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ABSTRACT

of a dissertation for the award of the educational and academic degree of Doctor in the professional field 2.2. History and Archaeology. Modern and Contemporary World History (Contemporary Balkan History – Political and Social History of Yugoslav Macedonia after World War II).

TOPIC: Everyday life and the press in Yugoslav Macedonia (1945 – mid-1960s)

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Structure of the dissertation

This abstract outlines the principal arguments, conclusions, and contributions of the dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the educational and academic degree "Doctor". The study investigates the manner in which the press documented everyday life in Yugoslav Macedonia during the first two decades following the Second World War. The dissertation is structured both chronologically and thematically. This approach is designed to facilitate the perception and tracking of transformations in how the press registered socialist daily existence, including the role of propaganda in constructing a mediatised image thereof.

The study comprises the following components:

- Introduction: This section delineates the significance of the topic, the research aims and objectives, the subject and object of the study, the chronological boundaries, the methodological approach, and the source base.
- Eleven Thematic Chapters: The core of the dissertation consists of eleven independent yet interconnected chapters, organised around the central pillars of everyday life. These themes include: the political and ideological context; life in the village and the city; labour as a socialist moral imperative; youth and the pioneer movement; the emancipated woman and the modern socialist household; leisure and consumption; tragedy and humour as facets of daily life; the characteristics of the "socialist personality". Each chapter analyses specific narratives and processes within a broad corpus of periodicals, aiming to construct a multi-layered depiction of the media coverage of everyday life in Yugoslav Macedonia between 1945 and the mid-1960s.
- A summary that synthesises general conclusions regarding the role of the press in shaping the mediatised appearance of socialist modernity.
- A comprehensive list of sources and literature consulted, including archival documents, periodicals, and selected academic literature.

The dissertation comprises a total of 411 pages, including illustrative photographs and the bibliography.

Everyday Life and the Press in Yugoslav Macedonia (1945 - Mid-1960s)

INTRODUCTION. The introduction of the dissertation justifies the relevance of the research and the necessity of directing scholarly interest towards the social history of Yugoslav Macedonia and its possible study through the prism of the history of everyday life. It is emphasised that the first two decades following the Second World War represent a period of profound political, social and cultural transformation in Yugoslav Macedonia; it was then that the new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian everyday life was constructed – a characteristic system of values, norms and practices. In this context, the press is regarded both as a mirror of the ongoing changes and as an instrument for their guidance and imposition, which positions it as a suitable historical source. The object and subject of the research are formulated thus: the object is everyday life in Tito's Macedonia during the period 1945 – mid-1960s, and the subject is its presentation and purposeful modelling through the periodical press. The aim and principal research tasks related to the reconstruction of socialist everyday life are elucidated through the analysis of media texts, the tracing of ideological prescriptions and an attempt to observe the interaction between official norms and actual everyday practices.

The chronological framework is substantiated as follows: the lower limit is marked by the assumption of control over Vardar Macedonia by Tito's Partisans and ASNOM, which gave rise to the new socialist Yugoslav everyday life in late 1944 and early 1945; the upper limit is associated with the Skopje earthquake of 1963, which occurred immediately following changes in the leadership of the SKM and SR Macedonia in the same year, as well as with the major economic reform in Yugoslavia in 1964–1965; the totality of these events led to changes in everyday life, suggesting the identification of a new period in its development. Geographically, the study is confined to the borders of Yugoslav Macedonia, but examines the processes within the broader context of Yugoslav federal communication and social policy.

The Introduction also describes the methodological framework employed, based on social history, the history of everyday life and media analysis. The principal groups of sources are identified – central and specialised periodicals, supplemented by archival materials – which facilitate an understanding of the mechanisms of Party intervention in the processes of constructing the new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian everyday life. Through its content, the Introduction attempts to establish the logic of the entire work and outline the analytical framework in which the subsequent chapters and the synthesis of the obtained results are situated.

CHAPTER I. THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE CREATION OF SOCIALIST YUGOSLAV MACEDONIAN EVERYDAY LIFE. The first chapter of the dissertation examines the political and institutional foundations of the creation of the new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian everyday life in the period immediately following 1945. The analysis focuses on the process of the consolidation of communist power and on the mechanisms through which ideological prescriptions were transformed into everyday norms of behaviour. The role of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPY) and the Communist Party of Macedonia (KPM) as leading factors in the construction of the new society is emphasised. The principal source consists of available archival information; examples are provided of Party decisions related to language policy, labour discipline, cultural and educational activities and the political mobilisation of the broad masses. Special attention is paid to the People's Liberation Committees (NOK) and the People's Liberation Front (NOF), to mobilisation practices and Agitprop, which de facto created the new everyday life; examples are given of their role as channels of education and direct control. Here, the press performs the key task of systematising, explaining and legitimising these practices, creating the mediatised image of the new society.

The first chapter to some extent establishes the analytical framework for the entire study, demonstrating that the new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian everyday life was not a naturally occurring phenomenon, but the result of the purposeful policy of the Party, striving to create a new type of citizen, new social relations and a new society, compatible with its determination to exercise total control over society and the individual.

CHAPTER II. POLITICAL PROCESS AND EVERYDAY LIFE UNTIL THE EARLY 1950s. The second chapter builds upon the preceding one, focusing on the media presentation of key political processes and their impact on everyday life in Tito's Macedonia during the initial post-war years. This period was characterised by the accelerated institutionalisation of communist power, the progressive construction of a new political and administrative model, and the imposition of new norms of public and personal behaviour. Central to the analysis are mobilisation practices as a kind of "matrix" of the new everyday life; Party decisions and directives were transposed into everyday practices through labour actions, rallies, and other events from the political calendar, as well as cultural and educational initiatives. The principal source for the reconstruction of these processes are publications in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*.

Chapter II traces how the press became an intermediary between power and society; an important component of the "transmission belt". The press constructed the mediatised image of the new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian everyday life, wherein the heroisation of labour was combined

with the creation of a sense of community, the power of which was subsequently directed against “hostile elements” – collaborators with the Tripartite Pact forces, “remnants” of the past, “speculators, swindlers”, “kulaks”, etc. In this way, the press fulfilled a prescriptive and repressive role in society, positioning itself as the master of “truth” and as an authoritative moral judge.

The exposition of the second chapter attempts to trace the smooth transition between the earliest phase (late 1944–mid-1947), marked by the revolutionary affirmation of “people’s power”, and the harsh political mobilisation of the subsequent period (mid-1947 – public demobilisation in the early 1950s), in which the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Cominformburo transformed the First Five-Year Plan into a dystopian reality of the socialist present-future – weekdays and holidays merged; collectives were portrayed as immensely happy and constantly achieving victories on the frontlines of socialist labour. Political content determined publicity; everyday life was reduced to a mobilisation resource. With an explicit focus on the political process, the second chapter aims to prepare the transition to the subsequent chapters of the dissertation, which attempt to trace how political prescriptions began to be realised in different social environments, and how the mobilisation drive gradually gave way to the "power of everyday life" of the socialist project.

CHAPTER III. EVERYDAY LIFE IN A VILLAGE. In the third chapter of the dissertation, attention focuses on the presentation of rural everyday life in the periodical press of the People's Republic of Macedonia during the first two decades following the Second World War. The village constitutes a key social "theatre" in the period under consideration: the majority of the population resided there; as an economic sector, agriculture was fundamental; and the village occupied a specific place in the ideology. The analysis attempts to demonstrate how the press constructed the image of the "new village", through which socialist modernisation was to be perceived as a natural and desirable process; propaganda constantly emphasised the characteristics of progress: mechanisation, modern forms of labour, and organised cultural and educational activity. The principal sources for the exposition in the third chapter are publications in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija* and in the rural cooperative periodical *Narodna Kooperacija / Narodna Zadruga*.

Characteristic of the media coverage of the daily life of the village is the optimistic narrative in a "comradely" collective spirit – modernisation is portrayed as a self-evident process, a consequence of the joint efforts of the workers, and the village is positioned as evidence of the constantly emerging better life of the socialist present-future.

The village is a site of collision between the new and the old; between modernity and the past; between mutually exclusive logics. Large-scale collectivised and mechanised agriculture is

accompanied by the “urban” characteristics of labour – the workplace, the contract, the daily rate, the wage, social security, and annual leave; in the socialist project, however, labour is the highest moral value and as such has a much broader projection: its functions include recreation, culture, education and organised life. In the village, this is manifested through the *Cooperatives* (and the new symbolic building – *Cooperative Homes*), which were required to create the conditions for the desired appearance of everyday life; the libraries of the cooperatives, the village cinemas, and amateur groups are reflected by the press as symbols of a better life and the progress of the village. With the growing awareness of everyday life in the second half of the 1950s, the press also began to depict the progress of the rural household. The “new man” of the village is not bound by centuries-old traditions – he is open to technical innovations and to organised life; to contributing to the cause of socialism.

Chapter III also attempts to demonstrate the contrasts between the mediatised image and the real one; how one of the emblems of socialist construction was subjected to colossal pressure in order to achieve the desired outcome. In a sense, this lays the foundation for the next analytical step in the dissertation – the positioning of the contemporary image of labour as a central ideological and moral pillar of socialist society.

CHAPTER IV. WORK AND EVERYDAY LIFE. The fourth chapter of the dissertation analyses the place of work in the media coverage of socialist everyday life in Yugoslav Macedonia. Labour is presented in the public sphere as a central moral pillar of public life, around which the norms of behaviour, identity and values of the individual are organised. Within the pages of the press, work is much more than a mere economic activity – it is a moral duty and an ideological virtue; it is inherent to the worker, who constitutes the creative force of socialist modernity. The principal source for this chapter is the trade union publication, *Trudbenik*.

The selection of the trade union publication is determined by the characteristics of the system, wherein the everyday life of workers falls within the obligations of the trade unions. This positions the trade unions as an intermediary between the workers and the state, and simultaneously as a factor in the implementation of ideology. In this sense, the trade union assumes the role of a “herald” of the modern form of work; the structure that must bring to fruition the highest achievements in the exercise of labour. The press presents the trade union as a guarantor of collective care – it monitors working conditions, safety, and hygiene; organises qualification courses through which workers can keep pace with developments in their profession; and organises outings and other sporting activities.

The press clearly emphasises that the union is not an “opposition”, but a structural partner of the state (“the Party”) in constructing the ideal labour collective. During the years of the First Five-

Year Plan, trade unions were a “regular” mobilisation tool in the arsenal of Agitprop; even in this capacity, however, there is indirect evidence that workers sought support within them – most frequently to influence management to observe statutory holidays and the length of the working day. With the transformation of the Yugoslav system in the early 1950s, propaganda increasingly began to present union activists as exemplary workers, engaged in effecting improvements in their factory – from introducing new technologies to establishing sports sections, amateur clubs and libraries.

The various narratives demonstrate the large-scale projections of socialist labour; on the pages of the press, care for the worker is a constant in the legitimation of the regime. In the mid-1950s, leisure time was integrated into the grand plan of socialist labour; collective identity was built through participation, rather than merely through subordination. When a company achieves higher productivity, this is presented as the result of conscious collective labour, supported and motivated by the union structure. The collective is much more than an economic unit – it is a social community in which work, leisure, and culture are combined. The image of everyday life in the workplace is constructed by the media as a balanced rhythm between responsibility for production, the development of the collective, and activities for “useful leisure” – socialising, sports, and cultural initiatives.

The worker is the paramount hero of the socialist project, and the press ensures that his image is conveyed in this manner. He is literate and possesses technical skills; he is motivated and socially engaged. His workplace is characterised by mutual aid, discipline and competition; the work process in which he participates is safe and encourages professional development. This trajectory is especially visible in the second half of the 1950s, when the mobilisation publications of the First Five-Year Plan gave way to more pragmatic themes. An innovation from the end of the 1950s is the presentation of work not merely as a duty, but as a source of well-being and an indispensable component of a happy and fulfilling life; in the media image of everyday life, work no longer negates, but rather supports, other aspects of human existence such as consumption and experience.

Chapter Four attempts to recreate how, on the pages of the press, labour is transformed from the essence of human life into a part of its rhythm; it is positioned as the fundamental framework into which all social roles fit, some of which are examined in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER V. THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF YOUTH. The fifth chapter of the dissertation examines the media representation of youth as a key and distinct social subject in the socialist construction of Tito's Macedonia. During the first post-war years, the periodical press accorded youth a central place in the ideological construction of the "*New Human*"; it was portrayed as a guarantor of modernity and

as a generation called upon to turn socialist ideology into reality. The press emphasised that young people should be responsible, disciplined, industrious and socially engaged. The publications affirmed the image of the young person as an active builder of the socialist present-future – as a worker, student, foreman, sportsman, or public figure.

The principal source for this chapter is the youth publication *Mlad Borec*; within its pages, the school and the workplace are presented as the primary arenas of socialisation, where the collective serves as the measure of personal value. The publication constructs a clear moral model in which the young person is depicted as an exemplary citizen and a man of action, who, through personal example, upholds socialist morality; normativity is emphasised: any deviation from ideological prescriptions is deemed undesirable.

The analysis attempts to trace the evolution of the media image of youth during the period under review. In the second half of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, media coverage was entirely mobilisational; youth provided the energy for the industrialisation and modernisation of society. Their participation in labour actions constituted proof of their political maturity; the First Five-Year Plan positioned youth as an instrument of socialist progress: their social value was commensurate with their labour efficiency, and their everyday life was a mobilisation resource.

The affirmation of the self-management model of socialism led to an expansion of the thematic horizon of messages directed at youth; from the mid-1950s, the press increasingly began to emphasise not only the labour activity of young people, but also their interests, leisure time, and even emotional experiences. The press demonstrated that youth could possess their own “agenda” in everyday life, provided it remained “exemplary” and did not compromise the primary role of youth as the vanguard of the socialist project. By abandoning the mobilisational model of covering youth everyday life, the “*People’s power*” revealed the essence of the new understanding – that youth must live socialism, not merely build it. The press reflected this by expanding media coverage of sports, art, music, youth clubs, and meetings with comrades. Propaganda efforts focused on establishing a constructive interpretation of leisure time, positioning it as the antithesis of idleness; youth was no longer merely “in production”, but also in society.

The press once again depicted youth as a mirror of new understandings of social development; the independence of the young individual was emphasised and, in return for the efforts expected of him/her, socialism offered conditions for self-realisation and cultural recreation. The image of the young person undergoes a transition from a “drummer” of mobilisation to a conscious young citizen of Yugoslav Macedonia, whose everyday life offered a wide choice of activities for

personal development; in the late 1950s and early 1960s, everyday life itself became a value, not merely a means to achieve a specific goal.

CHAPTER VI. THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE PIONEERS. The sixth chapter of the dissertation analyses the presentation of childhood and the Pioneer age in the periodical press of the People's Republic of Macedonia during the first two decades following the Second World War. Here, the focus lies on how the media shaped social expectations regarding the youngest generation; children were positioned as a *raison d'être* of the regime, assuming the role of a symbolic barometer for the success of the socialist transformation of society. The principal sources are Pioneer's Newspaper, *Titov Pioner* and *Drugarče*, which constructed the image of children as bearers of the purest and most sincere manifestations of ideological ideals; as a cohort requiring careful education in order to produce the "*New Human*".

Within the pages of the press, the uniform rhythm of children's everyday life consists of learning, play, and collective belonging; it is systematically emphasised that the good Pioneer is an exemplary pupil, a loyal comrade, and a model future bearer of socialism. The school is viewed as a space wherein the initial foundations of socialist citizenship are laid through discipline, knowledge, and participation in collective initiatives.

In the latter half of the 1940s and the early 1950s, the logic of mobilisation prevailed; on the pages of the press, the Pioneer selflessly served society, participating in labour actions and symbolic manifestations of solidarity. He was a "little adult" and often appeared as a "little defender" of the socialist order; the child realised that he/she was a future worker and builder of socialism, whose primary quality was the readiness to serve the common good. By the mid-1950s, the media image of the child as a "worker of tomorrow" gradually ceded ground to a focus on the present of childhood; the press demonstrated an understanding that caring for childhood was a prerequisite for the successful development of the socialist personality. The Pioneer remained a good pupil and a helper to others; the press prepared him seamlessly for adult life, revealing his future responsibilities to society and the Yugoslav Federation. Propaganda undertook this with the aim of achieving a comprehensively developed socialist personality, understood as something beyond the mere exercise of labour. This shift reflected the broader process observed in the preceding chapters; childhood was no longer reduced to a functional role in the grand narrative of building a new society – it acquired its own moral dimensions and its own distinct character, situated in the shared space of play, camaraderie, joy, the acquisition of knowledge, and full participation in school life. It may be posited that, from the mid-1950s onwards, childhood became one of the distinct "tracks" of everyday life in

the press, transcending its previous conception as merely a preparatory stage for mature working life.

CHAPTER VII. LEISURE AND EVERYDAY LIFE. The seventh chapter of the study examines the place of leisure in the depiction of everyday life in the People's Republic of Macedonia presented by the press during the first two post-war decades. This analysis complements the topics presented in the preceding chapters of the dissertation, attempting to trace how propaganda also incorporated leisure time as a sphere of ideological modelling and moral education. Within the pages of the press, leisure is portrayed as an everyday practice wherein the needs of the spirit and body are in harmony with the needs of society, thereby establishing another axis of balance between individual needs and the desired collective discipline. The chapter is internally divided into sections concerning physical education and tourism.

Physical education. Even in the early years of the "*People's power*", physical education was situated at the vanguard of socialist education; for the periodical press, it constituted a "physical culture" that contributed to the fostering of a collective spirit and discipline, presented as a panacea for both the body and society. The press regularly covered mass physical education events, which in themselves functioned as mobilisation practices; physical education formed part of the system of socialist competitions and served as a fully-fledged propaganda vehicle for articulating the rhythm of the First Five-Year Plan.

With the transformation of the Yugoslav system in the early 1950s, physical education forfeited its mobilising character for the majority of society; the exception to this was the youth, who retained an explicit commitment through the activities around Youth Day and the Tito's Relay. The press constructed a new image of physical education, positioning it as a desirable component of everyday life that enriched daily existence and promoted individual health. Propaganda deliberately began to move away from the competitive element of physical education, attempting to present it as the most democratic and accessible form of recreation; in this new guise, the press attempted (unsuccessfully) to convince the readership that physical education had been de-ideologised. These developments aligned with the evolving concepts of well-being, wherein physical activity was an integral part of recreation and a fulfilling life.

Tourism. In the studies period, tourism was positioned as an emblem of socialist Yugoslav modernity. During the early years of the "*People's power*", it functioned primarily as an instrument for becoming acquainted with the homeland through hikes, organised excursions and visits to historical sites; its principal role, in addition to its benefits for human health, was to serve as a vehicle for nation-

building. The foundations of modern tourism in the People's Republic of Macedonia were established in a mobilisational manner during the years of the First Five-Year Plan, when trade unions were committed to ensuring the "proper" utilisation of paid annual leave. Consequently, many workers became tourists for the first time; however, propaganda eschewed the use of this term, as well as other words like "hotel", preferring instead designations such as "recreation", "resorts" and "rest homes". In the first half of the 1950s, the suspicion regarding the "bourgeois connotations" of these terms dissipated, and by the middle of the decade the press presented a curious tableau in which organised recreation and tourism existed in parallel, with the latter being more expensive and offering a distinct experience. By the end of the decade, the press presented the aesthetics of socialist recreation as an integral component of the concept of well-being and a fulfilling life; publications appeared depicting everyday life during holidays. The fully realised socialist individual works well, but also knows how to rest – in a cultured and constructive manner; socialism offers not only labour and obligations, but also accessible recreation and a high quality of life.

In a broader projection, the seventh chapter attempts to emphasise a specific innovation in propaganda, which the press delicately presented: that a full life is compatible with social loyalty. Socialism is not content with the regulation of labour alone; it attempts to transcend this by imbuing recreation and leisure time with content, positioning them as indicators of the maturity of socialist society.

CHAPTER VIII. THE SOCIALIST EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC EVERYDAY LIFE. The eighth chapter of the study traces how the periodical press in the People's Republic of Macedonia constructed the interconnection between the socialist emancipation of women and the development of everyday domestic life. The principal sources here are the magazines *Makedonka* and *Prosvetena žena*, which presented women not merely as objects of the socialist vision, but as active agents of transformation – the new exemplary socialist home and the new socialist relations within the family were closely linked to their labour, their qualifications, their culture and their personality.

In the dystopian reality of the First Five-Year Plan, women were viewed primarily through the lens of mobilisation practices; they were first and foremost workers and activists, which constituted sufficient proof for propaganda that socialism had broken the constraints of tradition and established women as equal participants in the most significant social endeavours. The image was constructed in such a way that social contribution and labour displaced all other spheres of everyday life; this practically led to a "masculinisation" of the emancipated woman, wherein her endurance in labour

and her belonging to the collective were her defining characteristics. The home remained outside the primary propaganda focus; the messages of the press were largely abstract, beyond a concrete emphasis on hygiene and cleanliness. The media's main concern was for women to work and be "visible", which in the society of the second half of the 1940s meant taking their place in production and in the institutions.

In the early 1950s, the "masculinisation" of women collapsed; by the middle of the decade, propaganda was compelled to redefine the image of the emancipated woman, without positioning it in direct confrontation with that of "*The Plan*" era. The press relied on three key areas that were *de facto* inherited from the previous period, but were less represented then: education and professional qualifications, the role of "family doctor", and the exemplary household. In the first area, the press constantly called upon women to acquire new knowledge and skills in order to take their rightful place in society. The second area assumed that women should be able to identify diseases, provide first aid and know when to seek a doctor; in the long term, this thematic circle would open up many topics previously considered taboo on the pages of the women's press. The third area *de facto* pushed propaganda towards establishing the image of the exemplary socialist household, positioning the woman as the "manager" thereof. With this, the press began to pay attention to the quality of life and the directly related needs of the family and the organisation of the home; emancipation was no longer limited to presence in production – from this point onwards, it required the renewal of everyday domestic life itself, and belonging to a healthy, exemplary socialist family based on the equality of women and men. Impressively, propaganda did not abolish the early ideal but transformed it by expanding it: the woman must both work and live well; she must ensure both the material and cultural progress of the family, and project the image of socialist modernity in everyday domestic existence.

The new household is electrified, sanitised, rationalised and aestheticised; the domestic space becomes one of the emblems of the success of socialism: a modern kitchen, the use of electrical energy, an exemplary living room, and a functional children's room for the successful student – this constitutes the direct visualisation of the achievements of socialist society. In its messages regarding emancipation, it is made clear that women's work at home is socially significant because it forms the exemplary socialist citizen. Propaganda presents the emancipated woman as a bridge between the public and the private; she realises socialist modernity not only by participating in production, but also by organising everyday practices – managing the family budget, selecting clothing and furniture, caring for children, and curating the appearance of the space called home. In this image, life ethics are a woman's responsibility: a clean home, an organised schedule, good food and harmony in relationships are among the emblems of successful social self-realisation.

Along the lines of the “family doctor”, emancipation opened a new front on the topic of sexual education; the woman was charged with the role of discussing intimacy, protecting against “undesirable influences”, and fostering responsibility and awareness in relations between the sexes. In this way, the intimate was given publicity, assigning the woman the role of an ethical pillar in society.

Chapter Eight attempts to demonstrate how the press presented everyday domestic life as a facet of socialist modernity, with the woman as its architect; the home stands as one of the most direct evidences of the regime's successes, and the woman as its principal contributor.

CHAPTER IX. TRAGEDIES AND EVERYDAY LIFE. As a phenomenon, everyday life transcends the mere repetition of habits and rituals; it encompasses the ways in which society reacts to the appearance of the sudden and transforms it into an experience, after which life continues. Disasters are part of everyday life because they interrupt its rhythm while simultaneously activating the social mechanisms for restoring normality: care, mutual aid, organisation, and propaganda. In this sense, the “extraordinary” does not stand outside life, but rather renders visible its latent supports – the collective, the institutions, and the moral expectations of the individual.

In the socialist context, the press plays a central role in the reaction to the extraordinary; it translates shock into intelligible language, establishes a framework for grief, and transforms it into social action: work, participation, and discipline. Suffering becomes a common cause, a public demonstration of solidarity that tests values and sets expectations for their implementation during times of hardship. It is from this perspective that Chapter Nine examines two key cases from the period under study. The Mavrovo Disaster of 1956 demonstrates how the tragedy of the construction of the Mavrovo hydroelectric power station fitted into the mobilisation epic of labour – grief was restrained, and the moral imperative was “to continue”. The Skopje Earthquake (1963) unfolded a different sensibility: the tragedy of the home and the city required a language of care, visible solidarity, and the restoration of the everyday rhythm as evidence of the vitality of society. In the ninth chapter, an attempt is made to present how the press “managed” tragedies – in the first instance, how it reversed the “charge” of the event, and in the second, how it constructed the appearance of the “new normal” amidst the destruction of the capital of the Socialist Republic (SR) of Macedonia.

Examining the “*White Front*” of the Mavrovo disaster of 1956, the dissertation attempts to reconstruct the manner in which the periodical press transformed a sudden disaster into a moral-political narrative of self-sacrifice, solidarity, and the continuation of labour. The press’ interpretation of the event was embedded in the mobilisation term “*Front*”: in the public consciousness, the

construction of the hydropower complex represented a “front line” for a better life brought about by electrification; the avalanche was a “*white force*” before which the value of human feat was measured by the willingness to sacrifice. On the night of 10–11 February 1956, masses of snow broke away from the Korab mountain massif, and the subsequent avalanches buried the barracks of the builders of the Mavrovo hydroelectric power station and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) border post in Zhuzhan; this natural dynamic was inscribed in the media narrative as a force that put socialist society to the test.

By the following day, the disaster had not yet concluded; amidst adverse weather, a rescue operation commenced, the course of which the press turned into a dramatic narrative of everyday heroism. The storm severed communications with the teams on the ground and reversed the balance between rescuers and the rescued; air support failed to fulfil the initial plan – of the two helicopters, only one managed to return, while the other “*crashed into the snow*”. The reports highlighted specific exemplars of courage, such as the JNA Lieutenant Zaharie Mirković, who explained his actions with the phrase, “*I was only doing my military duty*”. The political leadership was present on the scene, demonstrating the commitment of the “*People's power*” to dealing with the tragedy. Mobilisation practices were also activated with the organisation of the transport of the deceased from Gostivar to Skopje; in these scenes, mourning and pride were blended into a unified whole of the socialist image of collective belonging and mutual gratitude.

The language of the press was consciously sublime, employing a fictional intonation that combined grief and promise; the builders and soldiers were “*crossed out... from the list of army of workers*”, yet inscribed in the pantheon of the socialist community; as for the “*giant of our time*” (Mavrovo HEPP), he would “*send light*”. The press shifted the interpretative centre of the event; the disaster was narrated not as an “*interruption*”, but as the limit of the same mobilisation logic: discipline, order, and determination. Propaganda utilised the tragedy to consolidate the established epic image of the Mavrovo Rescue Operation and to redirect emotion towards the restoration of normality – the professionalism of the rescuers, empathy for the victims, and the public demonstration of state care. Work and purpose gave meaning to the loss – it became the motivation to move forward.

The 1963 Skopje earthquake is presented in the study as a turning point that simultaneously interrupted the routine of urban life and made visible the ability of the socialist community to restore normality through organised care, solidarity, and propaganda-directed managed emotion. In the early hours of 26 July, the earthquake destroyed the daily rhythm of the capital; the press documented not

only the scale of the damage but also the moment when the home, the street, and the neighbourhood were severed from their usual order and demanded new forms of togetherness. Here, the analysis attempts to trace how, within two weeks, a “temporary normality” was invented: the home became a tent in a park, the city itself became a federal youth work action, and mourning became a collective sadness that the press impressively translated into mobilisation for reconstruction and proof of the vitality of the society. The media wove into this narrative the familiar images of the "*Youth Line*" and the "*Renewal*", through which trauma was translated into the language of everyday life: to live, help, and work together until that which was destroyed was restored.

The arrival of Josip Broz and the Yugoslav political leadership in Skopje was portrayed in a media image that positioned the disaster as a test and a moral commitment of the Federation: the survey of the destruction and Tito's words, "*this is terrible*"; the orders to save people and the assurance that "*the people of Macedonia will survive this misfortune*" set a tone in which the society of the SR Macedonia received sympathy and determination from the highest authority. The press clearly and categorically demonstrated the strength of Yugoslav "brotherhood and unity" – flags were lowered to half-mast throughout Yugoslavia, and a river of condolences flowed towards Skopje; collectives decided to allocate part of their income for “the affected Skopje”; social and health institutions allocated capacity to welcome evacuees and the vulnerable. The aid quickly expanded into an international effort, adding an external horizon to the internal reconstruction of the capital's daily life.

The presentation of this subsection of the ninth chapter attempts to identify and analyse the stages in the propaganda presentation of the event. After the initial fixation of the catastrophe as a national grief, the media narrative moved to the everyday tracks of continuing life – shelter, food, mutual aid, and the organisation of labour – thereby subsuming the tragedy into the processes of recovery that followed it. The press demonstrated a clear understanding of how the return to normality must occur “here and now”; in a disaster of such magnitude, the promise of the future is insufficient. In this sense, the immediate management of the earthquake's consequences also sets a chronological upper limit for the study: it marks a turning point, after which the reforms of 1964–1965 and changes in public sensitivity to the quality of life suggest the identification of a subsequent period in the history of everyday life in Yugoslav Macedonia. The Skopje earthquake put socialist publicity to the test; it was compelled to transform grief into action, give form to solidarity, and demonstrate how the “*People's power*” was doing everything in its capacity to restore normality.

CHAPTER X. HUMOUR AND EVERYDAY LIFE. Chapter Ten examines the place of humour in the media image of everyday life in the People's Republic of Macedonia and the manner in which the periodical press transforms the comic into an instrument for identifying "minor" deviations from ideology. Viewed from this angle, humorous publications do not stand "on the periphery" of the information flow, but rather nuance it; they draw attention to everyday practices that contradict the ideological norm, offering an acceptable language for their discussion and correction. Thus, humour serves both as a safety valve for social tension and as a sanctioned channel for self-criticism.

In the early years of the "*People's power*", humour was utilised as a weapon against the regime's enemies and as a continuation of wartime pathos; to a much lesser extent, it served as a lens through which to view one's own everyday life. Nevertheless, the newspaper *Edinstvo* provided a platform for such cartoons, primarily regarding public hygiene and road accidents; these relied on moral arguments and were not directed against the "*People's power*", yet they violated the idealised image of society circulated within the pages of the press. With the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, even this type of publications became undesirable and ceased to be circulated.

In the first half of the 1950s, humorous content began to make its way onto the pages of the press, but its self-critical element remained incompatible with what propaganda deemed "entertaining". By the middle of the decade, the rural cooperatives edition dared to "host" humour and satire, providing a column for humorous criticism of the defects of everyday practice. Humorists successfully recreated specific scenes – minor abuses, delays, and embezzlements – translating them into a language that allowed society to recognise itself in them and condemn them. However, the *Narodna zadruga*'s accommodation of such content assumed that humour interpreted everyday practices pertinent to the village; the broader picture remained beyond the brush and pen of the humorists.

In the early 1960s, the "scene" expanded, and the specific "signature" of humour and satire was also felt in *Mlad Borec*; the reappearance of *Večer* (the first modern tabloid in Yugoslav Macedonia) in November 1963 opened up the opportunity for humour and satire to appear before an "urban" audience.

Chapter Ten attempts to trace the trajectory of humour and satire in the press – from a type of propaganda content immediately following the war, through a cooperative "mirror" of minor flaws in the mid-1950s, to a tabloid channel of "permitted self-critical laughter" after 1963. Humour entertains, but it also supports the regime; its primary suggestion is that society possesses the means to resolve the criticised manifestations.

CHAPTER XI. PERSONALITIES AND EVERYDAY LIFE. Chapter Eleven attempts to deduce the propaganda characteristics of the exemplary personality; the press gradually transitions from the "nameless" masses to "ordinary" people with distinct names and faces. In this manner, an image is obtained that is open to brief biographical sketches, details of everyday habits, and the realisation of the socialist moral imperative "on the ground". Propaganda creates a field for self-recognition through proximity – the socialist personality is depicted as being "among its own". The primary focus of the chapter is to examine the media image of the *kleine Leute* (the "little people") as bearers of the characteristics of the exemplary socialist personality – exemplary workers, activists, and active participants in the socialist practices surrounding them. Their "smallness" is not a defect but an intended effect of the message, as it renders the ideal accessible and reproducible in everyday life.

The press ensures that the normative function of the "small story" is easily recognisable; within it, rules are embodied in a human image and offered for imitation without unnecessary rhetoric. The ideological framework is not cancelled but rather realised; the socialist personality becomes the bearer of a lifestyle that should appear natural, pleasant, and desirable. This trend is clearly noticeable in the second half of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, when the mediatised image of the socialist personality serves as proof that the ideologeme can be translated into the language of everyday life – at home, at work, and on the pages of the newspaper.

In a sense, Chapter Eleven attempts to demonstrate how the socialist personality serves as an "everyday argument" of propaganda; through specific faces and names, it attempts to transform the abstraction of the ideologeme into narratives accessible to the general public that anyone can replicate. The trajectory from the "nameless" worker of 1945 to the "everyday person" of the early 1960s demonstrates not a rejection of ideology, but its much more skilful incorporation into the media coverage of everyday practices; the slogan becomes a biographical touch, and the desired becomes (mediatised) reality.

"FRAGMENTS". The study also offers various "fragments" of the coverage of everyday life in the press; these are often of "limited temporal validity" for the propaganda machine, offer an alternative image to the mainstream narrative, or are situated in a tangential analytical lane in relation to the broader theme of a specific chapter. Their inclusion rests on Alf Lüdtké's logic of the "patchwork" in the study of the history of everyday life; from the perspective of the research, they further expand the thematic scope, allowing for a more comprehensive examination of the primary object of study.

SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS. The dissertation concludes with a section that attempts to synthesise the principal results of the study concerning the media representation of everyday life in Yugoslav

Macedonia from the end of the Second World War to the mid-1960s. The necessity of analysing a broad thematic scope is highlighted in order to fully explore the multi-layered dynamics of these processes – the creation of post-war institutional frameworks, the command-administrative orchestration of everyday life, the dystopian reality of the First Five-Year Plan, and the transition of the "four Ds" of Yugoslav socialism towards a stabilised normality in the 1950s, leading to a kind of "triumph" of everyday life by the end of the decade and the beginning of the 1960s.

The synthesis emphasises the attempt to trace the mechanics of micro-management, insofar as they can be reconstructed through the periodical press as a factor shaping the image of everyday life. The press acts as a mediator between norm and practice: it simultaneously prescribes and registers, disciplines and describes, gradually moving from the language of planning imperatives to the language of the quality of life. The press demonstrates how the understanding of socialism developed; it ceased to measure its success solely by production indicators and began to do so through the "usual" scenes of human existence – through human everyday life.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY. At the end of the work, a list of sources is included, comprising both unpublished and published documents, alongside a comprehensive bibliography of the literature consulted. This section is constructed around a core of periodicals, through which the reconstruction of the media coverage of everyday life was attempted. To these periodicals, selected studies on the general Yugoslav context and the specific socialist Yugoslav Macedonian context have been added.

Auto-reference for the contributions of the dissertation work

1. Establishing Everyday Life as a Central Research Object: The dissertation positions everyday life as the primary object of historical enquiry regarding Tito's Macedonia, examining its development through its mediatised representation from the cessation of the war to the mid-1960s.
2. Defining the Specifics of Yugoslav Socialist Everyday Life: By analysing media coverage within one of the constituent republics of the Federation, the dissertation defines the particularities of Yugoslav socialist daily existence. Consequently, it provides a foundational framework for future interdisciplinary studies concerning the (post-)Yugoslav space.
3. Comprehensive Thematic Analysis: The study is predicated on an analysis of an extensive thematic corpus, aiming to offer a generalised overview that serves as a robust basis for subsequent research into the topics addressed.

4. **Pioneering Historiographical Study:** This research represents the first comprehensive attempt to investigate everyday life in the People's Republic of Macedonia using the press as the primary source, filling a significant lacuna in both domestic and international historiography.
5. **Methodological Contribution:** The dissertation transcends its specific subject matter by proposing a methodology for utilising the periodical press of totalitarian states across a broad range of scholarly enquiries. It offers a refined method for the nuanced interpretation of propaganda-driven imagery.
6. **Interdisciplinary Synthesis:** The study successfully adopts an interdisciplinary approach, synthesising research paradigms and methodologies from political history, social history, sociology, and media studies to analyse the phenomena observed within the press.
7. **Reconstruction of Experiences across a diverse range of thematic cores:**
 - The socialist transformation of the rural environment and the evolution of urban housing.
 - The role of trade unions as the primary pillar of exemplary everyday life within the workplace.
 - The emancipation of women, treated not merely as an ideological construct but as a tangible shift in domestic and professional daily life.
 - The elucidation of the mechanisms of ideological indoctrination of youth and children through mass organisations, offering a new perspective on "exemplary" everyday life.
 - An analysis of the emergence of mass tourism, physical education, and the introduction of consumer electronics (radio, television, and white goods) as markers of socialist well-being.
 - The presentation of solidarity as a tool for social cohesion; through the analysis of natural disasters (the Mavrovo disaster of 1956 and the Skopje earthquake of 1963), the dissertation demonstrates the experiences of the common individual and the scaling of emotion as a mobilising factor for overcoming catastrophe and unifying the Yugoslav Federation.
 - The dissertation demonstrates how, through the unification of everyday practices, the educational system, and mass organisations (AFŽ, People's Youth, etc.), the Yugoslav Communist Party successfully imposed and consolidated a new socialist Yugoslav Macedonian national identity.
8. **Bibliographic Compilation:** The study provides an extensive bibliography that serves as a valuable resource for future scholarly investigations in similar fields.

Publications on the topic of the dissertation

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