavs were afraid of another occupation. As a result, a young Bosnian (ethnic Serb) assassinated the Austro-Hungarian prince in Bosnian capital, in June 1914, which is considered as the motive for the beginning of the Great War. However, the end of the First World War gave a birth to the new Slavic state, the Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovens, ruled by Serbian monarchs. The new country temporarily fulfilled the Slavic dream of a unity, but political views started to diverge soon. A particularly vulnerable relation was that between the Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats. Due to many years living under different rulers, cultural discrepancy started to become evident. Consequently, internal cultural differences were unavoidable source of various conflicts and disagreements.

The beginning of the Second World War in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia started when the Nazi Army entered the Yugoslav territory, on 6th April 1941. Again, the most of the Yugoslav resistance during the Second World War took place in Bosnia. In parallel with the guerrilla war against the Nazis, an internal civil conflicts took place between Royalists and Communists. Again, Slavs were divided into three antagonist groups. Catholic Croats formed the Ustasha movement whose believes were inclined to Fascist. The Chetnik movement was

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94 Later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.
led by Orthodox Serbian Royalists; while the Partisans were relatively small movement formed in the pre-war period, led by young Communists.

While Ustasha had financial and political support from German and Italian Fascists, and Chetniks from the Royal family, the Partisans were alone. At the beginning, they were a small liberation movement, led by Josip Broz Tito. As a group of young people hiding in the wood without any financial support, they rapidly assumed an image of heroes. According to their Communist believes, they were fighting for the unity and equality in every aspect of life. Therefore, they were accepting people from opposing religious views. In Bosnia and far beyond, Partisan discipline represented a model for courage and bravery, and this movement rapidly got enormous proportions. Moreover, they are to be considered as initiators of a feminist movement in Yugoslavia. According to Lesile Benson “the Communists took over a pre-war title, Woman Today, and made it the official organ of the Women’s Anti-fascist Front, founded in December 1942”. Lesile adds that later on, somewhere between 15 and 20 percentage of the whole Partisan population were woman. This was practically the first time when female population was included in aspects of social life outside the household. On the other hand, Partisans believed in equality between nationalities, unity and sharing in the time of a great violence. In this way, their moral principles considerably affected Yugoslavian cultural identity, and their ideology became an inevitable part of Yugoslavian culture.

Finally, with the help of Russia, the real-life fairytale about Partisans was crowned with the victory over the Nazi Army. The Soviet Union acknowledged the Partisan movement and its Communist policy and sent plane forces, after which Yugoslavia was liberated from the Nazis, as well as from the Royalists. Tito was allowed to restore an extended Yugoslavia, proclaim the republic and rule it from the end of Second World War to his death in 1980. Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) united Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, Macedonia and the two autonomous provinces: Vojvodina and

95 Josip Broz Tito was of a mixed Slovenian and Croatian origin. During the centuries of a chaos people moved throughout Balkan and mixed with each other which produced numerous national-ethnic categories. For instance up till today there are Bosnian Serbs (Christian), Bosnian Croats (Catholic), Bosnians (Muslims), Croatian Serbs (Christian), Croats (Catholic), and Serbian Croats (Catholic).


97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.
Kosovo and Metohija. At the first National Parliament, a series of laws required for the reform of the country were established. These laws were regarding the freedom of press and voting rights as well as the reform of landowners. With these laws, land was confiscated from landowners, churches, monasteries and everyone who had above the allowed maximum and was equally divided among the impoverished. The constitutional principle of the new state was an absolute equality among different nationalities and religions. It did not take long until the complete abandonment of religion as institution was established. At the moment when religious education and affiliation in public were prohibited, the problem of nationalism disappeared as if it had never existed.99 This radical movement from a variety of identities towards general commonality has had complex influences on the construction of Yugoslavian cultural identity.

In the wake of the new country, the reconstruction and development of the devastated infrastructure was mainly done by youth working actions, organized voluntary. Reciprocally to the Partisan movement during the war, working actions became trendy among youth in the peacetime, and they influenced the cultural development in several directions. Not only were those actions highly productive for the country’s economy and infrastructure, they were perhaps the main alternative for youth to socialize and travel in the time of a great poverty. Furthermore, the working actions system was such that it made people feel they could ‘create’ together, which had a reconciling effect on the mutual social relations. The sense of unity and equality was spread throughout all social segments. From the long term perspective, working actions contributed to the exchange of knowledge and cultural values; development in education and to forming a great number of mixed marriages. Apart from this, the system of the state-owned companies was such that workers were relocated within the boundaries of Yugoslavia several times during their course of service. This also brought upon a number of cross-national marriages as well as a merging of other cultural aspects.

The economy of the new state started to flourish rapidly. In accordance with communist political implications, only a few years after the war, the whole agricultural system became state-owned. Furthermore, the reform of landowners decreased the class differentiations. All existing factories became nationalised, as well as other social institutions. The establishment of new factories grew reciprocally with the investments and economic

99 The celebration of religious holidays was allowed only in private settings within the home environment.
growth. In the time of poverty, characteristic for the years after the war, the highly desirable workplace became the main means for political mobilization. In order to become employed, or make a career progress, one had to be a member of the Communist Party.

The long-term plan on industrialization and electrification was established, projecting the future of progressive expansion. According to Giddens, the theory of industrial society proposes the idea that class conflicts become “transcended as the industrial order reaches maturity”\(^\text{100}\). Therefore, once the process of industrialization has been attained, the concept of class will lose its relevance. According to Marxist theory it was believed that power is “a noxious expression of class domination, capable of being transcended by the progressive movement of history”\(^\text{101}\). In this sense, the power of industrialization started to dominate throughout all social settings.

With rapid economic and cultural prosperity, an absolute autocratic rule was gradually established. The consolidation of power was achieved with great speed and disciplined energy. The ideology of Partisans as ‘fighters for the people’s rights’ have already been widely disseminated during the wartime. Due to having contradictory policy to any other political party existing before, Partisan ideology was firmly grounded already at that point of time. When the war was finished, the Communist movement counted a great number of members which helped them to establish a completely new country. As Sabiha Hasan argues that:

> At the end of the war Communist Party had control not only of victorious Partisan army, but also of an efficient police force, of governmental agencies at all levels and of a nationwide mass organisation, the People’s Front\(^\text{102}\).

Naturally, the new state was built infusing the same ideology in every aspect of social life. In addition, working actions contributed to the common sense of prosperity and unity. Harmony

\(^{100}\) Anthony Giddens, *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*, p. 57.

\(^{101}\) Ibid., p. 219.

which was achieved through diminishing sex, class and religious tensions was used as hegemony for establishing an absolute control over society. Furthermore, the educational system was grounded on Marxism which means that communist knowledge formed future generations. In this sense, communists assured future successors, while keeping any fresh wave of thought far away. Nevertheless, with a solid economy and a growing prosperity, control was performed without difficulties. Contributions brought by industrialization and electrification were immense. Consequently, a satisfied society offered no resistance to the absolute control.

The Cold War, known as the period of Informbiro in Yugoslavia, started in 1948 due to the split between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. Paradoxically, while people were occupied with celebrating the liberty and at the same time the Russian allies; the strict prohibition of expressing any personal opinions in the favour of Russia was established. The regime was so extreme that all those who stated anything in favour of Russia were immediately arrested. This was a favourable time to lose the job, face a wall of silence and/or end up in the jail known as Goli otok. Thousands of people were arrested even before they realized that what they did was actually prohibited. In this sense, every social and cultural aspect of life was controlled to a great extent. Indeed, communist ideologists were considerably devoted to the Informbiro Resolution, and as a result they developed a powerful and complex social apparatus which enabled them to control society. This was a time characterized by strong tensions because not only did intelligence agencies start to act obviously, but ordinary people became potential opponents against each other. An absolute loyalty to the communist party was the only way to prosper. The freedom of speech, of press as well as of cinema or any other artistic expression was strictly regulated, while the law enforcement was performed in a rigorous way. Particularly the prison punishment was used to practice discipline and surveillance over society. According to Foucault, the principle of Gulag is an increasingly problematic because the discipline it practices is transferred to factories, schools, hospitals and other socio-cultural institutions. As Foucault explains, the prison punishment is used for the consolidation of labour discipline and the adoption of the

103 Goli otok is a jail on Gulag island, a Soviet Union’s force labour camp.

104 Anthony Giddens, Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory, p. 220.
idea that individuals should be constantly ‘under observation’. In general, the Yugoslav political system of that time was characterized on the one hand by discipline and austerity, yet by justice and integrity, on the other hand. Nevertheless, the stable rise of living standards and the overall prosperity concealed the establishment of the complete power domination. According to Foucault, it is in the nature of class domination in contemporary capitalism that it is exercised through its invisibility. The invisibility of power domination had its visible counterpart: prison. Significantly, the widespread adoption of the power discipline within all other socio-cultural institutions was achieved invisibly.

At the end of the Second World War, Yugoslavia was liberated with the help of Russian allies, but its resistance during the war and its radical revolutionary praxis are due to remarkable efforts brought by Josip Broz Tito and his forces. As Hasan argues, in November 1945, in his interview for The Times, Tito stated:

> It is true that Yugoslav people have warm and profound sympathy, friendship and brotherhood with the peoples of Soviet Union. But there is nothing exclusive about it. Good relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and their common friendship does not mean that Yugoslavia will lose its independence and become a satellite of the Soviet Union, on the contrary we want also to have good and ever best relations with our other allies.

In this sense, Tito laid the roots of a Yugoslavian foreign policy, as when the Cold War divided the world into two camps, Yugoslavia refused to join the Soviet block. On the contrary, it opposed the idea of blocks, supporting independence and equality between states. Yugoslavian foreign policy advocated peaceful and active interstate cooperation which later merged into a movement of Non - Aligned states. This movement was established in Belgrade, conceived by India’s prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru; Indonesia's president

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105 Ibid., p. 221.

106 Ibid.

107 Sabiha Hasan, Yugoslavia’s Foreign Policy under Tito, p. 85.
Sukarno; Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser; Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah; and Yugoslavia's president Josip Broz Tito. NAM formerly united SFRJ, Argentina, Namibia, Cyprus and Malta, but later this movement achieved great proportions. Since its purpose was to obstruct the Cold War, Yugoslavia again became the bridge between East and West. Tito achieved his initial aim which brought Yugoslavia a remarkable success in foreign policy. In 1949, after rejecting the Soviet Union and being expelled from the Cominform, Tito stated “we have to struggle against the enormous power of false propaganda directed against our country. Such false propaganda is being directed against us from East and West.”

Soon after splitting from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia strengthened its relations with the West. Various coexisting agreements were signed with neighbour countries, while United States and Great Britain acknowledged Tito’s policy and supported Yugoslavia. On the other hand, Tito as leadership of NAM continued to enjoy strong support from the East. Therefore, he succeeded to develop strong relationships with both sides, by forming the bridge between East and West. However, Yugoslavia’s foreign policy reached its peak when reconciled with the Soviet Union in 1955. By the 1960s Yugoslavia flourished into a powerful country, and maintained to progress until Tito’s death in 1980.

Tito’s great and widely acknowledged political accomplishments enabled his hegemony to ground firmly far beyond the boundaries of Yugoslavia. “The often used term ‘Titoist Yugoslavia’, was supposed to encapsulate everything which characterised Yugoslavia as a state and power system, from the Partisan tradition to socialist self-management, to state federalism and to the nonaligned policy.” Furthermore, this term is directly related with the ‘Yugonostalgia’ phenomenon which considers an emotional attachment towards everything that was good in relation to this state. Indeed, Tito as authentic communist and extraordinary leader made Yugoslavia counterbalanced to other major power shifts. In accordance with Foucault, the rise of industrial capitalism is linked to the expansion of disciplinary power. In this sense, Tito’s hegemony have been chronically and inevitably involved in all social processes. Howell defines hegemony as:

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108 Ibid., p. 90.


[—] The worldview of the ruler is diffused throughout society so as it becomes common sense; to question such norms appears to be nonsensical. [—] Hegemony illustrates how ruling elites perpetuate their rule and domination through consent rather than coercion. Contending groups in any society must aim to control ideas in civil society; ‘a social group must, already exercise leadership before winning governmental power’. Leadership is a precondition of winning power and the consequent exercise of power; domination can only be legitimised and continued through hegemonic consent.111

Naturally, Tito’s ideology was based on high moral standards inspired by his ambition to maintain the unique credibility which he enjoyed from the early age. In this way, his personal life was, at least, as disciplined as his politics. In this sense, his hegemony was prominently asserted throughout all socio-cultural contexts. His marriage with Jovanka represented the epitome of his communist policy. Jovanka Budisavljević (1924 - 2013) was a Partisan lady who joined the fighting units at the age of 17.112 At the age of 21, she was honoured with the Medal of Bravery and became a lieutenant colonel in the Yugoslav People’s Army. As the most influential woman in Yugoslavia, Jovanka is known for her courageousness and respectable military skills. With her exemplary behaviour, she significantly empowered female population. Firstly, before she became the first lady, her contribution was brought together with other woman Partisans, since they succeeded to decrease sex differentiations substantially, despite the wartime environment. Together with other Partisan comrades, Jovanka revolutionised the role of women in Yugoslavian society. Later, as the first lady, Jovanka was recognisable for her ladylike look and her masterful performance of Yugoslavian housewife duties. Hence, her great ambitions were reflected in her efforts to reconcile brave fighter and elegant lady in one. Consequently, the rest of the female population started to strive to this ‘perfection’.

111 Kerry Howell, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology, p. 85.

112 Jovanka Budisavljević Broz became the first lady of SFRJ in 1952.
When American professor George Hoffmann, Tito’s longtime friend, asked Tito during his last visit to America in 1978, what he considered to have been his greatest political failure, Tito said that his greatest political failure was to have failed to bring together the peoples of Yugoslavia in a real community.\textsuperscript{113} As other intellectuals of the time, Tito surmised the negative implications of Marxism that would follow.\textsuperscript{114} As Lawrence Kritzman would suggest “leading intellectuals of the period became increasingly aware of contradictions that had been developing since the late 1950s’”, it was realized that history could not bring the salvation to man trough traditional revolutionary praxis.\textsuperscript{115} In the wake of the new country, the idea to forcefully impose the sudden movement from variety of identities towards the general commonality, was indeed the easiest approach for the establishment of complete control over society. As Benson explains “establishing the constitutional principle of absolute equality between peoples and republics was the Party’s way of wiping the state clean”.\textsuperscript{116} Certainly, the sense of unity was beneficial for cultural development and the overall progress. However, the problem of segmentation had been intense, and existed for a long period of time that this radical pacification turned to be superficial. According to Giddens, one of the major absences in Marxist theory is ethnic domination.\textsuperscript{117} Obviously, the Communist dogma did not know exactly how to cope with complicated ethnic relationships at the end of II World War. As a result, the unifying policy only strengthened already complex relations. As Foucault argues:

A racism that society will direct against itself, against its own elements and its own products. This is an internal racism, a permanent purification, one of the fundamental dimensions of social normalisation. What we find here is the replacing of the historical war with the biological struggle for life: differentiation


\textsuperscript{114} The events of May 1968 radically challenged political epistemology and engaged a new critical thought.

\textsuperscript{115} Lawrence Kritzman, “Introduction” in \textit{Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture}.

\textsuperscript{116} Lesile Benson, \textit{Yugoslavia: A Concise History}, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{117} Anthony Giddens, \textit{Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory}, p. 228.
of species, selection of the strongest, survival of the fittest races.\textsuperscript{118}

Giddens would add that: “particularly relevant to this theme are shortcomings of the materialist interpretation of history”.\textsuperscript{119} Therefore, the understanding of history should be vital in overcoming religious conflicts and reconciling human relations. The imposed harmony during Tito’s autocracy worked well because his power was not inherently oppressive. According to Foucault, power does not have to be oppressive at all: “power is actually the means whereby all things happen, the production of things, of knowledge and forms of discourse, and of pleasure”.\textsuperscript{120} Though, deficiencies of Marxism related to the notions of ethnic domination left terrifying consequences on Yugoslavian culture. Eventually, it appeared that the consciousness of belonging to the unity was not strong enough to offer the resistance to the oppression that followed.

A massive amount of centralised power left behind Tito’s death in 1980 instantly assumed the oppressive form. While disregarding stable relations established with Tito, foreign shifts of power evidently did not want Yugoslavia to remain powerful in the future. According to Giddens, “there can, in the contemporary world, no longer be a theory of ‘the state’, but only a theory of ‘states’”.\textsuperscript{121} Therefore, the network of outside powers navigated the final demise of Yugoslavia. In the same line of thought, Andrew Cottey in his research \textit{Western interests in the Balkan Wars} elaborates further:

 Thus, if conflicts in various regions of the world are to be prevented and managed, increasing attention must be directed toward relatively low cost forms of early engagement and

\textsuperscript{118} Michel Foucault, in \textit{Foucault on Politics, Security and War}, ed. by Michael Dillon and Andrew W. Neal, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{119} Anthony Giddens, \textit{Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory}, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p. 219.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., p. 224.
preventive diplomacy, rather than intervention after conflicts have broken out.\textsuperscript{122}

Furthermore, Foucault explains that:

There has never been a ‘capitalist state’, there have always been the network of capitalist nation-states, in which the internal processes of pacification have been accompanied by a fearsome concentration of the means of violence in the hands of the state.\textsuperscript{123}

As Tito’s real darling, the Yugoslav People’s Army was immensely powerful, since he accorded it the status of a state within a state.\textsuperscript{124} What is more, members of intelligence services had been enjoying an excessive amount of power even from the period of \textit{Informbiro Resolution}. Apart from this, the arms industry with the modern infrastructure was the most dominant in Yugoslavian economy. Yugoslavia was one of the main weapon exporters.\textsuperscript{125}

Finally, the militant practice culminated into the war in 1992. Repeatedly, the most of the violent events occurred in Bosnia, although Croatia have been affected to some extent too. Nevertheless, tragic events brought death and suffering to all three peoples who lived in Bosnia and Croatia. Other republics were considerably destabilised by the economic crisis, followed by serious food shortages and skyrocketing inflations. The general schizophrenia resulted in the final demise of Yugoslavia.

A crucial deficiency of Marxism represents the absence of a theory of power in relation to the use of violence by individuals. It is inevitable to consider the development of those micro-powers, as Foucault would name them, since they represent a localized strategy of resistance. Due to being for centuries under the regime, violence became an integral part of Yugoslavian culture and individuals started to exercise power between each other. The violent

\textsuperscript{122} Andrew Cottey. \textit{Western interests in the Balkan Wars} (Brassey’s Defence Yearbook: University of London. Centre for Defence Studies, 1994), p. 78.

\textsuperscript{123} Lawrenze Kritzman, \textit{Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture}.

\textsuperscript{124} Andrew Cottey. \textit{Western interests in the Balkan Wars}.

\textsuperscript{125} Almost all manufactures were settled throughout Bosnian territory.
behaviour was triggered without difficulties, since integrated human relations were seriously destabilised by the notions of religion and nationality. Consequently, strong tensions and conflicts arose, while power assumed an oppressive form. As Giddens explains, “the absence of a theory of power, including the use of violence by individuals, collectivities and states, runs like a red thread through the writings of Marx”. In this sense, the lack of knowledge on power brought upon the lack of knowledge on ethnic domination and its destructive consequences. As a result, violence became the major form of communication between individuals. Growing pressure resulted in the collapsing cultural decline, while its stagnation was assured to remain many years following the war. In accordance with Giddens’ theory on structuration:

Human beings are always and everywhere regarded as knowledgeable agents, although acting within historically specific bounds of the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of their acts.

Nonetheless, the same was concisely suggested by Marx in the famous observation that “men make history, but not in conditions of their own choosing”. Therefore, it could be concluded that the deficiencies in contemporary interpretations of Marx and Hegel, and the restrictions of fresh intellectual thought represent the core of the problems which Communist era brought upon. As Howell argues, the synthesis between ontology and epistemology:

[...] identifies the rules regulations and norms that prevent people from taking control of their own lives; the means by which they are eliminated from decision making and consequently controlled. Through making clear the relationships

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127 Ibid., p. 222.
128 Ibid.
between power and control, agency may be extended and humanity emancipated.\textsuperscript{129}

As Foucault argues that “Marxist failure to function as a heuristic tool for understanding this enigmatic thing we call power” was due to restrictions imposed for all those intellectuals whose aim it was to speak on behalf of humanity.\textsuperscript{130} However, Foucault, together with Gilles Deleuze, revised intellectual’s role in society, arguing that she/he is not “commissioned to play the role of advisor to the masses, but rather to become one capable of providing instruments of analysis”.\textsuperscript{131} Significantly, the lack of those instruments for analysis prevented the engagement of a critical thought in Yugoslavia. Although disregarding the notion that Yugoslavia invested immensely in arts and education, the epistemological process itself remained unilateral. As Foucault argues, the development which remains within the same mode of thought is a superficial transformation.\textsuperscript{132} Therefore, the absence of criticism was a subject of political control. In this sense, Foucault profoundly elaborated the idea of reform arguing that “the work of deep transformation can only be carried out in a free atmosphere, one constantly agitated by a permanent criticism”.\textsuperscript{133} Hence, the liberation of thought requires liberated environment in which intellectuals are encouraged to produce those instruments for analysis.

Due to its unique capability of utilizing knowledge and experience simultaneously, cinema was centrally controlled in Yugoslavia. The Communist dogma did not approve films that dealt with national identity, in terms of historical or religious exploration. On the contrary, Socialist Yugoslavia has delivered a stillborn art and cinema which celebrated unity and obedience in favour of ideology.\textsuperscript{134} Paradoxically, contemporary national cinema abandoned the exploration of its diverse cultural identity which was essential for human

\textsuperscript{129} Kerry Howell, \textit{An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology}, p. 84.

\textsuperscript{130} Lawrence Kritzman, \textit{Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture}.


\textsuperscript{132} Lawrence Kritzman, \textit{Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture}, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{134} Goran Gocić, \textit{The Cinema of Emir Kusturica: Notes from Underground}, p. 17.
relations in Yugoslavia. The only artwork acknowledged during the time of Communism, which explores diverse Yugoslav cultural milieus is Ivo Andrić’s literary composition *The Bridge Over the Drina*. Ivo Andrić, one of the most fascinating Yugoslav writers ever, represent most deeply how turbulent history determined the construction of various modes of complex cultural identities within Yugoslavian culture. His ingenious novel *The Bridge Over the Drina*, written during the Second World War, covers the period from sixteenth century until the First World War. The bridge represented in the novel is the one build in the small town Višegrad in Bosnia, which linked Muslim and Christian territory. In Andrić’s view, religion remains the most vulnerable aspect of this culture, from ancient times up to present day. Andrić’s main argument is that the seemingly conflicting positions of Yugoslavia's disparate ethnic groups could be overcome by understanding history. He surmised that history is repeating and understanding of that would help future generations to avoid mistakes of the past. According to Andrić, outside power shifts constantly influenced Yugoslavia to form the ‘bridge’ between East and West, as the bridge over the Drina stands solid for centuries. In his Nobel Prize acceptance speech Andrić stated:

My country is indeed a ‘small country between the worlds’, a country which, at break-neck speed and at the cost of great sacrifices and prodigious efforts, is trying in all fields, including the field of culture, to make up for those things of which it has been deprived by a singularly turbulent and hostile past.

Andrić and Kusturica through their works of art remarkably represent a harmonic composition of variety identities within single culture and how they intertwine and complement in simple events of everyday life. As Andrić, Kusturica understood that ordinary people’s destinies are increasingly symbolic for this kind of knowledge. Therefore, as his successor, Kusturica further reconstructed the notions of human subjectivity and marginality through his cinema, and thus provided new instruments for the analysis of this culture. As


136 Ibid.

soon as the ideological prop began to wane, Kusturica’s first feature *Do You Remember Dolly Bell* (1981) introduced the harmony of local attributes and customs. This film was significantly recognized by the local audience according to its exceptional honesty. His second feature *When Father Was Away on Business* realized in 1985 enhanced the reception of Yugoslav cultural diversity and struggles which cultural identity experienced throughout the radical revolutionary praxis. Yet, *Underground*, realized a decade later, delineate “cultural schizophrenia“ which characterized the whole era of Yugoslavian history. Perhaps life under Communism is an obvious framework for reading both features, however, when examining Kusturica’s work, it is important to mention that the focus in these films is rather on people than on politics. Kusturica himself stated several times that, “*Underground* is not about politics at all”. Indeed, as we shall see throughout following chapters, both films are primally about people. Yet, political regime obviously form an inextricable relationship with the cultural identity it produced.

Second Chapter

*When Father Was Away on Business: Dressing Rules For Mind Control*

*When Father Was Away on Business* is set between 1950 and 1952, and the Resolution made to Yugoslavia in 1948 constitutes an important political background for understanding the narrative. Set in Bosnia, the film explores the theme of identity depicting the life of a respectable Muslim family and their friends who struggle with the regime. In fact, this is a living drama which encapsulates everything related to the revolutionary praxis in the wake of the new Yugoslavia. Economically, the state already flourished by 1950, but the sudden change of religious identity and strong political taboos associated with Russia seriously destabilized its cultural identity. Furthermore, problems which were brought with the wave of modernization produced numerous shifting and confused identities. Finally, the film clearly critiques the state control of cinema production and the absurd educational system.

Meša, the father of the family, is a wealthy commercial traveller from Sarajevo. He has the life everyone would wish for, since he is blessed with a tolerant and beautiful wife,

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Sena, and two intelligent sons, Mirza and Malik. Sena is a traditional woman who works as a home seamstress. She is the mother and wife who courageously brings all the burden of her family on her shoulders. The older boy Mirza is artistically inclined — he is an amateur animator, adores cinema, and plays accordion. Since he understands the situation that surrounds him, he finds his escape from reality in the cinema. Malik, the younger boy of the two sons, is an occasional narrator. As a matter of fact, Malik is a silent observer and a victim of political surrealism, but his actions often speak louder than everyone else. As Gocić explains, Malik acts as a catalyst of this fake society.\textsuperscript{139}

When his father Meša is arrested, Malik is a witness of his mother’s distress and myriad tears. Sena is desperate since no one knows where Meša has been taken and why, and the numerous attempts to get in touch with him or even find out whether he is alive or not are being unsuccessful. Furthermore, Sena is a victim of the strife within her family since her husband is being arrested by her own brother, Žijo. As a respectable Communist, Žijo is a local authority for whom the principles of the Party are more important than his sister’s happiness.

Malik is also an observer of his father’s infidelity. Meša’s negligible remark on the cartoon about Stalin which he saw while reading the newspapers, has been disclosed to the local authorities by his lover Ankica. As a pilot and a local teacher, Ankica represents the modern Yugoslavian women. In this sense, the dichotomy between Sena and Ankica as modern and traditional women represents one of the main motives in the film. When Ankica and Sena finally meet, Malik is again an inevitable observer of their fight. Furthermore, when the family reunites again, Meša brings Malik on the “business trip” in order to make his wife calm since she is aware of his adultery. While Meša and his friends are having fun in the brothel, Malik manages to run away from them, in order to attract the attention. Upon their return, when Malik tells his mother what happened, he and his brother become witnesses of the domestic violence.

When Malik is chosen to give a speech to a local politician at the end of the school year, he evidently becomes a victim of the whole system. Firstly, he represents a victim of the educational system since he has to memorize the long speech of which he does not understand a word. Secondly, with this act, Malik becomes his parents’ means for regaining the status in

society. Finally, Malik has been undoubtedly deprived of his childhood at the moment when he becomes a witness of his father’s sexual abuse towards Ankica. In fact, at the end of the film, all characters reunite at Sena’s younger brother wedding in their family house. Zijo and Ankica came to this wedding as a happy married couple, yet by the end of the party, they both confronted their own sins. While Zijo felt unconsciousness from drinking as in the state of sobriety he could not look at his sister’s eyes; Meša raped Ankica in the basement (after which she commits suicide). When Malik notices them, it means the end of his childhood, as the end of the story.

The costuming in *When Father Was Away on Business* represents a contemporary fashion system influenced by the notions of realism and performance. As such it is reminiscent of different characters’ identities and struggles within their relations and with the regime itself. The emphasis is on ordinary, everyday fashion garments that are reflective of social groupings and the negotiations which take place between the self and the others. With its theme of identity, the film employs costume as an integral part of the mise-en-scène emphasizing its capability of pointing to the complex relations influenced by the issues of gender, status and power. The quest for realism is set high, since the family drama ought to represent the life ‘as it is’, in its simplest form.

The film opens as Meša returns back from a business trip accompanied by his lover Ankica. As they fight on the train and Ankica runs away from the cabin, a random smuggler offers Meša exclusive jewellery and makeup saying: “[...] You should buy something for her. Look at this stuff, you cannot find this even in Paris”.140 This statement is used as an allegory in order to indicate political attitudes of Yugloslavia at the moment. It clearly indicates the tensions related to the Cold War and Yugoslavia’s sudden shift from the Soviet Union towards the West. Indeed, after the *Informbiro* Resolution, Moscow fashion houses were replaced with the interpretation of Dior’s New Look with reduced shapes and cuts, in accordance with proclaimed ideas of temperance, and modesty.141 Nevertheless, as Danijela Velimirović

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140 After the war, people who had the opportunity to travel, smuggled fashion and other exclusive goods, and they represented the main source for getting luxury goods. Those goods were sold in personal, or as commission shops.

explains, in spite of political attitudes of Yugoslavia towards the West, fashion trends were always several years late.\textsuperscript{142} In her discussion about the costuming in \textit{Titanic}, Street suggests: “commodities which cannot be purchased at home introduce new fashions and new ideas, suggesting mobility and challenges to tradition”.\textsuperscript{143}

Particularly the color of costuming plays a vital role in delineating the ideological props of the contemporary regime. The film’s overall representation prevails with nuances of grey and beige with numerous red details always introduced strikingly. In the scenes which represent masses of people, the director often uses costume as a unifying object in order to point to the resemblance of the society. The spectator is introduced to the crowd for the first time at the aerobatic performance organized by local authorities in order to celebrate the flight of the first women. Group gatherings organized by the Party were common source for entertainment and socializing in this period of time. In this scene, the audience represents a well-behaved society who adopts clothes such as grey suits, beige trousers and colorless cotton shirts for the men and neutral shirts with decent skirts or dresses of any earthy color and bright flat sandals for the women, which indeed generates the sense of unity and obedience. Accordingly, Sarah Street argues that beige and grey colours metaphorically suggest the willingness of society to conform.\textsuperscript{144} Furthermore, group gatherings were the most common way of socializing, and at the same time it was the most convenient way for disseminating the ideology and establishing the control over the society. Hence, men in uniforms who stand next to the audience represent this strictness. The director is balancing the screen with officers in blue uniforms and colourless clothes from the audience in order to suggest the profuse guiding of rules and protocols. The overall costuming is monotonous, coloured in different shades of beige, grey and dark green which is particularly reflective of the discipline that shaped the society during the Cold War.

On the other hand, the colour red enjoyed a special symbolic role in Yugoslavian culture, as it symbolized hegemony. The red pioneer scarf and the five-pointed red star as inevitable symbols of communism together with other garments coloured in red appear frequently again as allegories of the absolute control which shaped the society. According to

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{143} Sarah Street, \textit{Costume and Cinema}, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{144} Sarah Street, \textit{Costume and Cinema}, p. 78.
ideology the little red scarf worn by children was used to represent the power of new
generations, while the five-pointed red star represented leadership modelled on the Soviet
Union Red Army. The ceremony of getting the little red scarf for every child required the act
of giving the solemn promise of being a faithful ‘pioneer’. It was simply supposed to be the
most important day in the life of a child. Naturally, youth had struggles to understand all the
pomp around it. When Malik is chosen to give a speech to a local politician as an honored
pioneer, he has to memorize a long political speech consisting of odd phrases borrowed from
social theories. In this scene, Malik is wearing a white shirt and the little red scarf tied around
the neck while standing on the stage in front of the politician who is looking at him from the
above. A particularly profound meaning is projected through the label attached to Malik’s
shirt. While he recalls complicated phrases from his speech, the safety pin, which is put to
hold the five-pointed red star label stitched to the pocket of his shirt, has opened and started to
puncture his nipple, due to which his speech does not flow fluently anymore. Moments of
silence arouse the feeling of tension, since numerous audience together with several old
politicians stare at him, while his parents feel the embarrassment. This is an interesting way
for suggesting the restrictive outcomes of the absurd educational system which is commonly
accepted without objection. In spite of Malik’s distinct intelligence which is thoroughly
represented throughout the narrative, this kind of ‘mistake’ brought great dishonor upon his
family and himself. Although Malik feels physical pain, it is far more destructive that he
endangers his father’s reputation. Here, we should emphasize how costume assists in the
establishment of the problem regarding dysfunctional moral principles. In addition to this, the
red scarf and the five pointed red star label are directly linked to the problem with children
and education. Therefore, those accessories as symbols of rules, regulations and obedience,
largely restrain Malik’s potentials. Nevertheless, as mentioned before, they were considered to
symbolize the strength of the country. Hence, in the following scenes we can see members of
the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia wearing red scarfs which are balancing the scenes with
texture and colour. The pioneer scarf is worn with a white shirt, boys wear navy blue shorts or
pants, and girls wear skirts in the same colour, along with white stockings and black shoes. It
can be recognized from these scenes that the entire outfit of Yugoslav Pioneers was imagined

145 “Pionir” was the term ascribed to students from 1st to 8th grade of Primary School.
to represent the Yugoslavian flag — blue, white and red, followed with the red star as inextricable symbol of communism. According to my grandmother:

The little red scarf was a special thing. The custom was such that when they announced that Marshall would pass through our city by car that day, people would wear their best dresses, go on streets and wait for hours in order to wave at him from a distance. Especially important for this ceremony were children since parents would be proud if they had a pioneer who could represent them. Thus, mothers would neatly comb and dress their children in a white shirt and black trousers for boys and black or brown skirts for girls with the inevitable little red scarf around the neck. Children usually didn’t understand the importance of waiting for the president several hours only to wave at him.

Kusturica effectively uses children’s costume as an indicator of the general disorientation of youth in the time of Communism. In fact, Malik’s confused and shifting identity is a metaphor for youth in general. Moreover, Malik, his brother Mirza and their friends, adopt formal clothes consisting of dark trousers, white shirts and strict-shaped long coats in shades of grey, beige and dark green. Furthermore, Malik and Mirza occasionally wear formal suits, while in the scenes of the masses mentioned before we can see well-behaved socialist youth in Sarajevo dressed like their parents. Young boys are dressed in grey H-shaped suits and white cotton shirts, while girls are adorned in white short-sleeved cotton button up shirts and A-shaped midi skirts with ruffles. Therefore, the children’s costume as a narrative device suggest the absence of childhood.

On the other hand, we shall notice that Kusturica attaches the red costume in order to empower a certain character in a scene, and each time it has a specific purpose. This is particularly noticeable with regard to Sena and Malik’s characters. For instance, Malik wears the red sweater when his father brings him to the brothel. As Meša and his friends are sitting at the table, a few prostitutes approach them. Meša feels completely relaxed since he is
convinced that Malik does not understand what is going on. As soon as Meša starts touching the prostitute with his feet under the table, Malik goes down and manages to set the fire to the skirt worn by the prostitute who seemed to like his father. Malik’s red sweater empowers him, and reminds the spectator that he is much wiser than his father thinks. In the following scene the prostitute is screaming while her gorgeous white swirling skirt, worn with an elegant black polka-dot blouse tied around one shoulder so as to show her beautiful neckline - overall forming a typical Dior’s Corolla look from fifties - burns. In this sense, Malik gives response to his father, but also to the political surrealism that surrounds him, as by this act, he offers resistance to the modernity and “big changes” that are occurring in his surrounding.

A particularly interesting use of costume can be noticed throughout the establishment of Mirza’s character, as he is a quiet person, and during most of the dialogues he is set aside, yet his clothes tell us he is someone important for this community. The inevitable part of his appearance are evidently his thick eyeglasses which emphasize his intellectuality. Furthermore, he adopts clothes which are more sophisticated in comparison to his friends. Garments that he adopts consist of a fine dark blue coat, a beige suit, a briefcase, a watch, and neutral trousers together with white short-sleeved shirts. In a way, Mirza is the moral centre of the film as he does not speak too much, but once he says something, it is meaningful. Over the course of the time he is heroic, selfless and dependable. In addition to this, throughout the allegory of Mirza’s social life, the director criticizes the appreciation of cinema. Likewise Mirza, the intellectual’s role in this society has been set aside. Perhaps, this has much to do with Kusturica’s personal experience as his strong empathy towards the development of Mirza’s character is noticeable.

In the opening scene, costume signifies Meša’s mistress Ankica as a partisan comrade. Partisan ladies were easily distinguished from traditional women, since their appearance profoundly challenged the conventions of femininity. By accepting the idea of equality in its simplest form, they formally declared ‘normal’ life and accepted the risk of death, torture and life in the captivity. Indeed, the ideal of a brave woman and fighter was favoured some years after the war. Hence with these priorities, women lost the femininity. In this scene, Ankica wears a grey suit with a knee-length pencil skirt of a rough material and a

146 Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, p. 190.

147 In Yugoslavian language, there is a term ascribed to female Partisans.
long sleeved collar shirt which is a result of the ready-made mass production. Her clothes demonstrate the concept of lifestyle and values propagated in socialism. Furthermore, we shall assume that Kusturica attaches dull clothes to Ankica in order to emphasize her personality. From this scene we can see that she is obviously in love with Meša, while he does not take this relationship seriously. As they fight on the train, Ankica realizes that he would never leave his wife for her. Yet, in the following scene we can see that as soon as Meša puts his foot in her lap, she forgets everything while her sexual desire arouses. Furthermore, in her everyday dress style she displays modesty, reservedness and appropriateness under the flag of “culture”. That is, her clothes reflect a woman who is left without femininity, sexuality, and colours in clothes. In this scene a close-up of Ankica’s lap where we can see a part of her kersey grey skirt with a focus on Meša’s foot in a cotton knitted grey sock suggests dissociation of sexuality from aesthetics. Certainly, the process of industrialization marginalized the conventions of aesthetics for certain period of time. As Menković explains, the industrial production of textile have been launched in the national companies at the end of 1940s.\textsuperscript{148} She adds that under the conditions of limited resources, those garments were reminiscent of the “wartime British practicality”.\textsuperscript{149} Furthermore, this practicality almost impeccably fused into the ideological principle that fashion is the overstatement in the forms of garments, characteristic only for a decadent bourgeoisie society. In this sense, Partisan women tend to differentiate themselves from the members of Royalists during the wartime. For instance, the magazine \textit{Ukus} (translated: \textit{Taste}) which had been launched by the Anti-Fascist Woman Front, in 1946 announced:

\begin{quote}
Why it would be necessary to change the length of the skirt, if certain length is practical and decent? [---] All overstatements in the name of the abstraction which is called “fashion” represent the absence of the taste, and transform woman into the caricature.\textsuperscript{150}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{148} Mirjana Menković, “Savremena žena: Odnos medju polovima u Srbiji u XX veku u svetlu antropoloških proučavanja odevanja i ženske štampe” (PhD diss., Belgrade University, 2013.) Translated by author.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., p. 72, Translated by author.
However, with their clumsy and rough appearance, Partisan women were soon marginalized by new fashion trends which were brought together with the wave of positivism after the war. In this sense, Ankica attempts to compensate the lack of femininity with the penetration into the military air force. During her aerobatic show, she is wearing brown high waisted pants, a white shirt and a brown leather jacket. As a woman pilot she is a real-life heroine whose endeavours serve an adventurous distraction for the people who are struggling during the war. Ankica's ego is completely satisfied with the fascinations that her bravery arouses. As the first woman pilot, a close-up delineates her proudly standing on the airplane. The trousers which she wears, introduced with the close-up as an iconic object, signify the metamorphosis that the female role experienced in the wake of modernization. Despite the breakup with Soviet Union, this trend was brought by them. My grandmother remembers: “when Russian allies sent air forces, among them they were a lot of women pilots. I had never before seen such brave women.”

As mentioned before, the trend of rough Moscow fashion had been replaced with the feminine Parisian look, immediately after the breakup with Soviet Union. Hence, Partisan ladies struggled with their appearance and thoroughly lost their sexual appeal. In order to return the desirability which previously led them through all battles and proscriptions, they started to humiliate themselves in relations with men. In this sense Partisan women developed susceptible character. As a matter of fact, this dull clothes inspired by the war uniform represent the main symbol for dysfunctional development in terms of female identity during the wartime. A sudden movement from the house to the battle developed confused identities who strive for great ambitions, but have naive capabilities. As a result, women obtained fluctuate character which allowed them to be alternately approved and ignored by men, as it is represented throughout Ankica’s personality, as she is unable to achieve a stable sexual identity. For instance, when Meša buys the same red lipstick from the smuggler, one for his wife and one for Ankica, it holds a symbolic meaning indicating an instant decrease in confidence which women get when being affirmed by men. When she gets her lipstick, Ankica’s strong sexual desire arouses again, while she forgets that she has been rejected a few moments ago; and she also ignores when Meša tells that he does not love her. Furthermore, in terms of plot development, the red lipstick is used as a unifying object in order to bring the two women into a relation long before they have even met. Obviously, the lipstick assists in
placing both women inferior to the same man, while at the same time establishing a profound difference between their characters. Yet, it is important to emphasize that Kusturica takes long shots of mirror reflections of both women, at the moment when they try on their lipstick, in order to emphasize the dichotomy between them. As a common way of expression in film, this motif here goes further and develops a parallel between the ways those women see their mirror reflections, but also how Meša imagines them. As Mulvey argues, the mirror image is always considered to be more complete, more perfect than the experience of the own body.  

In the following scene, when Meša arrives home from the business trip, the spectator is introduced with Sena who wears a red fluffy A-shaped button-up home dress with a delicate oriental print. At the moment when she gets her lipstick, we can recognize fashionable sophistication in her display. Her mirror reflection displays her womanhood and beauty as a holiness. Despite she wears a home dress, her appearance expresses elegant femininity. By attaching the oriental print to her costume, the director subtly reminds us about her religious affiliation. Nevertheless, her dress projects complex meaning which suggests that Sena is a modern Muslim woman, but she still tends to keep the essence of tradition. With the use of the lipstick Kusturica emphasizes Sena’s morality in contrast to Ankica’s unconscionable conduct. By juxtaposing their reflections in the mirror, the director creates a profound image of their different identities. In her everyday dress, Sena adopts a style which reflects the conservative, but fashionable woman of the 1950s. As inevitable parts her wardrobe, we shall notice A-line skirts and dresses with lace collars which often give her girlishly innocent look. At the aerobatic show, Sena wears modest but elegant white cotton, A-line dress with embellished lace collar. The colour of her dress fuses with the rest of the audience, yet her fashionable sense is distinguished from others. Her relation to fashion becomes clear after Meša is being arrested and Malik narrates: “since father went to the business trip, mother sews all the time, and when she does not sew, she cries”. In fact, the expertise in the needlework was increasingly common among traditional women. Hence, with the development of working class, traditional women found themselves within fashion-related professions. Throughout sewing and tailoring they could express proficiency, but they could also work from home, which was the easiest approach to materialize their existence in society. Commonly, Muslim women have not been joining Partisan units on the front. However, they

151 Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”.
provided the assistance that was within their capacity. For instance, my grandmother remembers:

Once during the war, Partisans brought five comrades in our house to hide them. They brought some food and told us that we have to take care of them. They were dirty and had ripped, man-like clothes. [---] My brothers joined Partisans, my mother, aunts, sisters and I usually slept in the house, but my father never went down from the garrett during the war. Mother used to bring me with her when she went to the village to get food. Every time when we had to run away, she asked me to take off my shoes so I could run faster.

In this sense, those women have never departed from traditional values of motherhood and their house-duties. Naturally, with the wave of modernization after the war, they started to make profit from what they could do best. Furthermore, throughout the appearance they clearly differentiated themselves from Partisan women. Menković explains that: “one part of the humanitarian aid which came from USA was second-hand clothes which in communist environments have been considered as decadent and undesirable”. In this line of thought, my grandmother describes:

After the war we got the package full of clothes, but we could not wear anything of that. Instead, we reused those fabrics. My aunt made me beautiful coat with buckle on the collar from the fabric we got when recycled weft dress with a very low neckline.

Therefore, traditional women acquired strength out from their femininity. Being fashionable and simultaneously being able to make a profit and keep the home, makes Sena strong. In the moments of her great insecurity, she draws the strength from what she knows to do the best.

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152 Mirjana Menković, Savremena žena, p. 71. Translated by author.
Furthermore, her fashionable style gives her confidence and identity which helps her to overcome the problems. On the other hand, Sena’s sophisticated appearance reveals much about her personality. As Jane Gaines argues, in terms of expressing character’s emotional core, costume can be empathetic.\textsuperscript{153} She adds that: “richness of feeling deserves enriched texture, and velvet, wool jersey, chiffon, satin, bugle-beading, or sable are often used on the bodies of these heroines”.\textsuperscript{154} For instance, a button-up A-line floral jersey dress which Sena wears when she goes to visit her husband in the mine, is particularly reflective about her emotional state, as they meet after a long time. Hence, this is even more noticeable in the closing scene where Sena wears pastel blue floral print chiffon H-line mini dress with a matching overcoat. In this final scene, everyone is facing her/his own sin, except Sena who is evidently pregnant. Thus, her divinity is further emphasized with the use of a delicate fabric. As Sena’s brother is getting married, all characters are present to this event. While Zijo is seriously drunk, as he is trying to accept the fact that he betrayed his sister; his wife Ankica has been raped by Meša in the basement. For this event Ankica adopts an H-line knee-length sleeveless yellow dress, while in the basement we see her in a torn white negligee. Here, as Sarah would argue, by contrasting what Sena wears and how she wears it with Ankica’s ‘vulval’ appearance, the spectator is invited to develop a profound comparative analysis between these identities.\textsuperscript{155} However, since Sena and Ankica are unified with the use of lipstick at the beginning of the film, the spectator is constantly invited to compare the two characters, particularly through the clothes that they adopt. For instance, when Sena and Ankica meets first time, they fight in front of Malik and whole Ankica’s pupil class. In this scene, Ankica is giving a physical education class in the school yard, when Sena comes to visit her, desperately seeking for answers about her husband’s arrest. As a common teacher outfit, Ankica is wearing a track suit and a t-shirt, while Sena displays a ‘girlsh’ dress with white cotton collar, and a lace stockings, a flat sandals and a medium-sized leather bag, all in white. Rayon, wool and cotton stockings were popular because silk was strictly controlled and nylon was not yet widely available, so women used to wearing ankle socks with sandals in the

\textsuperscript{153} Sarah Street, \textit{Costume and Cinema}, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., p. 5.

\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., p. 33.
summer months. However, as Street would argue, the iconic object in this scene is Sena’s bag, as it symbolises her shield. A close-up of a medium-sized white leather bag firmly handed with both Sena’s hands while she walks towards Ankica, signifies her protection. Few moments after they meet, they start fighting. When Malik bites Ankica, the fight stops. Angry Sena turns around and walks away with her bag in hands (and with her son), while Ankica is left humiliated in front of her class, embracing herself with her empty hands. The bag empowers Sena and gives her strength, in contrast to Ankica’s modern sport outfit which is not “feminine”. Although Ankica is able to manoeuvre the airplane, she is weak in front of Sena who is able to handle the bag as the most important “female tool”.

When it comes to men’s fashion, two and three piece suits of earth tone colours with white shirts represents the conventional outfit. The film employs men’s fashion as the primary device for suggesting class differentiations with the use of different quality fabrics and delicate accessories. According to Mirjana Menković, senior party officials were provided with the exclusive quality goods, since they had special distribution channels in the form of Diplomatic Magazines which supplied luxury goods for the political elite and their families. Indeed, this was a patriarchal society where everybody were highly concerned about the appearances. The Partisan role model for good appearance was Tito himself as Salvador Dali described him as a ‘true dandy’:

Since our Yugoslav friend is along, I’ll remind him that when I was young we would often see the future Marshall Tito in my native city of Figueras. It was right in the middle of the Civil War, and at the time he was still known as Josip Broz. He was a true dandy, and the populace was always amazed at his elegant grooming, his irresistible eyes, and his conqueror’s boots. And he always strolled about with a deadly looking whip.

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156 James Laver, Costume and Fashion, p. 254.
157 Mirjana Menković, Savremena žena. Translated by author.
Tito’s appearance strengthened his hegemony since his fashionable style have always been reflective of his professional role. In this way, he created an austere image during his early age, as an army commander. In accordance with Dali, his ‘conqueror’s boots’ and ‘deadly looking whip’ reflected his warrior skills and strengthened his strict image. In this way, the executors of the purge created this “deadly look”. For instance, the symbolism of the black leather coat (or longer jacket), worn by Yugoslavian purge executors and intelligence service agents became an iconic. These men acquired name: ‘men in leather jackets’, as suggested by Malik while narrates the story about his friend Joža: “Man in black coats have taken Joža’s father”. Within the context of this culture, ‘men in black coats’ arouse fear, while its symbolism was used to practice the strictness, as the black jacket denotes extreme brutality. Furthermore they often wore black hats witch together with those leather coats signified mystical and aggressively masculine image.

Slight differences are noticeable between Zijo’s and Meša’s costumes, as Zijo belongs to the closest circles of authority, while Meša his brother-in-law is a professional businessman. When they meet at Zijo’s office, his brown single breasted three peace suit of fine fabrics and a shirt with decent stripes, a sophisticated tie and a luxury watch signify to this hierarchy. On the other hand, Meša’s two piece single breasted grey suit worn with a white shirt and a red tie represent a common outfit widely adopted by “ordinary people”, which in this sense supports Communist ideology. On the other hand, this is a common way of representing the character who is willing to conform, as Bruzzi argues:

Men’s allegiance to functional and more professionally orientated dress codes is conventionally presumed to attest to an overwhelming impulse to conform, to blend with a crowd as Newland Archer does in his grey suit and bowler hat in The Age of Innocence.\textsuperscript{159}

The contrast is made with Zijo’s distinctive shirt with stripes and his sophisticated fashionable style. As Bruzzi argues that: “vanity in man came to signify evil and degeneracy until the

\textsuperscript{159} Stella Bruzzi, \textit{Undressing Cinema}, p. 69.
acceptance of style-conscious men in the 1980s which problematised everything”. In this way we shall connect Zijo’s distinctive attire with his paradoxical behaviour, as he is going to betray his sister and her husband in the favour of the Party and its political ideals. Nevertheless, Meša and Zijo, both belong to the dominant class, and it can be seen throughout their appearance. The fact that every skojevac payed a lot of attention on the appearance is explicitly displayed in the film. During the acrobatic show, Meša takes the chance to teach his younger son Malik how appearance is vital for the image and how body language could reveal important characteristics about personality:

According to walking, you can distinguish if someone is stupid or clever. Feet should stand in parallel. The one who keeps them distorted, he is a fool. The real skojevac has an inborn sense for aesthetics. And he must respect that. Who does not know this, knows nothing.

On several occasions Meša is displayed as he stands in front of the mirror while modifying his hair and moustaches which suggest his narcissistic preoccupation with the appearance. This can be particularly noticed in the second part of the film, when Meša completion the sentence. In fact, during the service he had to remove his moustaches, thus during the period after the service he became obsessed with growing them again. In regard to these scenes, we shall recall the idea of mirror reflection, as described by Jacques Lacan: “the moment when a child recognizes its own image in the mirror is crucial for the construction of the ego”. Of course that Lacan speaks about the child and the first conscious encounter with the mirror, but the idea seems increasingly relevant for the re-construction of Meša’s destroyed ego. As being absurdly imprisoned and absolutely unable to resist and defend himself, he is even left without a proper explanation regarding his arrest and the only thing he can do is to conform. Without moustaches he is left without his masculinity as he is compelled to leave his family unsecured, and go to serve the sentence. This is the reason why prison and army imposed

160 Ibid.

161 SKOJ is abbreviation of Young Communist League of Yugoslavia (Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije), therefore ‘skojevac’ is the name for any member.

strict rules regarding the length of hair and the banning of beards during the service. By the act of taking them the most obvious sign of their masculinity, the service constantly reminded those men about their conformity. As, every time when they look themselves in the mirror, they will think about how every single aspect of their life (even the choice of moustaches) is controlled. In this way, Meša becomes obsessed with his appearance, while trying to reconstruct his destroyed ego. In this sense, his castrated identity crisis affect his marriage due to which he becomes violent towards his wife. When he has to conform in front of others, his wife is the one he can dominate, and therefore regain the confidence.

Third Chapter

**Underground: Fashion’s Unsettling Reflection**

The very idea of **Underground** is inspired by Plato’s mythology and his writings on power and the state, represented in *The Republic*. In this dialogue, Plato speaks about people who are locked up in a cave and have only a deformed vision of their external reality. Likewise the main motive in **Underground** evokes the allegory of the cave; yet the narrative meticulously blends philosophical myths with authentic signs of reality in order to grasp the phenomenon of the breakdown of Yugoslavia. Those signs of reality refer to documentary footages of Belgrade, Zagreb and Maribor; and to the use of titles which announce events that have actually occurred, or the representation of historical figures such as Tito. Indeed, it seems that applying ancient Greek theory on the phenomenon such as the breakdown of Yugoslavia clarifies a series of falsified historical realities imposed from both inside and outside of the Yugoslav imagined community.

Furthermore, we could assume the similarity with Plato’s view on the world revolving round its axis in two successive and contrary motions, discussed in *The Statesman*. According to Foucault, Plato describes that in the first phase “human could

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lavishly avail itself of the fruits of the earth; it needed no abode; and after Death, men came back to life. A crucial sentence adds: ‘The deity being their shepherd, mankind needed no political constitution’.

In the second phase, the world turned in the opposite direction, the deity were no longer men’s shepherd and they had to look after themselves. Foucault adds:

The politicians’s role did not mean feeding, nursing, and breeding offspring, but binding: binding different virtues; binding contrary temperaments (either impetuous or moderate), using the “shuttle” of popular opinion. The royal art of ruling consisted in gathering lives together “into a community based upon concord and friendship” and so he wove “the finest fabrics”. The entire population, “slaves and free men alike, were mantled in its folds”.

In the film, the first part depicts “how human lavishly avail himself of the fruits of the earth” all until political influence began to vein throughout all socio-cultural institutions. In this sequence, the film suggests strong nostalgia as it introduces a variety of cultural values and traditions intertwined with great amount of local humor and gimmicks. In the second part, the film suggests how “the world turned into the opposite direction”, or to what Foucault describes as “binding”. Here, the film represents “the life in the cellar”, and the spectator is constantly asked to make comparisons between two parallel worlds: of those who live in the underground to those who live above the ground. In this part, the narrative prevails with motives of betrayal and lies which reinforced the dichotomy of this society. The third part of the film is introduced with the use of the title: “The third part of the war”. This abbreviation paradoxically suggests that the wartime struggles within this society, in fact, never ended all until the final demise of Yugoslavia. In this sense, the phenomenon of the breakdown of Yugoslavia indeed coalesces with Plato’s principle of the circular trajectory.

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166 Lawrence Kritzman, *Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture*.

167 Ibid.

168 Ibid., p. 66.
Furthermore, *Underground* depicts a story about Yugoslavian brotherhood, similarly to Plato’s discussions on pastoral power represented in *The Statesman*. The film focuses on the relation between two pre-war time friends, Crni and Marko, and depicts their lives accompanied by their friends and relatives. Overall, *Underground* deals with human relations and demonstrates how those relations evolved with the evolution of the political system.

The film opens at night before the Nazis bomb Belgrade as Crni and Marko, evidently drunk, are coming back home after a night out. They are celebrating that Crni is recruited by the Party due to being recommended from his comrade Marko. The following scene takes reference from reality as it portrays how, on 6th April 1941, the first bombs were thrown above the Belgrade Zoo. Many animals actually escaped from their caves and spread all over the city, but most of them got seriously injured or died. The scenes of the Zoo are increasingly emotional as they portray deeply disturbed and injured animals resolving wild instincts. Marko’s brother Ivan, the Zoo keeper, finds himself in the middle of this disaster and he only manages to save his beloved monkey Soni before running away from this agony. At the very same moment, Marko finds himself in bed with a prostitute, and his sexual satisfaction gradually increases as the sounds of detonations become louder. On the other hand, Crni welcomes bombing at home during his breakfast and he keeps eating, as if nothing important happens. Despite bombs falling around them, his pregnant wife Vera is arguing about his lover, the theatre actress. As an epitome for typical Yugoslavian masculine, Crni is completely resistant to those sounds, so his wife is not scared too. In this way, the film depicts the welcome of bombing from three different perspectives. More importantly, it juxtaposes the reception experienced by men and by animals, which again coalesces with Plato’s comparisons between man and animal. Furthermore, the film evokes the same juxtaposition several times throughout the narrative, as at the end - monkey Soni appears to be the wisest character in the film, and the only one who survives. The film also makes a connection between death animals in the Zoo at the beginning of the narrative, and death people on the battle, at the end.

Central characters, Marko and Crni, are wealthy criminals and the Second World War finds them wheeling and dealing together. As the war is going on, their business of thievery and weapon smuggling is flourishing. At the moment when the situation become too
serious, they move their families and relatives to the secret shelter which is located underground, and which can only be entered through the passage located in Marko’s family home. As soon as she enters the shelter, Vera gives birth to Jovan and then passes away. Meanwhile, the two friends get involved with the Partisan guerrilla resistance against the Nazis, since they provide necessary weapons. Marko and Crni distinguish according to their lavish lifestyle since they constantly keep making jokes around and showing their bravery. Apart from sharing friends and enemies, they end up falling in love with the same woman: theatre actress Natalija. During one of their lavish jokes, Crni is being arrested by Germans. When his best man Marko rescues him, Crni asks for a bomb, because in case the Germans arrest him again, he will rather kill himself. After accidentally activating the bomb, he survives, but acquires serious injuries and he has to go to the shelter in order to recover.

Over the course of the time, Marko highly prospers in the communist hierarchy, becoming very close to Tito. He maintains doing all the business “outside”, while Crni diligently manages the production in the underground. As time passes, and the war is over, Marko groves into the master manipulator: he keeps lying to Crni and the others in the shelter that the war is still going on for more than 20 years. He cleverly deceives them all the time as he is masking himself, and playing them old radio recordings and alarms for the bombing. After twenty years, Crni finally decides to reach out the shelter with his son Jovan, so they can completion the war together. The rest of the people from the shelter is liberated by the virtue of monkey Soni.

The third part of the film represents the war from the beginning of 1990s. Here, everyone is confronting with her/his own sins. In this war, Crni is a paramilitary commander and he again fights for his country. Marko and Natalija became Western immigrants. They are still wealthy, but they come back to Yugoslavia as Marko finds a good opportunity to do some more arms dealing. Crni’s military arrests them, and without knowing their identity, he commands that the “war profiteers” must face summary executions. Later, he finds them burning together in Marko’s wheelchair. Since all main characters died on this way or another, the film ends with the reunion of all characters at Jovan’s re-staged wedding party. When the piece of the land under them breaks from the rest of the ground, as a common beginning statement of any fairytale, the title announces: “There was once a country…”.
Since myths and facts are freely intertwined throughout the plot, the costumes play a vital role in blurring the boundaries between the two. As Roland Barthes describes:

Myth does not deny things, on the contrary, its function is to talk about them; simply, it purifies them, it makes them more innocent, it gives them natural and eternal justification, it gives them clarity which is not that of explanation but that of a statement of fact.169

This coalesces with Bill Nichols who argues that stories are not a phenomenon occurring naturally, but they are themselves a product of history and culture.170 In this line of thought, I shall argue that in *Underground* the costume is effectively used as a cultural representation, in order to speak in the favour of historical accuracy. Following the principles of the twentieth century ready-to-wear collections, this film provides a variety of information regarding the fashionable identity of this century. Yet, only when put in the cultural context, this information engages various complex meanings which go beyond description of decade-specific style and having the potential to elucidate the sensibility of the time.171 In this single feature, which encapsulates the period of around sixty years, we shall see what Anette Kuhn calls the “performative function of dress” as a masquerade that can be used to “reconstruct the wearer’s self”.172

In the opening scene, Marko and Crni are driven in carriages through the old part of Belgrade. They are evidently drunk and happy as they celebrate something. Just for fun, they are shooting their guns and throwing away the money, while an orchestra of traditional Gipsy musicians are running behind them, playing instruments and collecting the money at the same time. Apart from being supportive about their class, the costume is used to establish different identities between two best friends, as well as negotiations between their “brotherhood”. As Judith Butler argues, costume plays a key role in the construction of gender

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codes and expectations. A dark suit, casually worn with loosely buttoned white shirt, having a small white scarf draped around the neck over the lapel, gives Crni a “charming bohemian” look which highly reflects his character. In this sense, costume suggests that Crni’s actions will be driven by emotions, rather than interests. The bohemian look reveals his hedonistic nature, while a sophisticated piece of fabric around his neck emphasizes his emotionality. On the other hand, Marko is wearing his beige suit in a more formal manner; his white shirt is tightly bounded around the neck and embellished with the red tie which is reflective about his ambitions. In comparison to Crni, Marko’s strict outfit suggests that his actions are influenced by his best interests and that he will hardly diverge from his final aspiration.

They are both obviously wealthy as they wear suits made from sophisticated fabrics, embellished with golden cuffs. A massive golden ring should be noticed during the close-up of Marko’s hands as he takes off his leather watch in order to hit the musician. On the other hand, Crni’s massive ring suggests that he is married, which in addition invites the spectator to consider Marko as single. These garments together put emphasis on their superiority over the musicians who entertain them.

Furthermore, in this scene, we can see that all members of musician orchestra and Marko are having head coverings, but not Crni. Therefore, we shall examine the role of the hat as the most important signifier of social codes during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. It has been widely known that various types of hats were worn by man and woman in this period of time. Yet, for men it was almost unacceptable to go into the street without a hat, since it represented the inevitable garment of the masculine wardrobe of the time, giving the impression of a gentleman. By choosing not to attach the hat to Crni’s outfit in this scene, Kusturica invites the spectator to consider Crni’s individuality as diverging from common established social codes. In fact, he constructs his character as free and wild in comparison to others. On the other hand, Marko in this scene is wearing a typical short-brimmed fedora hat: consisting from soft fur-felt material with a matching ribbon bounded to the brim. It is undoubtedly revealing about his status, since in 1940s fedoras were popular among upper-class. Furthermore, the shine of its fine velvety fabric, in comparison to musicians’s hats of various types which can be seen in the background is obvious. As Diana

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Crane explains, since man represented their families in the public space, men’s hats were used to indicate the status of the family. However, the way in which Marko wears his hat is more important than the hat itself. Despite he is being drunk, and with every sharp turn his hat starts to fall down, he manages to keep it on the head all the time. This indicates that his desire to be seen as a high class gentleman occupies his mind even in this situation.

Since the costume is reflective about historical time, it suggests further identification of the masculine identity which emerged during the period between World Wars. Thus, it provides an insight into the situation before 1941. As Jennifer Craik argues, in this period of time, masculinity is most often seen as rejecting fashion and its ability for self-identifying. It is believed that excessive masculinity is rather shown through the expenditure of disposable income on drinking and leisure. Yet, as Breward argues, drinking itself provided “an arena for fashionable display”. Likewise our protagonists assert their masculinity and status through conspicuous expenditure on cheating, drinking and violence, but they obviously pay a lot of attention to the appearances as well. Therefore, we shall consider that masculine identity is directly linked to the expenditure on the appearance, as a sign of belonging to the group. Breward argues that “sharp suits, distinctive ties, and individualist haircuts undermine the myth that men took no interest in fashion during the interwar years”. Apart from haircuts, their nurtured moustaches represent the symbol for fashionable masculinity of the twentieth century. As my grandmother describes:

My father had a small toothbrush moustache, similar to Hitler. It was very important to nurture them frequently. I only remember that people called him ‘frajter’ because of that, but I have never knew what it means. I also remember that there was no barber shop in that time, barbers had only their bags and they visited

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175 Ibid.
177 Christopher Breward, The Culture of Fashion.
178 Ibid., p. 218.
179 Ibid., p. 214.
180 frajter is an archaic Bosnian word for recruited Muslims into the Austrian army, during the First World War.
customers at home. Later on, my brothers didn’t have moustaches, but one of them established the first barber shop in our city. I know that he always had a lot of work to do. His idea was probably influenced by this growing trend, but I do not know that for sure, since I haven’t spent a lot of time in male company.

As the most evident symbol of masculinity, facial hair has always been popular in patriarchal societies. Thus, every culture develop certain stereotypical meaning related to the style of moustache or beard. Although different styles were popular at different times, and we are able to trace the meanings they projected throughout the history, in the film we shall consider them as identity representations in terms of plot development. Therefore, Marko is having a thin-line moustaches with a wide shaven gap between nose and hairs, known as a pencil style. In comparison to Crni’s longer, naturally grown moustaches (so as to fully cover the area between nose and upper lip), Marko’s pencil moustaches can be associated with double-minded character, due to its ease adjustability. As a small and short-haired style, it is easy to create, and thus provide a different character instantly. On the contrary, Crni’s naturally grown neatly combed moustaches represent his masculine integrity and his commitment to the brotherhood. As if we measure their moral standards according to the size of their moustaches, Crni would have much bigger proportions.

In the following scene, the spectator is introduced to Crni’s wife Vera. Here we can notice the negotiations between masculine and feminine identity. In this scene, the carriages that carry Crni and Marko are coming across Crni’s home, while his wife is starring out of the window and waiting for him. In this scene, Crni is having his hat which is the same shape and material as Marko’s, but in dark blue. Here, we shall notice to what Lynne Segal argues that male costume is used as a disguise for vulnerability.181 With the hat, he looks less mischievous in front of his wife: as by the act of putting it on his head, he disguises his inappropriate behaviour, which he performed minutes ago. As soon as Vera notices them, she hurries downstairs to welcome her husband, although properly angry. She is wearing a red fine silk house overcoat with long A-sleeves which is revealing about the traditional ideals of

femininity. The fact that Vera is wearing silk overcoat is particularly reflective about their status, since in this period of time, the banning on silk was imposed and it was rarity to have such a piece of material. As Laver argues: “textiles were also strictly controlled. Because silk was needed to make parachutes, there was a ban on its use and for hosiery and clothing”. In terms of plot, this huge piece of delicate fabric reflects her soft and evocative glamour and her motherhood. Furthermore, with the use of fabric the spectator is invited to consider her emphasized emotions. Being beautiful and glamorous all the time gives her confidence and strength to manage her husband’s whoring. Yet, driven by the traditional values, she is more worried about his health than about his infidelity. On the other hand, the fact that she possesses such luxurious garment indicates that Crni takes good care about his wife, in terms of material.

In order to make a contrast between different character personalities, designer uses costume to code prostitutes who meet Marko in the next scene. When he comes in front of the brothel, five glossy girls enclose him. They are all wearing shingled hair and small hats with embellishments, a lot of makeup, high heels and pipes or cigars. A colourful palette of outfits can be seen, such as a grey knee-length skirt worn with green satin corset embellished with black lace; a two-piece negligee consisting of baby rose shorts and black satin top with a red lace hems worn with a red satin overcoat in black rose print; a pink knee-length A-line dress of cheap fabric worn with a cheap beige A-line overcoat which is shorter than the dress; a pearl satin lingerie with black lace and a long silver satin overcoat in black lace roses print, and just partly revealing a white skirt or dress in pink dot print worn with a short black jacket with cheap leopard print lining. According to Breward:

By 1927 shingled hair, lips and eyes accentuated by cosmetics, abstract print dresses in new artificial silks such as Rayon which was light, warm and cheap, and took bright colours well, exposed calves, and ankle-strapped high heels had become a visual shorthand for modern femininity.183

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183 Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, p. 186.
Yet, Breward adds that in material terms, this look was beyond the reach of many, for a long period of time.\textsuperscript{184} That is, through this look, the notion of feminine freedom acquired a new meaning.\textsuperscript{185} As Elisabeth Wilson and Lou Taylor explain:

Social emancipation - the freedom to drink, to smoke, even to make love, to dispense forever with chaperones - served as a substitute for possibly more solid economic freedoms, and was in any case an option only for those few women who were socially and economically independent.\textsuperscript{186}

Perhaps, we shall consider that at the beginning of the Second World War prostitutes represented the majority of those women who were economically completely independent from men. However, they certainly were the only who had experienced this trend of modernity, at this point of time. As seen in \textit{When Father Was Away on Business}, with the emergence of women partisans, the female emancipation developed in different directions.

Several hours later, Marko and one of the prostitutes are having sex in bed. In this scene, Marko is lying down, while she is sitting on him. They are both naked, but significantly, Marko is having his hat, just this time with pink flower (chrysanthemum) attached to its brim. He is quite bored, all until he hears the sound of detonations. As the sounds become louder and more frequent, his satisfaction gradually increases. A prostitute puts on her satin overcoat and tries to run away, but Marko stops her and asks to come closer to the window, so he can hear the sound better. However, she escapes by hitting him with her heel in the head and runs away. This is a common way of expression of female overpower of male figure in Kusturica’s films. In the next scene, the prostitute is running through ruins and, at the moment before she comes out of the gaze, her satin overcoat fells of and she disappears naked. Marko finishes his masturbation while staying next to the window and looking how the war is going on outside. He is naked, but he has a red satin soft padded sleeping quilt draped around him, and he still wears his hat. This piece of soft padded fabric suggests that he

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., p. 187.

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.

feels completely safe and comfortable in this situation. By attaching the colour red, Kusturica
gives Marko power and hence indicates what will be his role in this war. On the other hand, it
reflects a symbolic meaning about Yugoslavian pastoral identity. Throughout the centuries,
militant power became so natural, that it constitute a key element in masculine identity. For
instance, military training was mandatory for all adult men, and the act of leaving to the army
traditionally required a celebrating ceremony, such proportions as a traditional wedding event
could be.

On the other hand, Crni welcomes bombing at home while having breakfast. At the
same time, Vera is cleaning his black leather Oxford shoes. Tradition orders that woman is
responsible for the appearance of her man. That is, if man has a wife at home, his untidiness,
should be her embarrassment. Therefore, woman would diligently adorn their husbands every
day before they go out, since her obligation was not only to wash and iron those garments, but
to bring it to him, to help him to get dressed, to button the shirt and cuffs and to tighten the
tie. My grandmother explains that approximately a decade after the war, when she got
married, it was like this:

Before your grandfather married me, I had a job but I didn’t
finish my studies yet. He promised me that I can continue, and
so I did. But of course, I still had to finish all home duties and
go to work every day. I liked to study in the morning, therefore I
would wake up very early, around 4 am and I would milk a cow,
and then study until he wakes up. Then I had to give him
breakfast and help him to get dressed for the work. After that, I
had one hour to finish home duties because I started my work
later. When I came back home, I usually had to wash our
working clothes because we didn’t have too much to change.

Therefore, we can conclude that this tradition has been preserved, albeit the huge step in
female emancipation has been made during the wartime and after. At one moment, Vera puts
shoes on the window sill, to be aired. Crni keeps eating as the bombs are not falling, all until
the escaped elephant from the Zoo takes his shoes from the window. In this sense, Kusturica
uses shoes as the central object for the plot development in order to suggest the motive of irony. The surprised Crni shouts to the elephant: “Not shoes! One horse!”, as he would say: ‘take everything, but do not touch my shoes’. Ironically, at the very moment when bombs are falling above his country, Crni worries about his shoes, as he is resistant to everything else. Indeed, the shoes represent a valuable commodity, even for wealthy people like Crni. It was very important to have a pair of good leather shoes, especially for a communist as he is supposed to stand firmly and elegantly on the ground. In this scene, Crni is wearing a white mesh undershirt, white long underpants and a sleeping hat, which represent a common home outfit for every Yugoslavian. Yet his sleeping hat, used to keep his hair in the same direction over-night, is actually made from his wife’s old tights. Re-using tights instead of a real hat for this purpose was so common among Yugoslavs, that perhaps it should be considered as a symbol of the time:

It was cheap and easy, since you could make several these hats from just one tights. You would only need to place the material on the head, tighten it according to the shape of the head and tie the knot. The rest of the material you would either let to hang freely, or for the aesthetic purpose, you would cut it and save for the next one. Since it was so cheap, you would just throw it away and make another one when it becomes dirty.

In the following sequence, Crni decides to go outside. While adorning him, Vera is nagging about ‘that one from the theatre’. In this scene, Vera is wearing the same outfit, just this time her overcoat is loosely unb ounded as it reveals light blue negligee made from very soft and thin material. Bright colour and fine fabric of her negligee emphasizes her innocence and describes her sensibility. Yet, the synergy of the two delicate pieces even more deepen the representation of her emotional state. Vera appears elegant and sophisticated, having soft skin and nurtured shoulder-length haircut which emphasizes her femininity over her nagging. Finally, since Vera does not stop arguing, Crni grabs his coat and hat and goes out with an unbuttoned shirt and not tightened tie. If a married man goes out not being completely adorned, it means that something at home is not good. In this sense, the costume is used as a
plot device to suggest in which direction the narrative will develop, since this is the last time when we see Vera and Crni together. Here, we can see to what Street argues that costume sometimes can be used to negotiate “the incomplete and contradictory impulses between masculine and feminine that constitute ‘masculinity’”.

In the next scene, the spectator is introduced with Crni’s lover Natalija, a young theatre actress. Natalija and her colleagues are repairing the theatre building ruined from bombs, when Crni comes from behind in order to surprise her. He is having his navy blue wool-knitted coat with lifted-up collar and a hat, which gives him a mysterious look. Indeed, he has to disguise his identity, since he and his comrade last night seized German’s train full of weapons. While he walks through the ruins, Crni takes care not to make his shoes dirty. Natalija is angry, because Germans issued a wanting list for him, but as soon as she gets her present, a massive golden necklace, she forgets about that. The way she experienced her present suggests that she really does not care about him, which emphasizes her swallow character. Furthermore Crni argues that Natalija is selling her soul, by playing in the theatre for Germans. On the other hand, young and ambitious Natalija does not see the problem with the fact that she cooperates with the occupiers, all until she can progress in her career. From what can be seen in this scene, Natalija is wearing a white cotton blouse buttoned-up around the neck, and a beige tweed three-button jacket with a light beige overcoat with huge lapels which is tied around the waist. Because of her clumsy shingled haircut with curled bangs, her appearance associates ‘childishness’, yet her dress is not relatable to that ‘childish look’. In this was, the costume certainly emphasizes her character as naive and confused. She is uncertain whether she is in love with Crni, or with German officer Franz. In fact, she only cares about her brothers’ and her best interests, therefore she constantly changes her mind about Crni and Franz. Natalija justifies her dishonest behaviour arguing that she has to take care about her mentally ill brother Bata, therefore she will be with the one who can procure the medicine for Bata. In general, Natalija adopts this awkward look in the first part of the film, later we shall see that her character develops into a manipulator.

When Vera moves to the underground shelter, she delivers Jovan and then passes away. Due to Crni not being faithful and not looking after her properly, she is left with Marko’s relatives and other workers in the weapon production. As soon as they close the door

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187 Sarah Street, *Costume and Cinema*, p. 4.
of the shelter, she gets contractions and slips down the stairs. In this scene Vera is wearing a typical A-line floral print dress from the 1940s, and a waistcoat with Oriental embroidery. Vera is also having a nice lace cotton collar and a small sophisticated brown leather watch. However, a central object in this scene is her black leather handbag. During the close-up of her, giving a birth, the spectator can notice that she pushes her stomach while keeping the bag firmly in her hands. The moment before this, she grips her bag while saying: “Crni, fuck you! Where are you now?”. Therefore, her missing husband is substituted with a functional handbag. That is, her bag gives her what she needs from her husband at this moment. On contrary to what Street describes as a Hitchcockian way of using a handbag to suggest a woman’s private space, her assertiveness and independence, Kusturica uses it to emphasize Vera’s weaknesses. Vera’s handbag also suggests her private space, but in terms of protection. Since she obviously shares her husband with someone else; the bag is her private shelter, as the only thing that is in her full possession. At the moment when she passes away, she holds her son in arms, while at the same time holding the bag in one hand. That is, when she loses control over her life, this garment gives her final strength to experience her motherhood before she passes away.

In the second part of the film, the costume plays an important role in terms of plot development. Foremost, dress indicates differences between the community who lives underground, and those who live above the ground. In this sense, the costume projects to what Kuhn argues as the “reconstruction of the wearer’s self”: “Far from being a fixed signifier of a fixed identity, clothing has the potential to disguise, to alter, even to reconstruct the wearer’s self”. Therefore, in this section the costume explores positive and negative identity developments. Marko and Natalija, who live outside the shelter, are changing their style according to popular fashion trends; yet Crni and others who live underground adopt immutable clothing style characteristic for the wartime shortcomings. By juxtaposing these two different fashion systems, Kusturica engages various complex meanings about negotiations between these two contrasting worlds.

Albeit Marko’s and Natalija’s dress is changing according to popular trends of the twentieth century in order to support the film’s historical accuracy, at the same time it symbolises a far more important meaning. In comparison with Crni who spends more than

twenty years in the underground, in his long white cotton underpants and cotton undershirt, the frequent changes in Marko’s and Natalija’s dress emphasize their manipulative characters practiced over Crni. In this sense, Kusturica attaches fashionable identity to those who lie, betray, and change their behaviour as fast as fashion trends have been roaming throughout the twentieth century. On the other hand, those who diverge from popular fashion trends, represent the community deprived of proper knowledge and information. Crni’s comrade Marko keeps lying that the war is still going on outside, so he can keep Natalija, all the profit and fame only for himself. On the other hand, Natalija falls in love with Marko as soon as he becomes the only powerful man in her vicinity. Since Franz is dead, and Crni is seriously injured, Marko is the only one who can provide her the life she desires. We see them together for the first time in Marko’s home; the war is still going on, but Crni is already injured, in the underground. In this scene, Natalija is wearing a navy blue sailor jacket with huge collar over the shoulder and an A-line knee-length rough brown skirt, and a small cloth hat which is characteristic for the fashionable identity of the twentieth century. The discrepancy between her fashionable hat, her clumsy shingled haircut mentioned before, and childish sailor jacket together with a rough brown skirt emphasize those negotiations which she has with her inner self. At the moment when Marko tells her: “this house, this sun, and rain and wind and this world, everything is for you!”, she unconditionally falls in love, despite she knows that he is a liar. Obviously, the sudden changes about her love life driven by her best interests and her desirable life, confuse her to a great extent. Hence, the costume subtly emphasize her inconsistent modes of behaviour.

After the war is finished, Marko becomes a hero due to the resistance that he offered against Nazis during the wartime. In fact, he comes very close to the authorities becoming a famous politician. The path he went through from being a criminal to becoming an authority official is represented with the documentary inserts of Tito and his ideology which was spread in the wake of the new country. Marko’s character is every time inserted so as to stand next to Tito. In these footages, we can also see young pioneers wearing their common outfits consisting of a navy blue skirt/trousers, a white shirt, the little red scarf and the traditional hat known as ‘sajkača’. Here we can also notice Tito’s famous uniform with numerous army decorations attached to it, which he preferred to wear particularly during this period of time.

189 Christopher Breward, The Culture of Fashion.
and all until the end of the Cold War. The uniform is dark green with golden decorations on shoulders and lapels, as well as golden cuffs and double-sided golden buttons. We can also notice a white satin gloves which have always represented an essential part of his outfit. When Tito came to visit Winston Churchill, he wore his uniform, and Winston wore a tailcoat. Winston asked him why he came in uniform, and Tito said: “if I were a president of your country, I would wear a tailcoat too, but since I am a president of Yugoslavia - I prefer to wear a uniform”.

During his political speech held in order to propagate communist ideology, Marko is wearing a white shirt with a red tie, a dark buttoned suit and a light grey overcoat so as to reveal the golden medal which he has attached to the suit. That is, a typical communist look which in terms of men’s clothing was primarily concerned with the display of restraint in a disciplined body. Apart from this, Marko is having an eyeglasses which add a notion of intellectuality to his character. As we are introduced in this scene: Marko became a poet writer. Since he finally achieved his ambitions of becoming a married intellectual, and a famous authority official, or in Plato’s words “the shepherd”, he does not need a hat any more to reinforce his masculinity. Furthermore, having revealed individualistic haircut contributes to his artistic image and distinguishes him from others. We can also notice that Marko changed his moustache style so now he is having a naturally grown facial hair which covers the whole area between nose and upper lip. The huge change in Marko’s appearance suggests the huge change in his character as well, which demonstrates to what Kuhn argues that costume is often used as a primary device for reconstructing the wearer’s self. In this sense, Marko adopts new image in order to justify his new role within this society, as by the means of fashion he projects his desired identity. Kristin Hole argues:

Fashion provides the means by which characters attempt to create new personas that will help them to break from their dysfunctional pasts. Yet the body and its interconnected psyche

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191 Sarah Street, Costume and Cinema.
remain, threatening to undermine the fantasies expressed by their fashion choices.\(^{192}\)

His wife Natalija, who often accompanies him, in this scene is wearing a black cat-eye sunglasses in Audrey Hepburn-style which evoke a Hollywood glamour from 1950s. Those sunglasses represent the connection between Natalija’s professional aspirations and her desirable identity. On the other hand, we can notice that she is wearing a black fur jacket and leather gloves worn with pepito pencil skirt and a black leather bag associated with contemporary Jacque Kennedy style. In this way Natalija’s fashionable expression is floating between two different styles which suggests that her look is rather artificial. She wears fur and gloves in order to project their desirable luxurious lifestyle, yet Natalija have never been glamorous. In this line of thought, we can assume that she represents an object used to strengthen Marko’s hegemony. In this way, Marko and Natalija use fashion as “a space for self-creation”\(^{193}\). That is, the clothes they wear express who they wish they could be. Furthermore, in every following scene when we see them together, they are wearing matching outfits. In this sense, we can consider Natalija as an extension of Marko’s identity, as she is a female version of Marko. For instance in the scene set in Marko’s home when he observes the community in the underground through hidden camera, Natalija dances and sings popular Rock’n’Roll song, while trying to seduce Marko. His outfit represents popular fashion trend from 1970s, while her outfit only supports this representation in terms of fashion. Marko is wearing a black trousers and a black polo-neck shirt which is usually associated with intellectuals as for instance in Michel Foucault style. He is having a new haircut while his moustaches, and eyeglasses remain the same. We can notice that his jewellery is added with two new rings, so now he is having three massive golden rings worn on the same hand next to each other. In this sense we can see how Marko’s clothing style is developing reciprocally to his desired identity and the time passing. Furthermore, we can see negotiation between his past and present identity. Natalija in the same scene is wearing a black satin negligee and a black leather heels, while holding a black satin overcoat in her hands. She represents a pure object of desire, since she is half-naked and Marko is fully-dressed (though he has even a

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\(^{192}\) Kristin Hole, “Does Dress Tell the Nation’s Story?”, p. 286.

\(^{193}\) Adrienne Munich, *Fashion in Film*, p. 287.
polo-neck shirt). This conforms to John Flügel’s interpretation of Freudian theory on fetishism as that woman is often being the embodiment of the man’s desire, in short, his fetish.194 This coalesces to what Bruzzi argues that “in an intensely patriarchal films the representation of women readily conforms to the archetype that the decorative woman is the source of the male’s erotic pleasure”.195 Next time when we see Marko and Natalija at home, she is wearing a V-neckline button-up floral print knee-length dress with nipped-in waist and short sleeves, and for the first time she looks mature. At one moment they start fighting, and at the very next moment she ends up half naked as he ripped off her dress. In this scene, we learn that Natalija acquired problems with drinking which is the result of her “false life” as she argues. In the next shot she is provoking Marko, while in the subsequent she is hanging her legs around his neck as they dance. In this scene, Marko is having a buttoned-up shirt, a dark trousers, a fixed hair and eyeglasses. While Marko is adorned, Natalija looks like she has been raped. In fact, Marko wants Natalija looks exactly like this so they can tell Crni that she has been raped and beaten from the Gestapo, as he decides it is the right time Natalija to visit Crni in the underground. Marko also disguises himself when he goes to the underground shelter, as for these occasions he often wears his old suit which he adopts in the first part of the film. Here we can see that the performative function of dress plays an important role in Marko’s manipulative games. In fact, from this perspective costume acquires manipulative character having full ability to deceive Crni about what is going on outside the shelter. When Marko comes to visit in order to give him the watch which allegedly Tito send, Crni welcomes him in his long cotton underpants while having a black hat with the five-pointed red star attached to the brim at the front side. Furthermore, Crni is having a long full beard which in overall emphasizes his barbarian look; but it is also effectively used as an indicator of the time which passes. The fact that Tito gifted him a watch is so significant that he barely can believe in that. At the moment he takes it in his hands, through the watch, we can see the admiration that he feels towards his leader, who by the way, tells him to “wait a little bit longer because it is still not a good time to reach out from the shelter”. Certainly, the watch and the message are both products of Marko’s fiction. However, the watch here represents the absent character, as it revives Tito’s figure. In fact, the watch is the extension of Tito. A close-

194 John Fügel, *The Psychology of Clothes*.

195 Adrienne Munich, *Fashion and Film*, p. xvii.
up of Crni kissing the five-pointed red star on his hat suggest Kusturica’s recognizable motive of irony. By this act, Crni is giving a tribute to something which keeps him blindfolded. The rest of the community in the underground adopt what Sarah Street calls a stereotypical costume, as we can notice instantly recognizable representatives of different nationalities who live together in a community. Furthermore, general palette of colors they adopt is dark so to resemble to this apathetic society. Although, those nuances are conspicuously used to emphasize the militant atmosphere in the shelter, as this community is only concerned with the amount of weapon they are required to produce. They adopt torn and old, anachronistic costume not because they are poor, but because their minds are poor.

In the third part of the film, we can notice fashion’s unsettling reflection. The main elements of costume represent military uniforms, khaki and camouflage colours, accessorises in the forms of ammunition and a large adoption of furs. All those garments together represent the increasing culmination of violence which thoroughly supports the plot. For instance when Crni reaches out from the shelter together with his son Jovan, their dull clothes are embellished with cartridge belts. In this scene Jovan is having a shorter trousers and a shirt several sizes bigger worn with a dark jacket which again has shorter sleeves. As being raised in the underground shelter Jovan is deprived of a proper knowledge, which is emphasized through his clumsy appearance.

In the following sequence we see Marko and Natalija for the last time in Marko’s home, since they are leaving Yugoslavia. They are both wearing same polo-neck shirts, as in this period of time, men and women for the first time were able to shop together ready-to-wear collections. Natalija is having a long brown fur coat and a lot of golden necklaces which shine over her black polo-neck. Having an elegant head kerchief, she again evokes Audrey Look, however this lush either fits her. She again appears only as Marko’s extension, only as a rich representation of his wealth.

In the scene of the battle, when Marko comes back to Yugoslavia to deal some arms required for the new war occurring, we can see him sitting in a wheel chair wearing a long dark wool coat with a huge fur trim around his neck. The allure of his oversized fur and delicate wool coat in the middle of the battle where people are injured and everything is

196 Sarah Street, *Costume and Cinema*.

197 James Laver, *Costume and Fashion*.
burning looks like it is yelling ‘the lion is back’. The coat represents how he feels when finally came back to his natural environment. However, a few moments later he is burning in the middle of his ‘natural habitat’, as the lion in the Zoo died at the beginning of the story. As Louise Wallenberg argues:

> Animals – alive or dead (and if dead, then most often in parts) – have been used to indicate social, political and gendered status, and they have been used as allegories communicating political and social meanings. In addition they have often been used as pure objects of fashion conveying notions of gender, exoticism, eroticism and danger.\(^{198}\)

In addition she elaborates the notion of *be-coming animal*, which “forms a truly horrific in many narratives”.\(^{199}\) On contrary, Crni in these final scenes, as an army commander, is wearing a camouflage uniform pants and an olive green jacket with broad shoulders, a griddle around the waist, and a black cloth cap on his head. As Bruzzi argues:

> Although uniforms became more practical with the use of khaki, camouflage fabric, and cargo-style pockets and trousers, they still, through their emphasis on the broad shoulders and chest, connoted discipline, self-control, reliability, competence, loyalty, political allegiance, ideology, aggression, and heroism.\(^{200}\)

Accordingly, it is important to mention that Crni’s uniform does not have any marks to suggest which army he belongs. When a random soldier asks him which army does he belong, he answers that he belongs to his country.

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199 Ibid.

**Conclusion: Does Dress Tell the Nation’s Story?**

As we have seen, the narrative in *Underground* is revolving around discourses of nation, violence and masculinity in Yugoslavia. The main protagonists are placed in various situations often featuring powerful male bodies performing acts of bravery which show off their virility. From a childhood friendship to the joint business and mutually shared political values, their relationship represents an epitome for “Yugoslavian brotherhood”. In order to represent how politics destroyed this brotherhood (and many others), the film mixes highbrow literary references with comic motives as inevitable elements of this culture. Since in the first part of the film Crni and Marko spend most of the time together, their actions are increasingly similar; yet the costumes they adopt play a key role in signifying their diametrically opposing inner aspirations, which will considerably affect their identities throughout the narrative. It is important here to emphasize that the costume is conspicuously used to compensate the restrictions of the dialog and other elements of *mise-en-scène*. That is, as in everyday life, their Looks visualise certain characteristics about their identities which we later connect with their different modes of behaviour; but which are often unable to be expressed throughout the dialog itself. As in real life when we getting to know someone, it often seems increasingly important to connect visual or material representation with spiritual, from the very beginning. In this way, cinema use costumes to speak when the words cannot tell much, and thus engage new meanings which induce the spectator to compare and learn. Therefore, from the first appearance onscreen, we can see that Crni and Marko are both wealthy as they wear impeccable suits, representational of fashion at the time. Since they are criminals, their clothes are equated with status, money and style, as in every gangster genre.\(^{201}\) However, the uniformity of their suits represents to what Jacqueline Reich describes:

> Even though clothing persisted as a maker of class difference, it gradually became less colorful and more practical, with the conservative black, grey, and brown emerging as the dominant colors symbolizing modern, bourgeois, capitalist identity.\(^{202}\)

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\(^{201}\) Stella Bruzzi, *Costume and Cinema*, p. 67.

\(^{202}\) Jacqueline Reich, “Masculinity, Suits, and the Maciste Films of Italian Silent Cinema”, p. 239.
If we consider fashion as an anthropological system of shared values, we are able to contrast between the ways in which those protagonists wear their suits, despite the fact that they look the same: dark, practical, single breasted with a slightly nipped-in waist and sloping shoulders which epitomized the classic bourgeois suit from 1910s onwards.203 Furthermore, we have to notice that the choice of the suits for this scene particularly indicate the connection with politics. Thus, Crni’s casually worn suit with unbuttoned shirt and untighten tie suggest his spontaneity while a delicate white scarf thrown over the lapel emphasize his emotions. If we think about his political engagement, we can only see a patriot who likes to show around his bravery and spontaneously help other people, while having fun. Thus we understand that he is a member of the Party only due to his unconditional love toward his country. In contrast to that, Marko’s strictly worn shirt with a tightened tie and fine fedora kept on head even during the state of excessive drunkenness, justifies his later ambition for political power. In this way, costume denotes meanings which spectators is able to understand only later as narrative develops. However, since their dress is still increasingly similar in the first part of the film, we learn that they respect the same moral standards and “Yugoslavian gangster codes”.

In the second part of the film, Marko represents himself as a master of disguise, while the motif of his masking acquires a central position in the narrative. As we have seen his elaborate costume fuses with his double-minded character. Here, the fashion expresses its manipulative potential as having the full ability to deceive the community in the shelter about the events “outside”, and thus it plays an important role for the plot development. On the other hand, the contrast between Marko’s latest fashionable trends adopted “outside”, which are revealing about his new identity of a famous politician and a poet writer; and his old torn suit which he wears every time when goes underground reminds us about his dysfunctional life. Moreover, this masquerade makes an evident contrast with Crni, who spends a third of his life half-naked in his long white cotton underpants, since in this case, his half-nudity emphasizes his honesty and purity. As a patriot, Crni likes everything that represents his country, and therefore his masculinity represents the core of this “brother land”. Since he fictionally survived the explosion of the bomb in his hands, the story about his excessive masculinity is told in the form of the myth. His strength and bravery are idealized through strong, muscle (but not sculptured), hairy body, and his long beard always followed with a

charmingly grim facial expression. It is important to mention that Crni’s austere look, as well as all others in the underground, is not because they are poor, but because their souls are poor. Their minds are deprived from a proper knowledge and information, thus they have a blind trust in the destiny orchestrated by fashionable Marko. In this sense, we can read costume as an allegory for the film in a whole. The discrepancy between those fashionable and those dull-like denotes problems which this nation had with education and knowledge. In Foucault’s words:

Knowledge is for me that which must function as a protection of individual existence and as a comprehension of the exterior world. I think that’s it. Knowledge as a means of surviving by understanding.  

In the same line of thought When Father Was Away on Business deals with problems of political power and mind control with particular focus on the institutions of prison and school. While representing complicated relationships within one family, the narrative focuses on the juxtaposition between the father who serves Gulag, and the son who serves “communist school”. This coalesces with Foucault’s idea which I have explained in the first chapter: the same principle of practicing discipline in the prison is later diffused through schools, factories and other institutions. With the use of costume, Kusturica emphasizes the increasingly restrictive features of the regime. For instance, the fact that Meša had to remove his moustaches during the sentence service equalizes with Malik’s stitching safety pin of his “communist badge” which stitched his nipple during his speech. As we have seen in every single scene the costume is used to reinforce ideological props of the time while constantly making contrast between the strict and absurd authority rules and the obedient society. As Munich argues: “the national message uses fashion to promote national pride, sometimes in alliance with fashion and sometimes as its enemy”.  

Here, the costume plays an important role in two ways. Firstly, in terms of establishing different character’s identities and representing how restrictive Communist regime affected them. And secondly in terms of balancing the screens with color and texture and thus creating the overall Look of the film as

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204 Lawrence Kritzman, Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture, p. 7.

205 Adrienne Munich, Fashion in Film, p. 234.
the representation of the national identity. To point to this absurd political system, we have seen that children’s dress have been traditionally used to represent the national flag. Paradoxically, children's fashion have been exclusively designed so to signify the national flag as in the colors: the red scarf, the white shirt, and the blue skirts (or trousers). Both films impugn parent’s role within this society since they represent satisfied parents who “adorn” their children so to look like a flag, and send them to mass gatherings so they can wave at the president. Since both films introduce this topic, we can understand that this phenomenon dominated throughout all regions of Yugoslavia. Whereas this imposed fashion trend, highly welcomed by society, represent a Communist power technique. According to Foucault: “what I mean in fact is the development of power techniques oriented towards individuals and intended to rule them in a continuous and permanent way”.

In terms of masculine identity, in When Father Was Away on Business we have a problematic family relation between the high Party official Zijo, and his brother-in-law Meša, who is also a member of the Party, but professionally a businessman. In comparison to Underground, which takes place in the capital city, When Father Was Away on Business takes place in a middle-sized city in Bosnia, and therefore costumes are more conservative as the environment itself. Therefore, Meša adopts two piece single sided beige suit, while Zijo adopts three piece brown tweed suit. As Bruzzi argues: “men’s allegiance to functional and more professionally orientated dress codes is conventionally presumed to attest to an overwhelming impulse to conform, to blend in with a crowd”.

In addition, the elaborative use of suits together with details such as the red tie and the white shirt, in both films, serves as a signifier of Yugoslavia’s increasing “communisation”. The wave of Communism brought about changes in both manufacturing of clothing and how and where it was purchased, particularly within the members of the Party and even more within the close circles of authority. Masculine attire, traditionally characterised by consistency, functionality and durability, is exemplified by the suit, as it denotes holding back personal feelings, or self-restraint and focusing energy and achieving organisational goals, or goal-directed behaviour. The wide adoption of suits John Flügel describes as “great masculine

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206 Lawrence Kritzman, Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture, p. 60.
207 Stella Bruzzi, Undressing Cinema, p. 68.
208 Ibid.
renunciation” where he argues that the emergence of suit as the epitome of a capitalist style purged “feminizing accessories”. It has been widely argued that men took no interest in clothes, and those who did were considered as effeminate, yet our protagonists show the opposite. As we have seen, Tito himself represented the role model of masculinity, and in whatever he did, he was always impeccably dressed. This is how he came to be a man of war, a national symbol and a fashion icon. In this line of thought, Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* explains that the militarisation of men, the making of soldiers via:

The supervision of the smallest fragments of their life and bodies functions as a disciplinary model that describes in essence the mechanisms of a then burgeoning social machine to which all become subjected in the context of school, the barracks, the hospital or the workshop, a laicised content, an economic or technical rationality for this mystical calculus of the infinitesimal and infinite.

In his book *Modesty In Dress*, Laver develops the idea of two polarised principles of dress: the hierarchical and the seductive. As he argues, the former is applicable to men because “a man’s clothes are a function of his relation to society”, while the later pertains to women because “a woman’s clothes are a function of her relation to man”. This is exactly how Kusturica treats dress in his films, yet it is important to add that the masculinity, which is the epitome for Yugoslavian national identity, is always represented throughout the female subversion. That is, his films widely elaborate the idea that the excessive masculinity, which represents, leads and finally destroys this country, would never exist without the female subversion. As Mulvey argues: “the paradox of phallocentrism in all its manifestations is that


211 Lawrence Kritzman, *Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture*.


213 Ibid., p. 173.
it depends on the image of the castrated woman to give order and meaning to its world".\textsuperscript{214} We have seen that both films articulate social tensions around gender, while they seek to represent women as a marginalised group of this society. In \textit{Underground}, Vera dies at the beginning of the film, which, in historical terms, is at the same moment when the role of traditional woman in this society died. From what we can see in these several scenes, Vera adopts sophisticated home dress which suggests that her wealthy husband takes good care about her; but fine materials are also used to signify her emotional core in relation to his lavish behaviour. We can see that whole her life is subservient to her husband, since when she does not worry about him, she takes care about his adornment. Furthermore, in the last scene when we see Vera, her bag replaces her husband’s absence. Although Kusturica makes the inscription of Vera by her absence, the use of only two outfits in those few scenes establishes her character thoroughly. Furthermore, we have seen that her identity (as well as her costume) of a natural womanhood, serves as the epitome around which all other female characters in this film are constructed. On the other hand, young and modern actress Natalija spends her life as a pure object of male desires. Her elaborate use of dress and the extensive change in her style are reminiscent about her dysfunctional life and her shifting identity. As we have seen, with every outfit, the spectator is introduced with the new perspective about Natalija’s personality. In this sense, we are able to trace the evolution of her character throughout the years. At the beginning, Natalija adopts “childish outfit” which denotes her as young and naive, while later, she adopts provocative and erotic clothes which suggest that she evolves into the object. With the extensive adoption of fur in her wardrobe, Natalija acquires animalistic image. In this sense, she represents the best example of what Laver thinks when he says that woman’s clothes are revealing about her relationship with man. In this way, costume allows us to make a comparable parallel between Marko and Natalija’s identity development. Furthermore, it is crucial here to notice the way in which Natalija wears her outfits, as most of the time she looks rather ‘artificial’. Her appearance lacks inter-personal connection, and that is why we see her as a ‘female object’ exchanged and manipulated among Marko and Crni (and Franz). Later, in her period of maturity, we learn that Natalija becomes addicted to the male gaze and the desire she arouses. On the other hand, partisan lady Ankica in \textit{When Father Was Away on Business} loses her sexual appeal on the “battle”

\textsuperscript{214} Laura Mauvley, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema”, p. 57.
due to which she loses “control” over her behaviour. Her colorless, dull-like clothes, and the early adoption of trousers suppress her femininity due to which she loses her appeal in relation to the opposite sex. Ankica is unable to develop a stable sexual identity because she is, as Mulvey describes: “[…] torn between the deep blue sea of passive femininity and the devil of regressive masculinity”.\textsuperscript{215} As a result, she is not able to attract the man she loves, she loses her humanity and compassion, and therefore being rejected from her community. Despite her bravery and “masculanized” identity, Ankica is not being able to manage her life. At the end of the film, she goes to basement with Meša where he tears her clothes, rapes her and leaves her naked and humiliated. When Ankica realizes that she lost her moral standards, she becomes so weak that at the end, she commits suicide. Finally, Sena represents a victim of her own family, as she is betrayed by two most important male figures in her life: her brother, and her husband. Yet, the proficiency in needlework provided her economic independence, therefore she succeeds to overcome hard times, when her husband goes to jail and her brother does not want to help her. Sena’s womanhood, and fashionable sense maintains her confidence, and thus she is the only heroine who stays alive by the end of the film. Moreover, in the last scene Sena is pregnant which further emphasizes her holiness.

Since the films employ the theme of female dichotomy, as a conflict between tradition and modernity, dress is often used to suggest these differences. Furthermore, while portraying four female heroines in two films, Kusturica provides a full image of different regional and religious identities within this nation, and the costume here plays a vital role. Thus, we can consider feminine identity as a space of instability from which we can explore complexities of Yugoslav multicultural identity, with particular focus on the meeting point between the East and the West. In this sense, costume in \textit{When Father Was Away on Business} establishes a dichotomy between Ankica’s controversial gender status of a “female warrior” and Sena’s overtly feminized traditional identity. Ankica’s adoption of trousers and dull-like clothes is seen as used to defy, disguise, and subvert her feminine identity. As Sarah Berry argues: “in joining the battle to protect her community’s cultural and political autonomy the female terrorist comes to represent the potential loss of tradition”.\textsuperscript{216} As we have seen, together with her tradition Ankica lost her sexual appeal. Freud sees femininity complicated

\textsuperscript{215} Laura Mulvey, “Afterthoughts on Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema inspired by \textit{Duel in the Sun}”, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{216} Sarah Berry, “Subversive Habits: Minority Women in Mani Ratnam’s \textit{Roja} and \textit{Dil Se}”, p. 302.
by the fact that it emerges out of a crucial period of parallel development between the sexes; a period he sees as masculine, or phallic, for both boys and girls:

In females, too, the striving to be a masculine is ego-syntonic at a certain period - namely in the phallic phase, before the development of femininity sets in. But it then succumbs to the momentous process of repression, as so often has been shown, that determines the fortunes of a woman’s femininity.217

Mulvey defines the period from the Second World War to the mid-1960s as the historical crux of the relationship between women and psychiatry due to problems with women’s adjustment to stereotypically conceived roles prescribed by society.218 On the other hand, Sena’s dress codes and norms of decency and modesty embody cultural tradition. Her professional orientation towards fashion practices fuses with her understandings about traditional values of femininity. As a home seamstress, she manages to have a professional career besides her family. As Janet Walker argues:

One cannot overlook the supportive analysis and the larger social impulse to discourage professional careers for women in favour of happy marriages to which the women devote their all.219

The elaborate use of costume in Sena’s outfit is particularly interested to emphasize her fashionable sense and experience with the needlework; her “natural” womanhood and holiness. This identity empowers Sena and helps her to overcome her life full of betrayal and lies.

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218 Ibid.

All in all, costumes are in deep context with the release date of the films and the cultural environment the time. Clothes are not only copying the objects of reality, but they are saying something about the more philosophical aspects like humanity, religion, behaviour, nature and politics. They have certain value in them. Nevertheless, I consider the film costume as a paradigm: a way of viewing reality for the public that shares the same mixture of values, assumptions and concepts. My preconception nonetheless is that a spectator can recognize the character by seeing only the costume without ever seeing the film. She/He has got some information about the costume from the culture around him. While the iconicity of the film costume has its ability to change the character’s garments into meaningful and important signs for a spectator. Throughout this study I realized that film costume has to be seen as one with character, since the spectator do not divide them into two different units. Fashion’s ability to generate discourses on all aspects of society - gender, sexuality, class, politics, etc. - rendered it as a fertile art form for this discussion. Such a discussion is particularly revealing when combined with artistic modes of display, the cinema of Emir Kusturica.

Overall, throughout the exploration of Kusturica’s work, I have recognized two threads of analytical enquiry: firstly the notion of bricolage, and secondly the ideological implications of his signature profusion of accessories and objects that stand out. Throughout the course of this study, film’s profusion of garments and accessories have translated into a profusion of ideological readings, which have differed with each film. Hence, Underground reveals that everything in this society was about sex and violence. While sex in itself is not problematic, violence certainly is. Simultaneously, Underground represents two parallel worlds: the one fashionable, and the one which is not fashionable. In this respect, I understand the extensive change in Marko’s fashionable dress throughout the years as an allegory of the culmination of violence in Yugoslavia. The fashion reading out from the juxtaposition of Marko being a brave soldier who celebrate the liberation after the Second World War, standing next to Tito in his communist olive-green uniform embellished with red marks; and Marko in the war from 1990s being a Western immigrant, and a war profiteer who came at the battle in the black coat having a huge part of dead animal thrown around his neck so as to signify the mane which lions acquire in the period of maturity is an embodiment of what
Wallenberg describes as a “truly horrific”.

Throughout this metamorphosis fashion vividly describes Foucault’s idea about the power shifting from repressive into the oppressive form. Therefore, I shall conclude that from “charismatic political leaders” to “moral panics”, fashion in Yugoslavia was used as a visual hegemony, and as a core symbol for performing power and domination over the conforming social strata. In my view, considering hegemonic ideology from a visual perspective is particularly helpful for understanding the complex nature of domination and, as Howell argues “to move beyond the idea that power is simply about coercion”. Howell states that: “individuals are manipulated through media, education and politics to accept oppression as normal and the only situation that exist; change is unthinkable and utopian”. Yet, I would add that fashion system within this culture was equally important for this manipulation. Hence, in When Father Was Away On Business, I have noticed a variety of restrictive features of national costume, contrasted with excessively austere Look of those who keep the society in order. In parallel with political readings, costumes in this film denote that more homogeneous public imagination is nothing else than a mind control. A particularly relevant here is an oppressive children’s costume which is an epitome for the system which encouraged them to think within the same mode of thoughts. A forceful reduction of diversities in terms of what people believe or desire, how they appear to look like, how they think, and therefore what they know, in my opinion, represents a fundamental problem within this community.

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220 Louise Wallenberg, “Becoming Animal, Becoming Free: Re-reading the Animalistic in Fashion Imagery”.

221 Lawrence Kritzman. Foucault: Politics, Philosophy, Culture.

222 Kerry Howell, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Methodology.

223 Ibid.
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