

GENDER AND IDEOLOGY: WOMEN ON POSTAGE STAMPS IN SERBIA: 2006-2018

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Abstract

In 2000 certain democratic changes happened in Serbia. They instilled hopes that everyday life will be more democratic in every segment, especially when gender equality is concerned (equality for the different, that is, women). The degree to which a society is democratic could be measured in different ways. One of them is the presence of visuals (drawings, etc.) or presence of any other form of material culture.

The aim of this paper is to examine the degree of democratic changes in multinational, multi-confessional and multilingual Serbia during the last decade as it relates to the absence of linguistic codes, and using postage stamps to depict women (2006-2018). The corpus consists of all the postage stamps printed during the period, but only those depicting women were analysed. The analysis of the text on postage stamps opens up a theoretical question "What is text"?

We here introduce the criterion of 'implied knowledge' as a measure for the understanding of the meaning of text on a stamp, more accurately, as a measure of the presence of an implicit discrimination towards notable women.

The results reveal the following: 1. there are only several women who got the privilege to be presented on a postage stamp in this period; 2. all of them originate from the Serbian culture and none from other national communities. This clearly shows that the ideological decision is in question.

Key words: gender, ideology, postage stamps, Serbia, women.

РОД И ИДЕОЛОГИЈА: ЖЕНЕ НА ПОШТАНСКИМ МАРКАМА У СРБИЈИ: 2006–2018.

Апстракт

Године 2000. дошло је до демократских промена у Србији. Оне су донеле наду да ће свакодневни живот бити у сваком сегменту демократичнији, нарочито када се ради о равноправности (равноправности за различите, тј. жене). На разне начине мо-

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жемо мерити до ког степена је неко друштво демократско. Један од њих је присутност визуелних елемената или неког другог облика материјалне културе.

Циљ овог рада је да испитамо степен демократских промена у вишенационалној, вишеконфесионалној и вишејезичној Србији током последње декаде у одсуству језичког знака, а на примеру штампаних поштанских марака са ликом жена (2006–2018). Корпус се састоји од марака штампаних у том периоду, али смо анализирале само оне са ликом жена. Анализа текста на марки отвара теоријско питање „Шта је текст?”. Ту отварамо критеријум подразумеваног знања као мерила за разумевање значења текста на марки, тачније, као мерила за присуство имплицитне дискриминације према знаменитим женама.

Резултати откривају следеће: 1. само неколико жена добило је привилегију да буде приказано на маркама у овом периоду; 2. све оне припадају српској култури, а ниједна другим националним заједницама. Ово нам јасно предочава да је у питању идеолошки критеријум.

Кључне речи: идеологија, поштанске марке, род, Србија, жене.

INTRODUCTIONS

Postage stamps were introduced as a monetary value for shipment, primarily of letters, but it became clear that they were not isolated from ideological, political and cultural demands in each country in particular. In Serbia, stamps have been issued since 1866¹. It was not before 1973, however, that the first woman was printed on stamps – the painter Nadežda Petrović (1873-1915), on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of her birth.

There is no unique position on the genre of postage stamps: Child (2005) claims that postage stamps belong to popular culture and therefore uses the applied semiotics in his research on the multitude of meanings of messages transmitted via postage stamps, based on Pierce's typology, the so-called trichotomy of signs².

¹ Since the emergence of stamps in the late 19th century in Serbia (the first newspaper stamp dates from 1/13 May 1866 – with the coat of arms of the Principality of Serbia, and the first regular stamp dates from 1/13 July 1866, with the image of Prince Mihailo Obrenović III), the Republic of Serbia has changed its territorial and political framework: 1. after the liberation from the Ottoman Empire it was an independent state, while its present-day northern part (Vojvodina) was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; at the beginning of the 20th century, it was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, when Vojvodina was also annexed to that union (1918); in the mid-20th century – after the Second World War, Serbia was one of the republics of SFR Yugoslavia; at the end of the 20th century, this union was disintegrated into independent states, and Serbia remained for some time with Montenegro under the same name (1990-2006); followed by the independence period of the two countries since 2006.

² Regarding Pierce's semiotic approach, we need to stress that he stands for the attitude that logical tests should primarily focus on the study of the communicative sign, because it is the means by which the most important information about the outside world is obtained.

1. The first semiotic message transmitted by the stamp is self-referring, i.e., it identifies itself as a postage stamp. Conventionally, this self-identification is achieved by the appearance and size of the stamp, its publicity and visibility – affixed to an envelope or a postcard, and by the fact that it arrives indirectly – by post.

2. The second semiotic message is the identification of the country of origin of the stamp. There are many ways to deliver this message, and the easiest is reading the country name on the stamp itself.

3. The third message is a quantitative and concerns the question of whether the exact amount of money has been paid. This message is important, because the main purpose of the stamp is to charge for a postal service.

At the deeper semiotic levels, there are also messages that are conveyed to us by cultural, economic or political circumstances and value systems. They are interpreted through their features of design, colour, typography, painting, any drawings, engravings, photographs and other graphics typical of most stamps (Child, 2005, pp. 113-114).

Drawing on Pierce's classification of signs (index signs), Child underlines the significance of the iconographic semiotic message on the postage stamps. He claims that the post office, as an institution and a representative of the government, determines what message is to be transmitted and how (Child, 2005, p. 115).

Bushnell (2011, p. 830) talks about the concept of philatelic glass ceiling – women have limited access to higher levels of government and advancement in various areas of social, political, scientific and business life in the state, a situation that is reflected in postage stamps. This information can be interpreted twofold. Firstly, up to the 20th century, female characters were clearly absent from postage stamps, with the exception of representatives of royal families (e.g. a queen) or some allegorical figures (e.g. Liberty). Secondly, with changes in social circumstances such as the women's struggle for the right to vote or the expansion of women's educational opportunities, female characters slowly start to appear on postage stamps. Bushnell further classifies the stamps with female characters according to the areas of their contribution:

1. politics,
2. entertainment,
3. education and philanthropy,
4. religion,
5. science and technology,
6. sport,
7. "other" (Bushnell, 2011, pp. 836-845).

Adedze (2009, p. 235) examines the significance of commemorative postage stamps (issued on the occasion of special events, occasions or personalities of British and French colonists) in six independent countries in

West Africa (Benin, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Senegal) in a long period of time (1857-2009) with the goal of explaining why some personalities are shown on them and are therefore paid respect, while others are not. He concludes that the ideology of the ruling regime has the monopoly over the postage stamps and that they reflect either domination or resistance as a subjective interpretation of the current policy. Adedze calls the personalities on these stamps colonial and postcolonial heroes. In order to conclude that the stamps belong to the domain of manifesting masculinity, he gives special attention to women (which are almost absent) – the most common female characters being Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth. He states that the countries under the French colonial power issued two commemorative stamps – one with the images of a charitable women and another with a woman spreading "civilization to the natives". After these countries gained, female characters started to appear on postage stamps (on the occasion of the International Year of Women 1975).

THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research is twofold. Firstly, we intend to show the degree of democratic changes in multinational, multi-confessional and multilingual Serbia during the last decade of independent statehood and on the example of the printed postage stamps with the images of women (2006-2018). The explanation for this part of the aim is the fact that the state of the Republic of Serbia has the three main directions: the affirmation of national politics; the intention to join the EU, which, in turn, requires democratic changes (Serbian National Strategy for the Accession of SCG to the EU, 2005; The Opening Statement of the Republic of Serbia, 2014). Secondly, we check how much the female citizens of Novi Sad are familiar with the women on the stamps.

THE RESEARCH METHOD

The Research Methods for Texts and Images of Postage Stamps

In our research, we use the quantitative and qualitative (or interpretative) feminist content analysis (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992) in order to identify the women or women's figures depicted on the stamps.

What can be considered the text of a postage stamp? It is the unity of the verbal and non-verbal (pictorial) part of the stamp printed in a certain political and social context of the state. We can distinguish between the regular³

³ According to the Rule book on establishing a Plan for the issuance of commemorative postage stamps, securities and the motifs of regular postage stamps and securities in Serbia, the stamps today" are for general use and are issued depending on the needs of postal

and the commemorative⁴ postage stamps, all approved by the Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications of the RS for use according to the established procedure for each year (public information on this procedure is not available).

Out of a total of 574 printed stamps in that period, 106 (18%) of the analysed stamps in the corpus are commemorative stamps with the images of women or women's accessories, and only 9 of them (8.6%) are regular.

The unit of analysis is the postage stamp as a unity of verbal-nonverbal parts of meaning, a recognizable structure and the place where it appears (the upper right corner of a postal item). The verbal elements are the names in the Cyrillic (rarely Latin) script in Serbian (rarely in English) of: the publisher (the Post of Serbia), the state (Serbia), the person (female) or an accessory (e.g. an earring), and the cause (most often an anniversary). The verbal parts include numbers: the nominal value in dinars, the year of issue (e.g. 22 RSD, 2015). The visual presentation of the woman on the stamp can be a photograph, drawing, lithograph, illustration, graphics... (Figure 1).

The visual and the verbal elements together make up a communicative entity that transmits an implicit and/or explicit message (Janich, 2001, pp. 43-67; Bašaragin, 2014, p. 30). In the search for the message, we rely on the analysis of the genre (Lakić, 1999, p. 37), which involves the organization of the text-image with a certain task in writing or speech, which also involves the analysis of the role of the text in a given language community, which is in this case the study of the institutional culture of the postage stamps. Our starting point is the intention of the state institution of the Post of Serbia to make the stamps fulfil their basic monetary function and affirm certain ideological values of the society. In this regard, many authors talk about the advertising or propaganda of the ideology of the state through postage stamps (Adedze, 2009; Andreou, Stylianou & Zantidess, 2017; Bushnell, 2011; Child, 2005; Kevane, 2008).

traffic, in accordance with the motives of regular stamps and securities issued by the Ministry responsible for postal services" (Redovne poštanske marke (2019, March 25). Retrieved from: <http://www.posta.rs/struktura/lat/filatelija/redovne-postanske-marke/redovne-postanske-marke.asp>).

⁴ Commemorative stamps are issued "for special occasions so that an image or motif would mark a significant jubilee, event or date from national or world history, from sports, culture, science, etc., as well as to portray the themes from nature" (Prigodne poštanske marke (2019, March 25). Retrieved from: <http://www.posta.rs/struktura/lat/filatelija/prigodne-postanske-marke/prigodne-postanske-marke.asp>).



Figure 1. The verbal and visual elements of a commemorative postage stamp

There is a distinction between the mandatory and optional elements of a postage stamp. *The mandatory ones include:* 1. monetary (nominal) value; 2. country name; 3. name of the publisher i.e. the post; 4. the year of issue; 5. the name (of the person). *The optional ones include:* 1. authorship (the designer of the stamp); 2. the occasion for printing.

There are three levels of context implemented in our analysis of postage stamps: 1. the broadest context is the country – the Republic of Serbia, as an independent state since 2006; 2. the narrow context consists of the collection of the disciplines of the women (or women's accessories) on the stamps; 3. the narrowest context is the unity of the linguistic and image content of the stamp with data on: a) the type of the stamp (commemorative or regular), b) the type of woman (famous, unknown, or it is about the women's accessory), and c) the life status of a woman (alive or dead).

Classification of Stamps with Female Characters by Areas

In the Republic of Serbia (2006-2018), we analysed 106 stamps with female characters (18%) and classified them into 8 areas: 1. art, 2. religion, 3. children, 4. tradition, 5. history, 6. sport, 7. science, and 8. miscellaneous (Table 1).

Table 1. Number of stamps by categories and years of publication in the Republic of Serbia (2006-2018)

Cat.	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Sum
Art	1	3	1	7	-	4	3	3	1	2	1	6	1	33
Religion	-	2	2	2	5	2	2	2	2	1	2	-	-	22
Children	2	1	1	-	2	2	-	2	-	6	-	-	-	16
Tradition	4	-	2	2	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	14
History	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	1	7
Sport	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	6
Science	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	6
Misc.														

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

The results of our research are presented in three parts. In the first part we determine the inventory of the stamps with female characters and accessories. In the second part we check how much the female citizens of Novi Sad are familiar with the women on the stamps and for that purpose we conducted the survey in 2018 (see Appendix A). We use the obtained, preliminary results as a basis to propose to the Ministry in Serbia for 4 women in the field of artistic dance to get a regular stamp in 2019.

Figure 2 shows the presence of women on stamps by categories of activity.

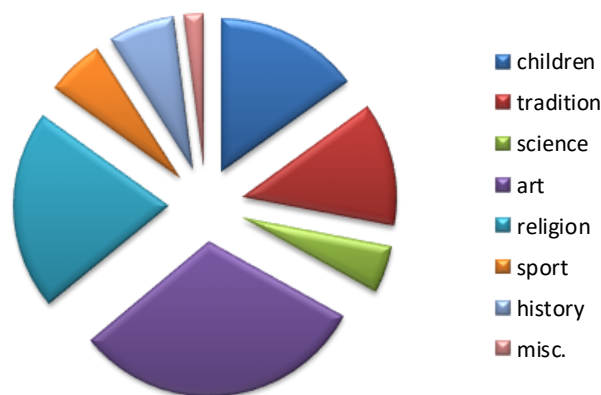


Figure 2. Presence of women on stamps by categories

The most prominent area is "art" and refers to women from fine, musical, and stage arts and literature. Bushnell (2011) labels this category as "entertainment", which includes a wide range of popular and elite cultures (opera divas, actresses, writers, painters, but also "beauty queens"). In this context, the stage art from our sample has the function of entertainment and fun, because it predominantly covers actresses (Milka Grgurova Aleksić (printed twice, in 2007 and 2009), Rahela Ferrari (2007), Neda Spasojević

(2009), Nevenka Urbanova (2009), Radmila Rada Savićević (2013), Ksenija Jovanović (2013), Marija Crnobori (2017), Olivera Marković (2017), and Ružica Sokić (2017)). They were all printed in the series "The Greats of the Serbian Theatre". There are also the director and founder of BITEF, Mira Trailović (printed twice, in 2006 and 2016), and the director Ognjenka Milićević (2015).

Within the category of *fine arts* (including the images depicting women alone or with other people), there are only two stamps commemorating female painters: Ljubica Cuca Sokić (2014) and (again) Nadežda Petrović (2018). The stamps with female painters' works of art include *Self-portrait* by Frida Kahlo (2007), *Self-portrait with velvet* by Milena Pavlović Barilli (2009), and *Self-portrait* by Katarina Ivanović (2011), and there are also two stamps with works of famous painters portraying unnamed women (2009, 2011).

The musical art is represented only through the series "The Greats of Classical Music", with the composer Ljubica Marić (2009), while the ballet art is absent.

The category of literature includes the stamp portraying the Brazilian writer Rachel de Queiroz, which was printed for the occasion of the "Joint Issue: Serbia-Brazil: Literature" (2011). The series of stamps "The Greats of the Serbian Literature" (2010) does not include a single woman.

This area also includes the stamps with mythical female characters and deities used as *allegories* for a particular field of art. These are ancient Greek and Roman goddesses and muses: the goddess Urania, protector of astronomy (2009, unknown occasion), the muse of fine arts (2012: the 75th anniversary of the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade), the muse of the musical art (2012), the muse of history (2012: the 150th anniversary of the Grammar School in Požarevac), and the goddess of justice Justicia (2013: the 50th anniversary of the Constitutional court). In addition to them, there is also an allegoric female figure on the stamp for the occasion of the International Year of Light (2013) – holding a torch in the right hand and a flashlight in the left while standing on a glowing ball.

Bushnell (2011) reports that the largest number of stamps on the territory of Argentina, Colombia, Cuba and the United States in the period 1893–2006 represents women in their political function and activists (Eva Peron), most often as enlighteners or philanthropists. There is not a single woman in this category in our corpus.

Religion is present on 22 stamps (21%) of the total corpus. These are the stamps with Virgin Mary, printed for the occasion of the great Christian holiday Christmas, from various frescoes from monasteries and churches, always with the image of Jesus-child, either alone or in the company of some other Biblical figures related to the holiday in the Orthodox Church. Saint Mother Theresa of the Catholic Church is a 2010 stamp printed for the occasion of the 100th anniversary of her birth in Kosovo.

Previous research data for different countries in the world confirm that the theme of religion is present everywhere when it comes to female characters on the stamps. Burzan (2013) researches stamps in Germany in the period from the release of the first stamp with a female figure (1900–present day, on an unknown sample). He states that the category of the Roman Catholic Religion most often includes the portrayal of Madonna and female saints, such as Mother Theresa. It is a favourite theme that extends to the mid-20th century. And so, the year of 1953/54 was proclaimed the year of St. Mary, and was marked with the stamps of famous painters (Dürer, Raphael and Holbein the Younger). Raphael's Sistine Madonna (2012) is published for the occasion of the 500th anniversary of the painting (Burzan, 2013, pp. 27-28).

The results of the research by Andreou, Stylianou, and Zantides (2017) show that the largest number of stamps in Cyprus are with female characters and confirms that they are related to religious motives (64, i.e. 40.5% of the total number are the stamps of women). Cyprus is predominantly Greek-Orthodox (about 78%), but there are also Sunni Muslims (18%)⁵. In Islam, the representation of the divine figure or female saints is not allowed, so the data from the analysis relate only to Christian (Orthodox) themes. The Virgin Mary is portrayed in most cases (59 stamps), while the remaining five stamps from this category portray the sister of St. Lazarus. The authors state that there are other female figures with a religious theme, but they do not play a significant role (Andreou, Stylianou & Zantides, 2017, p. 350).

Bushnell (2011) notes that the category of religion is often intertwined with the category of "education and philanthropy". In the corpus of the analysed stamps, there are Christian figures and saints portrayed in the role of mothers and patrons, yet are few in number (Bushnell, 2011, p. 844).

The category of "*children*" includes stamps issued for the occasion of the festival "Joy of Europe" (2006, 2007, 2008, 2013, and 2015), followed by the celebration of "Polio Eradication" (2011), "Children's Books" (2010), the so-called "Children's Stamps" (2015), "Old Toys" (2015), 60 years of UNICEF (2006), "The International Year of Biodiversity (2011). Among the total number of 16 stamps in this category, 6 are children's drawings, 8 are illustrations, and one is a photograph. The female authors of these children's drawings: Zarina Habulova (Russia, 2006), Isidora Ljuboje (Serbia, 2007), Nogoko Kasugi (Japan, 2008), Rita Kavac and Maja Trifunovic (Serbia, 2013), and D. Mihirbhai Doshi (India, 2015) are credited on the stamps issued for the occasion of "Joy of Europe". Four of the eight illustrations are dedicated to "children's stamps" and feature fairy-tale princesses, two are authored illustrations created for the "Children's Books" series and portray a girl

⁵ Kipar (2019, March 25). Retrieved from: <http://svetpedija.com/2013/05/kipar/>

reading and a girl catching a star with a hayfork in the background; one illustration is dedicated to "the International Year of Biodiversity" and features silhouettes of a girl watering a tree with a little bird by her side on the ground, while the stamp dedicated to "polio eradication" shows a silhouette of a young woman in the background. The only photograph features portraits of two girls (UNICEF, 2006). We did not find any data on the presence of girls (young women) on the stamps with the remaining authors.

The category of "*tradition*" includes the stamps belonging to the series "Museum Exhibits" and "Cultural Heritage". The set under the name "Bridal Jewellery" (2006) consists of stamps featuring the photographs of a ring, a diadem, an earring, and a necklace. The ring reappeared with the same design in 2009 and 2010. There are also stamps portraying girls in women's folk costumes from Šumadija and Kumodraž (2008). In addition to the ring, in 2009 a stamp was issued featuring a photograph of a female belt, and it reappeared as a regular stamp in 2010, 2012, 2017 and 2018. Therefore, the stamps in this category have the highest frequency in print (issue). Even the 2013 stamp in the "Joint Issue: Serbia-Algeria" does not leave the framework of Serbian tradition because it features a photograph of a woman in the Serbian folk costume weaving on a loom (Algeria is 99% inhabited by Sunni Muslims, while the rest are Roman Catholics and evangelical Protestants)⁶.

The category of "*history*", just like "*science*", is of a recent date, with the first stamps issued in the in 2015, in the series titled "British Heroines of the Great War in Serbia". The stamps portray the only female officer in the Serbian Army – Flora Sands from the United Kingdom, a member of the Scottish Women's Hospital – Catherine Stewart MacPhail, a Scottish doctor and first woman to be awarded the Order of the White Eagle – Elsie Inglis, the psychiatrist Isabel Galloway Hutton, the suffragette Evelina Haverfield, as well as the Scots-born physician Elizabeth Ross. It was no sooner than in 2018 that a female person from Serbia, Milunka Savić, appeared in this context.

The data testify that the historical role of women is only seen in the context of war conflicts. There are no female philanthropists and women's rights activists.

In the category of "*sports*" we make a distinction between anonymous and well-known women portrayed on the stamps. There are three stamps dedicated to female athletes: the tennis players Jelena Janković and Ana Ivanović (2008), and the swimmer Nađa Higl (2009), all issued because of the medals they won at world championships. They are the only women who have received recognition on postage stamps in their lifetime. The success of

⁶ Alžir (2019, March 25). Retrieved from: <https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al%C5%BEir#Religija>

the athletes becomes a means of promoting the country itself. As for the anonymous women on the stamps, there are illustrations of a female tennis player in 2008 (the Summer Olympics in Beijing), a skater in 2014 (the 22nd Winter Olympics in Sochi), and several silhouettes of volleyball players in 2011 (Women's European Volleyball Championship).

The category of "*science*" did not appear until 2014, with the stamp dedicated to Mileva Marić Einstein, reissued in 2016 and 2017, and the same issue of the stamp still exists today as a regular stamp quite frequent in use. In 2017 a stamp portraying Marie Curie was issued. Bushnell (2011, p. 844) argues that it is precisely the field of "science and technology" that implies respect for the success and achievements of women. His corpus covers the domains of health, aviation, and social sciences, and this category features the Amelia Earhart stamp issued in 2007 for the occasion of "the 75th Anniversary of the First Transatlantic Flight by a Woman Pilot".

We classified two stamps under "*miscellaneous*": one featuring a woman, a silhouette of a female singer at a microphone, and notes, issued for the occasion of "Song of Eurovision-Belgrade" (2008), and the other featuring female and male porcelain figures issued for "the 60th Anniversary of the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade" (2010).

Based on these eight categories featuring women, we can conclude the following:

1. The inventory of the category differs from what the other authors state in previous researches, which is related to the cultural and social circumstances of the given country.

2. Women are less represented on stamps than men, and this matches the findings of the other authors. This shows that women and women's contributions do not get equal respect.

3. The most common categories are "art" and "religion". Other researches reach the same conclusion. It is only in these roles that women can be present in our patriarchal society.

4. The stamps with the highest frequency in periodical printing are those from the category of tradition (women's accessories), followed by art (Petrović Barilli), and science (Mileva Marić Einstein). We ask the question whether the often-repeated stamps are a sign of notability or the promotion of the ideological values of the state?⁷

5. There are no women from minority groups on the stamps, whether they are from other ethnic and religious communities or persons with disabilities. Being hidden and invisible in this way, they are not recognized as equal citizens of the Serbian society today.

⁷ The only reason (to date) of reprinting a regular stamp is to print the stamp until the nominal value changes, and with also changes the motive of the stamp.

6. Many famous women are missing: the philosopher Ksenija Atanasijević, the writer Milica Stojadinović Srpkinja, the philanthropist Marija Trandafil; there are no other female rulers, activists, women's rights activists or partisans; the political role of women is completely marginalized.

7. The only women to get recognition on stamps in their lifetime are the female athletes, the representatives of the Republic of Serbia, for winning medals at international competitions. Success is the only reason to respect women because they celebrate and promote the country itself.

What is missing on the stamps in the analysed period? The culture and traditions of other ethnic groups living in Serbia (Hungarians, Albanians, Roma, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Slovaks, etc.) are not represented, the exception being the two stamps from 2011, issued for the 100th anniversary of the festival *dužijanca*⁸, as a motive from the Bunjevci community (but without any female characters). The two stamps are "Museum Exhibits" featuring photographs of a church and a crown, both made of straw as decorative objects. Straw marquetry is a form of applied art and belongs to the tradition of the Bunjevci and Croatian people in the area of Subotica (Vojvodina) and is exclusively practiced by women (cf. Savić, 2007). The omission of female characters in this context is a serious disregard for the female creativity of the national communities of Vojvodina.

There are no priestesses of various Protestant religious communities in Vojvodina represented on stamps, in spite of their remarkable contribution to the building of peace in the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Vojvodina in the 20th and 21st centuries (Savić, 2017). Can a priestess of a Protestant (minority) church, preaching in a minority community (Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian), be considered a famous woman from Serbia (where the Orthodox religious community is dominant)?

The women who have significantly improved the lives of people with disabilities in Serbia are also left out.

We can conclude that there are many factors (in addition to national, professional, ethical, racial, etc.) to be taken into account in the process of building canons for the famous women of Serbia. The interpretation of these results raises the question about the criteria for women to be given the opportunity to be famous in Serbia?

The fact is that the process of homogenization of the largest (Serbian) nation is evident in Serbia today and that only the women from this national community had the opportunity to be featured on the postage stamps: Mileva Marić Einstein and the painter Milena Pavlović Barilli.

⁸ *Dužijanca* is the final harvest festival of the Bunjevci community taking place in the fields, just like vintage in wine regions, for instance. The festival is quite old and dates back from the pagan times – they celebrate the god of fertility, because having bread would mean providing food for the entire family throughout the year.“ (Dužijanca (2019, March 25). Retrieved from: <http://www.bunjevci.net/bunjevacki-obicaji/duzijanca>).

The biography of *Mileva Marić Einstein* (1875-1948) shows that she is *a wife* of a well-known scientist who did not write a single scientific text, but today it is generally accepted in Serbia she was unfairly neglected while helping her husband, Albert Einstein, to build the theory of relativity. Can a person who did not write a single scientific paper be famous for her contribution to science?

Milena Pavlović Barilli (1909-1945), born in Serbia (from Serbian mother and Italian father), who achieved a successful and rich artistic career in America and Europe. How many women of Serbian origin who achieved a successful professional career in the world are part of the Serbian cultural and socio-political heritage and deserve a postage stamp?

*The Scope of Celebrity of the Women on Stamps:
Preliminary Survey Results Conducted among Citizens*

After establishing the number and list of exceptional women printed on stamps in Serbia in the mentioned period, we explored the celebrity of these women among the women of various social and age groups in Novi Sad. We used a survey to check the attitude of women in Serbia towards the women on the postage stamps and their familiarity with the women from the list of the already published stamps. Therefore, the survey consisted of two parts. The first part comprised five questions (Do you take notice of the characters on the postage stamps in Serbia? If YES, can you remember a postage stamp featuring a woman? If YES, write down her name, surname, and what she is famous for. Should notable women be featured on the postage stamps? If YES, whom do you propose?). In the second part, we gave a list of women featured on the stamps in Serbia with the request to write down what the women were famous for (see the enclosed list in the Appendix). The survey was conducted among three groups of women of different ages: younger (18-28), middle (28-45) and older (45-65) in Serbian (the survey was printed in the Latin script, and the women's answers were in both Cyrillic and Latin scripts)⁹.

On the basis of this pilot research with a survey, we can conclude that women of different ages today in Novi Sad do not pay attention to the women featured on the stamps; they cannot remember if they have seen a woman on the stamps at the moment we ask them to remember; some of them have ready suggestions for women to be featured (usually

⁹ The younger group consists of 24 female students of the first year (Department of Serbian Language and Linguistics, born in 1990-2000), the ones who have just joined the process of higher education and attend the subject that is the basis of culture; the middle group consists of their professors and the staff working in the libraries of various departments of the Faculty of Philosophy (15). The older group consists of highly educated persons (retired), mainly from humanistic disciplines.

from the world of entertainment) and they estimate that the number of women who have been featured on the stamps so far is much fewer than the actual number. They are unanimous in assessing that women should be on postage stamps as well as men.

In the second part of the survey, the women were supposed to write down the profession of the women already featured on the stamps. Out of the 22 names given in total, the women recognized only certain actresses (Ružica Sokić, Olivera Marković), the painters Nadežda Petrović and Milena Pavlović Barilli, Mileva Marić Einstein, the heroine Milunka Savić, and athletes (Jelena Janković, Ana Ivanović and Nađa Higl). We have also identified various mistakes in determining the profession and field of activity. What is positive is that all women used gender-sensitive forms of occupation and the titles of women in the feminine gender.

Almost all the women agree that exceptional women should be on the stamps, but they do not know which of them already are, and repeat the stereotype in their proposals for rulers, writers, and actresses.

In short, this survey-based pilot research has confirmed that it is necessary to educate women additionally about the women on the postage stamps; it is also necessary to lead activist initiatives to propose more women to public institutions to be considered for being featured on the stamps. That is why one aspect of our suggested education relates to publishing an account on why the featured women were selected, and the other relates to proposing the women from the areas that have not been featured so far. This is why we proposed, as an example, the stamps featuring women from the field of artistic dance, who will have various anniversaries in 2019; because of this, we were able to learn how to send the proposal to the institution of the Post of Serbia, and also learn how this institution functions.

*Proposal to the Post of Serbia for Women
in the Field of Artistic Dance in 2019*

Therefore, we have proposed to the Post of Serbia to publish the stamps featuring the four women who contributed to the development of artistic and contemporary dance from the feminist point of view, both because of their artistic inventions and their lives. After we had studied the rules for proposing people to be featured on a postage stamp, we formed a proposal for issuing an commemorative series of postage stamps with the theme "Artistic Dance in Serbia" – for four artists: the founder of choreodrama and educator Maga Magazinović (1882-1968), the founder of the contemporary dance Smiljana Mandukić (1908-1992), the primaballerina Jovanka Bjegojević (1931-2015), and the primaballerina Dušanka Sifnios (1933-2016).

CONCLUSION

There is a disproportion between the published works on famous women in Serbia today and their (in)visibility on the postage stamps: over the past 20 years, over 1,700 biographies of different women have been published, more or less notable in their fields of activity, but only a small number of them are featured on the stamps.

We can conclude that the results of the analysis of the postage stamps in Serbia in the period of independence from the Yugoslav community (2006-2018) confirmed the findings of other researchers in the world about the ideological labelling of this process – a clear national and political orientation based on the past and only implicitly focused on the future, i.e. joining the EU and confirming European and democratic values as important in the country today. One of those values is gender equality. When it comes to the ideological basis and gender: in the period of the independent Republic of Serbia, there are fewer women proposed to be featured on the regular stamps; the number being somewhat larger when it comes to commemorative stamps, compared to the list of male persons.

In the list of postage stamps published so far, the largest number women are from the area of art (entertainment), the fewest women are from science and music (composers), and there are no women from philosophy, literature, politic, social engagement, etc. There is also a gender discontinuity in relation to the historical period covered by the stamps: the women who contributed to the Great War (1914-1918) are dominant on the stamps; however, there are no women who had their contribution in the Second World War (partisans, participants of the People's Liberation Movement). After that, there is a significant number of famous women in the period of statehood of the independent Republic of Serbia.

The discontinuity in the visibility of notable women in the Republic of Serbia in the 20th and 21st centuries is evident in the knowledge of the female citizens of the state.

The results of our survey-based pilot research show that women do not pay enough attention to the important institutional visibility of women – on the postage stamps.

In response to this result, we have sent a proposal to the Ministry of Trade, Tourism and Telecommunications concerning four women in the field of artistic dance in Serbia, because this field of art is completely absent from the stamps, and the Ministry has accepted it. We conclude that it is important for women to take into account the exceptional achievements of the women from their country and be the ones to propose the appropriate recognitions for this.

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*APPENDICES**Appendix A*

Survey

The postage stamps feature the images of the people who contributed to the development of society, in this case in Serbia. The Women's Studies and Research Association is in the process of researching women's portrayal on the postage stamps in Serbia in the last decade. We would be glad if you could take some time and answer some of the following questions related to the research project.

Part I:

Gender (circle): F M Year of Birth: Year of studies:

1. Do you take notice of the characters on the postage stamps in Serbia?
YES NO
If YES, can you remember a postage stamp featuring a woman? YES NO
2. If YES, write down her name, surname, and what she is famous for:
(in case there are several, list them below):
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
3. Should notable women be featured on the postage stamps? YES NO
4. If YES, whom do you propose?
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
5. What is your estimated number of women featured on the postage stamps in Serbia in the past 10 years (circle one)?
less than 10, more than 10, more than 20, more than 30

Part II: Are you familiar with the women in the following list (mark the person with + or -; if the symbol is +, write down what the person is famous for).

Nr.	Name	+/-	Famous for
1.	Milka Grgurova Aleksić		
2.	Rahela Ferari		
3.	Neda Spasojević		
4.	Nevenka Urbanova		
5.	Radmila Rada Savićević		
6.	Ksenija Jovanović		
7.	Marija Crnobori		
8.	Olivera Marković		
9.	Ružica Sokić		
10.	Mira Trailović		
11.	Ognjena Milićević		
12.	Ljubica Cuca Sokić		
13.	Nadežda Petrović		
14.	Mileva Marić Ajnštajn*		
15.	Milena Pavlović Barili		
16.	Katarina Ivanović		
17.	Milunka Savić*		
18.	Jelena Janković		
19.	Ana Ivanović		
20.	Ljubica Marić		
21.	Nada Higl		
22.			

*The students recognize Mileva Marić as the wife of Albert Einstein, and a scientist (as she is represented in media); Milunka Savić is recognized as a “heroine in the Great War”.

РОД И ИДЕОЛОГИЈА: ЖЕНЕ НА ПОШТАНСКИМ МАРКАМА У СРБИЈИ: 2006–2018.

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Резиме

Циљ нам је да истражимо степен демократских промена у вишенационалној, вишеконфесионалној и вишејезичној Србији током последње деценије на примеру штампаних поштанских марака (2006–2018) са ликом (познатих) жена. Наиме, 2000. г. Република Србија постаје самостална држава и афирмише 1. националну политику, 2. жељу да постане чланица европске заједнице – ЕУ и 3. настојање да спроведе демократске промене у држави.

Јединица анализе је марка као јединство вербално-невербалних значењских делова. Ово јединство има обавезне и необавезне вербалне делове. Корпус чине марке

штампане 2006–2018. г.: од укупно 574 марака штампаних у том периоду, на 106 (18%) приказане су женске особе или женски предмети. У питању су пригодне марке, редовних је 8,6%.

Ко су знамените жене у Србији на поштанским маркама истражујемо на основу досадашњих примера штампања женских ликова на маркама током последњих 10 година. Укупно је 8 области деловања познатих жена у друштву Србије (редослед на основу %): уметност (33%), религија (22%), деца (16%), традиција (14%), историја (7%), спорт (6%), наука (6%), остало (2%).

Најзаступљеније су области уметности и религије: жене служе за забаву и разоноду или имају улогу мадоне (мајке), а највећу фреквентност у периодичном штампању имају марке из области традиције (женски предмети), потом уметности (Петровић, Барили) и науке (Милева Марић Ајнштајн).

На маркама нема жена из мањинских група, било да се ради о другим етничким и верским заједницама или особама са инвалидитетом. Изостају многе знамените жене: филозофкиња Ксенија Атанасијевић, књижевница Милица Стојадиновић Српкиња, добротворка Марије Трандафил; нема такође ни владарки, активисткиња и боркиња за женска људска права, партизанки; политичка улога жене у потпуности је маргинализована. Признање за живота добиле су само спортисткиње репрезентативке државе Србије због освојених медаља на међународним такмичењима.

Спровеле смо анкету међу студенткињама с циљем да дознамо колико су познате јавности жене које су већ добиле марке током последње деценије.

Податак је да већина жена познаје уметнице, мање научнице.

Ко доприноси афирмацији придруживања европској заједници – ЕУ? То су 16 марака намењених будућој генерацији – назвале смо их деца.

Афирмација да се спроведу демократске промене у држави, када су у питању 'други', углавном изостаје. Напротив, присутна је имплицитна дискриминација по вери, роду, инвалидности, раси, етничкој припадности...

Удружење „Женске студије и истраживања” у Новом Саду у сарадњи са Удружењем балетских уметника Србије иницирале су код „Србија марке” штампање марака са ликом уметница из области уметничке игре: Мага Магазиновић (1882–1968), Смиљана Мандукић (1908–1992), Јованка Бјегијевић (1931–2015) и Душанка Сифнос (1933–2016). Штампање марака остварено је у јуну 2019.