



WOMEN'S POSSESSIONS AND SOCIAL CLASS IN CONTEMPORARY ZAGREB

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UDK: 316.66-055.2(497.5 Zagreb)
Izvorni znanstveni rad

Primljeno: 15. 5. 2007.

This research asks if social stratification is related to women's consumption practices of tableware in Zagreb. It uses analytical approaches based on research in the United States that has found a relationship between class stratification and consumer practices and asks how those theories are transferable (Holt, 1998). Research was conducted over nine months in Zagreb, from 2006 to 2007. Thirty women were interviewed in two age groups, from ages 45 to 65 and in their early twenties, from the working, middle and upper classes, to discuss how they acquire, use and display tableware. The major findings are that social class categories are related to consumption practices in Zagreb. As in the United States, education and employment are influences on status and consumption practices. However, in Zagreb, migration patterns have an influence on status and consumption. Stories of acquisition indicated that seeking consistency during rapid change is an influence in practices of tableware use in Zagreb. The findings point to further research on women's roles as status makers in the family, from their income to their consumption practices.

Key words: marketing, transition economy, social stratification, gender

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INTRODUCTION

Zagreb's *Nama* department store released its four-color, illustrated, 100 pages, winter-spring 1968-69 catalog in September of that year. On page 88, the headline "Potreba, Zadovoljstvo, Ukras," or "Needs, Satisfaction and Ornamentation," introduces us to four pages of pictures and prices of sets of: coated zinc pots for cooking and baking, silver plated cutlery, coated zinc place settings, porcelain settings, porcelain serving dishes, glass serving dishes, bowls and tea services, crystal decanters, brandy and wine glasses, bowls, and ashtrays. For a middle class woman, who probably migrated from a village to Zagreb in the late 1950s, these were the goods to use for daily or special meals, but more importantly, to display in her *vitrina* (display cabinet). Her *vitrina* was her measurement of middle class status. Her *vitrina* was probably cheaply made in a furniture factory in Bosnia from local wood, usually designed in a proportion too big for most living rooms, stained a color too dark, but all that was tolerable because it had cabinets in the center with glass doors. Behind this polished glass, she set out her complete (hopefully) sets of porcelain dishes and tea service and crystal glasses, bought either from *Nama*, given from a relative in Germany, or inherited from her mother, according to the ethnographic interviews with women in Zagreb from 2006 to 2007. For upper middle class women, who tended to be from Zagreb, the display of cherished possessions was also central to meanings of class. There were aesthetic specifications. Their *vitrina* might be *Biedermeier*, inherited from her maternal great-grandmother, and its contents not only older but also a supplement to books and paintings throughout the room, not the center of it, as they explained to me.

No one dreaming of filling her *vitrina* from the 1968 issue of *Nama* would have expected that market socialism, or even the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, would come to an "end" in 1991, or that another war in the region was possible. Perhaps for most readers of this article, it is just as hard to imagine that class, gender and special possessions, not to mention consumer culture, were part of market socialism in Yugoslavia in the late 1960s. The macro-level changes in postsocialist Eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 raise many questions about consumption during market transformations. The conflicts in Southeastern Europe also lead us to ask about the possible relationships between consumer behaviors and war (Pecotich, Renko, and Shultz, 1994). As a journalist friend from Zagreb, who came of age during the war mentioned to me, "today I had to work on the coverage of the 50th birthday of the European Union and my colleague and I forgot when the Berlin Wall fell and how long ago it has been

since the war ended." Life goes on. Perhaps a middle class apartment without a *vitrina* crammed with crystal and porcelain is more of an impossibility in Zagreb than the communist past or the democratic future.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Why do women in Zagreb, Croatia set the table the way they do? In this research, the main assumption is that it is done in a way that makes legitimate women's claims of social class status. Holt's work provides a guideline for researching this and relating it to consumer research on the social patterning of consumption (1998). Holt asks if Bourdieu's theories about consumption and class are transferable from one context to another, in this case from France to the United States (Bourdieu, 1984; Holt, 1998). He argues that yes, they are, considering socio-cultural correction. This research makes the same move as Holt: it takes theories of consumption developed in one context, the United States, and explores if they transfer to a different context, Zagreb, Croatia.

The context of class and consumption in Zagreb is different from the United States because of the mix of market and planned structuring from 1945 to 1991 and because of the rapid pace of change from 1991 to 1997 (Croatia was a republic of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1991), presenting considerable contrasts to the United States. This research uses the same group of theories that argue social categories are related to consumption (Holt, 1995). This research is concerned with the context transferability of consumer behavior theories of class as much as it is concerned with the tablecloths of women from three class positions in Zagreb (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). One of the main differences between the contexts is that the social construct of the housewife in the US does not fit in Croatia: here, women tend to be employed rather than housewives, perhaps due to the legacy of market socialism in Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, both contexts are experiencing a change in women's roles, not just in the household, but also in society. In Croatia, more women than men are University graduates. This presents a moment for understanding what these changes mean to theories of class as they relate to consumption.

One of the basic theories in culturally oriented consumer behavior research is that goods communicate status (Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). Consumer research on status often assumes that the establishment of status is based on a male household representative (Coleman, 1983). It is often defined by money: husband's employment means status (Coleman, 1983). The establishment of status is related to employment

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and the public sphere. Growing concern about this conception of status has led to the questioning of its assumptions. One reason for that concern has been the changing demographics in the United States: increasingly, households are led by women (they are single or single heads of families), or women are primary breadwinners, or they contribute significantly to family income (Coleman, 1983). Among marketing researchers, some theorists have challenged the established notions of status: status is more than just VALS data or buying expensive goods, but what style is presented (Holt, 1997). Here, women have an opportunity to influence a family's status. This research presents an opportunity to re-think assumptions about gender and status. It looks at status as something women can also establish and communicate through the tableware they bring into a marriage and/or acquire through the course of a marriage. That is, it sees the establishment and communication of status as a task for women.

A special meaning of tableware, like most goods, comes from its movement through social circles, over time and across space (Kopytoff, 1986). McCracken argues legitimating public claims of family status is the task of household goods, especially in the context of social tensions; and furthermore, that women are responsible for organizing those goods to their purpose in the home (McCracken, 1988a). Tableware performs a communication function of status and style. There is a specific way that tableware comes into the family. It comes through inheritance from female relatives or as a gift from female friends and relatives. It is also bought, in which case it is usually the woman who selects and pays for it. It represents a woman's wealth, both the depth of her social connections and her own income from work. Finally, tableware, because it is used in the home, represents a form of wealth, status and style, only to specific people: the family and close friends. This article looks at how tableware use in the home among working, middle and upper middle class women in Zagreb can be understood in the context of broader changes in social stratification in Zagreb.

First, it is important to consider how women's lives might have changed more recently in Zagreb. One of the goals of the postwar government of the SFRJ was implementing equality in gender, social class, and income. The socialist era emphasized the participation of women in the public sphere, especially in employment in the public sector and in education. In public sector employment in Croatia, in 1953, women composed 24% of the workforce (SG FNRJ, 1955, 86). In 1970, women composed 35% of the workforce (SG SRH, 1971, 51). In 1975, women composed 38% of the workforce (SG SRH, 1976, 57). In 1980, the figure was 39% (SG SRH, 1981, 56), in 1985 it

was 42% (SG SRH, 1986, 98), and by the end of the socialist era, women composed 42% of the public sector workforce (SG RH, 1991, 117). In the area of education, in 1970, 40% of university graduates were women and 29% of college graduates were women (SG SRH, 1971, 219). In 1975, 42% of university graduates were women and 45% of college graduates were women (SG SRH, 1976, 235-236). In 1980, the figures were 49% and 41% (SG SRH, 1981, 238), in 1985 they were 51% and 29% (SG SRH, 1986, 317), and by 1990, they were 56% for university and 13% for colleges (SG RH, 1991, 320).

Part of the postwar reconstruction of Yugoslavia meant re-introducing prewar social and business to fit the new social and economic goals. The government consolidated and nationalized the advertising industry into the Advertising Bureau of Croatia (OZEHA *Oglasni Zavod Hrvatske*) in 1945. In 1954, Interpublic opened an office in Zagreb (Šintić, 2006, 29-47). Etiquette guide books were printed in Zagreb; *Illustrated Etiquette & Protocol (Ilustrirani Bonton & Protokol)*, went through ten editions from 1963 to 1989 (Zelmanović, 1986). The illustrations indicate how a proper table for a meal should be set on an undecorated white tablecloth with flowers and a candle, each place setting will have glasses for each type of beverage, plates and cutlery for each course (Zelmanović, 1986, 194-210). There should be a tureen plus salt and pepper servers. To an outsider, it looks like just another etiquette book based on continental European norms. For the author of the etiquette book, that is the point. Zelmanović writes in the introduction to the tenth edition of the book that local society, adapting to urbanization and new social structures, has reinterpreted local customs, for example tableware use, with their foundations in the local past of city dwellers, for modern times (Zelmanović, 1986, 6-7). This makes tableware use an important object of research: it is a social practice that continues, perhaps changed, over time, as women's lives have changed.

METHODS

The theoretical approach to this research was interpretive, using grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory required a commitment from the researchers to engage in recreating the life experiences of informants on the descriptive and explanatory levels. Hence, grounded theory permitted an initial approach to the field with a broad question such as, "how have women experienced macro-level transformation in Zagreb?" This broad frame of inquiry, through research and analysis, developed into focused research questions such as "how is social stratification part of women's experiences of transformation," and "how has the social practice of women consuming for the home changed and stayed the

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same since state socialism?" Maintaining "trustworthiness" of data and interpretation required establishing credibility with informants, writing a weekly analysis of data in the fieldnotes, and questioning findings by pursuing alternative explanations. Grounded theory research activity involved collecting data through processes that engage the researcher with the phenomenon as informants experience it. This research involved conducting long interviews, writing fieldnotes based on interview and experiences, all focusing on women's experiences of class and consumerism in the context of the home (Malinowski, 1922; Marshall and Rossman, 1995; McCracken, 1988b).

The research presented here represents long interviews with twelve female informants who represent three class positions in Zagreb, Croatia: upper class, middle class and working class. Nine of the interviews were with women alone and three were multi-generational: mother-daughter pairs. All of the informants were accessed through the snowball method, starting with a key informant at the University of Zagreb and the researchers' social network. The heuristic employed for the informants' class was education and employment: professionals, who had completed advanced University degrees, then skilled laborers who finished high school and may have some further education, and unskilled laborers, working for hourly wages outside the official economy, who had completed compulsory education. In the case of mother-daughter interviews, class mobility across generations was defined by the same characteristics: the mothers were laborers while the daughters were professionals. The goal of all interviews was to use the biographies of women and their tableware to explore class in Zagreb during and after state socialism. The multi-generational interviews explored these issues as well as multi-generational class movement, taste and class. Women informants who came of age during state socialism (using a heuristic cut off the date of birth before 1963) were sought with the goal of discussing memories of tableware use during state socialism. Date of birth 1970 or after was the heuristic for second generation informants. The ethnographic research was conducted during the fall of 2006 and the winter of 2007 as part of the author's dissertation research.

In the interviews, there was a mix of open-ended questions and an interview guide (Patton, 1990). Interviews (in Croatian) were tape recorded and video recorded. They opened with questions about the informant's parents' place of birth, migration and education, and then her place of birth, migration, education, marriage, work, childbearing, and child-care. In multi-generational interviews, it was sometimes unnecessary to ask the same questions of the daughter. Then the

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interview moved on to about seven open-ended questions taken from a printed interview guide that developed iteratively in the research process. Tableware can be understood in this article as: tableware (*posuđe za stol, stol servis*), fine china (*tanki porculan*), glasses (*čaše*), crystal (*kristal*), cutlery (*bešteć*), silver cutlery (*srebrni bešteć*), tablecloths (*stolnjak*) and napkins, serving dishes (*rostfraj*) and tureen (*zđjela za juhu*), candlesticks and napkin rings. This operationalization, or definition, was driven by informants' descriptions of how they set their tables, of the researchers' participation in family meals in Zagreb, and by observation of what is on offer for tableware at posh and midrange department stores in Zagreb. It should be typical of what most people in Zagreb would expect to find on a table for a family meal, regardless of the style of the objects. Across the interviews, discussing residence changes easily led to discussion of favorite tableware, its movement across generations, its arrival into the household, meanings in different cultural contexts in recent history, and social linkage.

DATA

In interviews, discussion with informants about their biographies revealed that most working or middle class women, for example Sanja M., arrived in Zagreb after finishing high school in the village in which their family had lived for generations, working as unskilled or semi-skilled agrarian laborers. Their parents often had no formal education. Matija F. (informants' names are not used), a middle class woman, aged about 45, when asked why she left the village, laughed and said, "It is a tiny village [in Podravina, a region of Croatia known for farming and the food industry] with no jobs, boring, and no future. I ran from there in 1981, after I finished high school. My husband did the same [he is from the same village]." A working class woman, Sanja M., mentioned the differences between Zagreb and her village in Eastern Croatia as well as the change moving to Zagreb brought in her life, "I came here 'naked and barefoot' as they say, from that tiny village, in 1960, when I was 18 and finished school. I went to the employment office and found a job at TEŽ [a light bulb factory] and worked there for 33 years. I met my husband in Zagreb. I went back to the village for the baptism of my brother's child after I came to Zagreb. I took the train to the closest village and then walked all night, in the dark, through the forest, to get there and I'll never forget how scared I was. I would never live there. Zagreb has streetlights and trams, everything is easy." Social class mobility has a lot to do with migration.

Most upper middle class women have roots in cities. They are either from Zagreb or moved to Zagreb from another city.

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Their mothers had always finished high school, and their fathers finished one or more university degrees. Dunja C. was describing her family legacy, "My mother, all the women in my family, have always been educated and we have always been from Zagreb." It seemed clear during the interview that her framing of her personal history as constant is a contrast to other informants' histories and to larger changes in political structures since World War II. To probe the issue further, she was asked if any of these changes had influenced their status. She replied, "Of course not." Another upper class woman described her family roots this way, emphasizing that although her father was not from Zagreb, he was from a city rather than a village, he was educated, and his family had been educated and powerful for generations "My father, he had a PhD, he wasn't from Zagreb, he was from Varaždin, and he was from a noble family."

I asked Hanah E., an upper middle class Zagreb native, why she and other informants emphasize their roots. She told me a story about ways of communicating status about a businessman from Hercegovina, who arrived in Zagreb in the 1980s and went on to make a great success. After a short time here, he asked the owner of a 180 square meter apartment (very large by local standards) on Masarykova Street, in the center of town and across from the Croatian National Theatre, to sell him the apartment and everything in it. He wanted the apartment and its paintings and furniture. The owner just needed to take his few personal things and leave the rest. She explained he would want to buy this, "So he can have people in his house, at this address, people he is trying to impress, people he wants to do business with, and show them the paintings on the walls and say, this has been in my family for generations. Just to show that he has roots and is someone." Hanah mentioned, "My son and his wife have almost nothing on the walls of their apartment, they have a minimalist style. But when you come to my house, the walls are full of paintings." Another upper middle class informant and Zagreb native, Dora P., talking about different places in town to shop, described the Sunday antiques fair at Britanski trg, a traditionally affluent neighborhood in Zagreb, as a "place for the newly rich to buy roots, to have old things in their apartment." So, given the social tensions in Zagreb, it is interesting to consider how people use private spaces to communicate status, and to whom.

Communicating status may be a dilemma only for threatened natives from the upper middle class. What about the consumption of the middle and working classes at home? Here, it is useful to consider the meaning of home in the con-

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text of social changes. Middle class security in state socialism was something that most people shared, people who were workers or professors or dentists. It meant a place to live and insurance against uncertainty. Privatization shattered this security by bringing unemployment. For many people who worked as skilled laborers during state socialism, to have an apartment after privatization is a sign of success. The state did sell the apartments it owned to the people living there for very good prices in 1991. But to have been able to afford not to sell it in the late 1990s, when the price of real estate skyrocketed, or even to have bought an apartment at that time, as Lina B., an upper middle class informant and Matija F., a middle class informant did, is an accomplishment. In Croatia, having a home, as Matija described, means "having a space where you are protected, shielded from the outside, that no landlord can knock on the door and ask you for something." The interview with Matija went well in part because it was easy to feel at home in her apartment and talk about the things in it. The owners could afford not only their mortgage but also to use a tablecloth that is ironed, clean and attractive, but not luxurious, and a glass jar of cookies for guests, as signs of middle class status.

Matija's daughter, Ivana F., a university student remarked, "I'm glad my mother has a cozy home, that is important to her and she feels nice. She has nice textiles and things. A lot of girls, they wear really expensive clothes, but the way they live at home, their mothers don't have anything, and that isn't good." So, to be able to have a home that is cozy, that has nice things, inherited or not, is, for the working and middle class, an affirmation of status that is more "right" than displays on the street. It communicates keeping alive social practices. Visiting Martina L., a working class maid who supports her veteran husband and daughter, felt quite different. Martina's family moved last year across town from her home of twenty or more years to an apartment the state pays for because of her husband's status as a veteran. The table was bare. Martina had brought nothing of her tableware from her old apartment, and in fact she had very little to bring. The absence of this object brought up questions that were difficult to ask and answer.

For most women interviewed, tablecloths were often the most treasured objects in the category of tableware, often for their relationship to female ancestors. They presented tablecloths, or *stolnjak*, that were inherited at their wedding from female blood relatives (inheritance customs dictate goods move first to the blood line, then to the female, so that a woman inherits from her mother and her mother's mother or from her

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aunt and her aunt's mother, but rarely from her husband's mother. Women are expected to bring goods into the marriage). These were always pulled out of drawers, where they sleep, neatly folded, cozy in paper and lavender (or rosemary as is the habit of women from Dalmatia) wrapping, clean and ironed, until the time comes for use, which, according to the informants, is hardly ever. They are almost too precious, too delicate, too sacred for wine and soup stains and subsequent bleaching. For working and middle class women, the textiles were always handmade on a loom by a female ancestor from the village and their decoration fits textile motifs from villages in that region. For upper middle class women, the difference is not inheritance but the production of and decoration on the textile. The mark of ancestry is not the loom and regional motifs but delicate, decorative needlework such as lace and flowers applied by hand.

The physical characteristics of tableware are important, not so much how well they function but what kinds of things have to be done to use them. Porcelain and crystal are delicate. To use them properly means giving them the care, time and effort of hand washing rather than outsourcing them to the dishwasher. There is always the risk of breakage even with hand washing. Meals present problems. They must be kept away from threats, like children and guests who do not understand their value and may treat them carelessly at a meal. Cutlery, or *bešte*, on the other hand, is durable. Solid silver *bešte* also needs hand care, but it is not delicate. Many homes have two sets of dishes, one for everyday that is less expensive and can go through risks of use, and another for special occasions. Some upper middle class homes, have two sets of *bešte*, one silver and the other plated. One question frequently asked was, do you have more "fancy" dishes (tanki porculan), how did you acquire them, how do you use them, and if it was bought, was it expensive and how did you pay for it? Matija F. and Hanah E., middle and upper middle class informants respectively, both described buying new plates for daily use when they recently moved into (finer) residences. The difference between them was the type of plates: the middle class woman bought glass plates at a discount, while the upper middle class woman bought plates by Villeroy & Boch at the most elegant department store in Zagreb.

Having a set of plates means someone knows how to and can afford to live in an orderly way. In the early stage of an interview in which the biography is collected, Petra J., a middle class woman, mentioned her husband died in 1988 when her daughter, Vanja J., was ten. In the interview, the daughter assured me it was for the best, as they lived in a 32 square meter (345 square feet) apartment, her parents were divorced

but lived together since no one had anywhere else to go, and her father was an alcoholic who died of cirrhosis of the liver. Talking about everyday plates as well as fine china for special occasions, the informants said yes, they do have plates reserved for special occasions. It was expensive and they bought it at *Nama*, a department store in Zagreb. Vanja returned to the earlier stage of the interview to talk about the death of her father. She said, "We bought that porcelain, it isn't fine china but it is very nice, with the money that we got when my father died. When my father died, as my parents were divorced, my mother did not receive any money from the state, but I did, and we bought the porcelain with that." The disorder in their emotional lives was gone, they could have nice things in their home as well.

There were generation differences communicated through tableware. In a multi-generational interview, Ivana F., an unmarried university student, was asked what she might take with her if she moves out and marries, she said, "A plant that is in the hallway that my parents have had since I was little." When asked about the cutlery bought for her she said, "I'm not really interested in it." In another multi-generational interview, a daughter, Tamara H., a professional in her mid-thirties, who lived with her parents, said, "you know, I wouldn't really like to have those tablecloths in my home, it isn't relevant or stylish, I like to have modern things." Another daughter, Vanja J., who lives with her boyfriend, commented, in front of her mother, Petra J., that she does not want to inherit things from her mother. She likes "glasses, especially from Ikea, not any of the old styles." In the case of upper middle class women, *bešte* is something they bought or inherited when they married and set up their home. These differences might not simply be about generations, but also about class differences. Dunja C., an upper middle class woman, mentioned that she inherited several sets of solid silver *bešte* and uses them daily, washing them in the dishwasher. Hanah E. again mentioned her son and his wife, a dentist. They have their own style, she said, like every generation, and bought their own things when they set up house. Hanah implied, however, they have nice things and know how to use them "I put a tablecloth on the table, but they don't, they are from a different generation that does things differently. They use placemats as it is less complicated. And they have a beautiful wood table and you can see it, it really is nice that they don't cover it up." The differences between middle class mothers and their socially mobile daughters might reflect changes in perceptions of status as something to communicate through tableware use and through acquisition: purchase rather than inheritance.

DISCUSSION

This research asked if theories about social class developed in the United States transfer to other contexts. Data suggested that the use of tableware is a social practice informed by class. It also suggested that three factors influenced class: education, migration and employment. Women, who were educated professionals from cities tended to be upper middle class. Women, who were working in the unofficial economy, finished high school and were migrants tended to be working class. Women, who finished high school, worked in skilled jobs and were migrants tended to be middle class. Acquisition patterns, inheritance and purchase, co-vary according to social class group. Inherited items make up most of the upper middle class woman's table, although there is a strong presence of purchased items, especially for everyday meals. Purchased items make up most of the middle class woman's table; inherited items are usually stored. Purchased or received items tend to make up most of a working class woman's tableware; inherited objects are few and tend to be limited to tablecloths. These patterns also co-vary according to patterns of living in a city. Women whose roots are in cities have more inherited and purchased items than women from villages. Women from cities tend to be upper middle class as well. Women from villages tend to be middle or working class. They tend to have fewer inherited items. It is worth noting that most of the fighting during wars in Croatia took place in villages or small towns, but not cities, which may account for the lack of inheritance of working and middle class women. Yet it must also be noted that the dowry of working class women would have been nonexistent. In the case of middle class women with village roots, porcelain was received as a wedding gift, but it was not used, because the woman did not like the style.

One difference that emerged between Holt's data and the data presented here is the type of change the informants must manage in the course of their lives. In the case of women in Zagreb, rapid and dramatic historical change has been a part of their lives while this has not been the case for most of Holt's informants. Perhaps this is one reason why the informants in this research focus on consistencies in social practices of spending on the home and using nice things in the home, even though the styles change. For example, even though Ivana E., Tamara H., and Vanja J., three daughters who participated in multi-generation interviews, expressed no interest in inheriting tableware from their mothers, they all talked about how they liked to have nice things in the home. Hanah E., a mother who talked about stylistic differences between her use of a tablecloth and her son's use of placemats, emphasized

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that her son's wood table looked beautiful. The norms of status that a beautiful table communicated continued as styles changed. In this case, Hanah is talking about a son who will probably not inherit her tableware – it will go to her niece, a female blood relation. Even if the goods move forward in extended directions, or move forward and are not, as would probably be the case for Ivana, Tamara, and Vanja, the status they communicate would continue in practices with new goods.

Another question for this research has been women's roles as status makers in families. Working class women certainly made the largest contributions to their family's income and status. Their contribution during state socialism was about equivalent and their job status was also equivalent but their contribution is much larger now: Martina L. and Sanja M. were the main breadwinners in their households. Sanja was responsible for bringing almost all of the goods into the house as they were gifts to her. Martina's situation must be understood in the context of the recent war: her husband was a veteran who worked before the war but has found work sporadically since then. In both cases, their husbands were not contributing income. For upper middle class women, their contribution to family status came after they finished their education and established themselves professionally. In most cases, this happened during state socialism. They have been in a position to benefit from the opportunities of expanding public and private sectors ever since. Their contributions remain more or less equivalent, but both their and their husband's income has increased. For middle class women, their position has not changed too dramatically during and after state socialism, although their daughters stand to benefit from growing up middle class. For both upper middle and middle class women, their husbands had similar employment and education status as they did. It would be difficult to separate who is responsible for status. Thus, for upper middle and middle class families, status may have more to do with gender dynamics than gender dominance and female contributions than has been recognized in the literature so far. Women's consumption of bought tableware may be a way of showing her status as middle or upper middle class in the broader context of social and demographic changes, they show her as one of the successful ones, in a way that using inherited tableware cannot show. Maintaining the social practices of a class position in the home, which requires knowledge about them and how to use them correctly, can connect the dots. Future research could look at women's consumption of status goods for the home. Finally, the consumption of fine porcelain for home use communicates to a smaller audience compared to the con-

sumption of, say a dress worn to a concert, and is often more expensive. The symbolic power comes in assuming the public communication has been taken care of or is not relevant.

APPENDIX: INFORMANT DESCRIPTIONS

Name	Age	Description
Irina A.	60-65	Professor. PhD, From city, moved to Zagreb in 1991. Most tableware inherited, but lost in recent war. Upper Middle Class.
Lina B.	60-65	Professor. PhD. From city, moved to Zagreb after WWII. Inherited and bought tableware. Upper Middle Class.
Dunja C.	45-50	Professor. PhD. From Zagreb. Inherited tableware. Upper Middle Class.
Dora P.	60-65	Company Director, very prestigious firm. MSc. From Zagreb. Tableware inherited and bought. Upper Middle Class.
Hanah E.	55-60	Professor. PhD, From Zagreb, Tableware inherited and bought. Upper Middle Class.
Matija F.	45-50	Ivana's mother. Skilled worker in a factory. From village. High school. Some inherited, mostly textiles, but mostly bought tableware. Moved from Working to Middle Class.
Ivana F.	20-25	Matija's daughter. University student. From Zagreb. Research Assistant. Wants to buy new tableware rather than inherit. Middle Class.
Vera H.	55-60	Tamara's mother. Middle Class. High School. From village. Mostly bought tableware, inherited textiles.
Tamara H.	30-35	Vera's daughter. Manager. MSc. From Zagreb. Wants to buy new tableware rather than inherit. Moving from Middle to Upper Class.
Petra J.	55-60	Vanja's mother. High School. Moved to Zagreb. Retired. Bought tableware. Middle Class, children's help keeping them out of Working Class.
Vanja J.	25-30	Petra's daughter. University degree. Teacher at a private high school. From Zagreb. Wants to buy new tableware rather than inherit. Moving into the Upper Middle Class.
Martina L.	45-50	Retired factory worker. Now works in the unofficial economy as a maid. From Zagreb. High School. Recently moved into social housing, left tableware behind (most of it bought). Working Class.
Sanja M.	50-55	Retired factory worker who now works in the unofficial economy as a maid. From village. High School. All tableware received as gifts from friends, relatives. Working Class.

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DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB
GOD. 18 (2009),
BR. 3 (101),
STR. 565-581

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Imovina žena i društvene klase u suvremenom Zagrebu

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Ovo istraživanje istražuje je li socijalna stratifikacija povezana s potrošačkim navikama kupnje stolnoga posuđa u Zagrebu. Primjenjuju se analitički pristupi koji se temelje na istraživanjima u SAD-u, a koja su potvrdila postojanje povezanosti između socijalne stratifikacije i potrošačkih navika, te propitkuje mogu li se te teorije prenijeti i na našu situaciju (Holt, 1998.). Istraživanje je provedeno u Zagrebu, tijekom devet mjeseci, od 2006. do 2007. Ispitano je trideset žena u dvjema dobnim skupinama, od 45 do 65 godina te u ranim dvadesetima, koje pripadaju radničkom, srednjem i višem sloju, o tome kako kupuju, upotrebljavaju i izlažu stolno posuđe. Najvažniji nalaz istraživanja jest da se kategorije socijalnih skupina mogu povezati s potrošačkim navikama u Zagrebu. Kao i u SAD-u, obrazovanje i zaposlenost utječu na status i potrošačku praksu. Ipak, u Zagrebu, na status i potrošnju utječu obrasci migracija stanovništva. Priče o kupnji upućuju na to da potraga za dosljednošću tijekom brzih promjena utječe na praksu upotrebe stolnoga posuđa u Zagrebu. Ovi rezultati pokazuju potrebu za daljnjim istraživanjem uloge žena

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(od njihovih prihoda do potrošačkih navika) kao stvaralaca statusa u obitelji.

Ključne riječi: marketing, prijelazno gospodarstvo, socijalna stratifikacija, rod

Besitztümer von Frauen und gesellschaftliche Klassen in Zagreb heute

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In dieser Arbeit wird untersucht, ob die soziale Stratifizierung auf dem Gebiet der Stadt Zagreb in Zusammenhang steht mit Verbrauchergewohnheiten und dem käuflichen Erwerb von Tafelgeschirr. Der analytische Ansatz der Autorinnen lehnt sich an US-amerikanische Untersuchungen an, anhand deren ein Bezug zwischen dem sozialen Status und Verbrauchergewohnheiten bestätigt werden konnte. Des Weiteren wird untersucht, ob sich die in den USA angewandten Theorien hierzulande übertragen lassen (Holt 1998). Die hier präsentierte Untersuchung wurde im Verlauf von neun Monaten, von 2006 bis 2007, in Zagreb durchgeführt. Teilnehmerinnen waren 30 Frauen zweier Altersgruppen (45–65 Jahre und frühe 20er-Jahre), die jeweils der Arbeiterschicht, der Mittel- und der Oberschicht entstammen. Untersucht wurde die Art und Weise ihres Erwerbs und ihrer Verwendung von Tafelgeschirr. Der wichtigste Untersuchungsbefund besagt, dass sich zwischen den verschiedenen Gesellschaftskategorien und den jeweiligen Verbrauchergewohnheiten in Zagreb ein Bezug herstellen lässt. Wie in den USA wirken sich Bildungsgrad und Arbeitsstatus auch in Kroatien auf die gesellschaftliche Stellung der Frau und ihre Konsumgewohnheiten aus. Allerdings wird der Konsum in Zagreb auch durch bestimmte Muster der Bevölkerungsmigration beeinflusst. Die Untersuchungsergebnisse zeigen, dass sich angesichts der schnellen Wandel im Lebensalltag ein Bedürfnis nach Dauerhaftigkeit und Konsequenz meldet und sich u.a. in der regelmäßigen Verwendung von Tafelgeschirr niederschlägt. Die Untersuchungsergebnisse legen außerdem nahe, dass die Rolle der Frau (angefangen bei ihrer Natur bis hin zu ihren Konsumgewohnheiten) als eines Status schaffenden Faktors innerhalb der Familie auch in Zukunft eingehender erforscht werden sollte.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Marketing, Transitionswirtschaft, soziale Stratifizierung, Geschlecht