

“NOT ALL CANTEENS ARE CREATED EQUAL”: FOOD PROVISION FOR YUGOSLAV BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS IN LATE SOCIALISM

Introduction

Melissa Caldwell observes that across the socialist world “food emerged as a practical symbol and medium for articulating both the successes and failures of socialist ideas of progress, equality, and modernity.”¹ For Yugoslav workers, like their counterparts across the Soviet Union and socialist Eastern Europe, food provision was organized alongside rapidly expanding industry after World War Two. Collective eating was considered by communist authorities as a means to instil the values of communalism and egalitarianism among industrial workers and forge a sense of camaraderie in the workplace.² It sought to free up the time of female workers from the task of domestic food preparation by socialising nutrition. Above all however, it served the goal of production – ensuring that the new socialist (wo)man was sufficiently nourished and healthy in order to undertake physical labour on the shop floor.

Predictably, in both, the countries of the Warsaw Pact and Yugoslavia, the realities of food communalism often fell short of the ideals in terms of quality, nutrition and hygiene, female emancipation, and the forging of a sense of solidarity among workers.³ Indeed canteen food was often the object of ridicule as Eszter Bartha observes in Hungarian and East German factories.⁴ Nevertheless, the provision of a hot meal (*topli obrok*) was a ubiquitous feature of the Yugoslav workplace (and one which is sorely missed in the contemporary, postsocialist context). In all Yugoslav social sector workplaces, the hot meal was to be taken during a work break and was supposed to be provided for free or at highly subsidized prices, even in cases when a collective was running with a financial loss.⁵

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1 Melissa L. Caldwell, “Introduction: Food and Everyday Life after Sate Socialism,” in *Food & Everyday Life in the Post-Socialist World*, eds. Melissa L. Caldwell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 1.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Eszter Bartha, *Alienating Labour: Workers on the Road from Socialism to Capitalism in East Germany and Hungary* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 126, 158.

5 Petar Sorić, *Riječnik samoupravlanja* (Zagreb: Informator, 1981), 355-356.

This chapter explores factory canteens and food provision practices in late socialist Yugoslavia. Our approach is informed by the observation of Frank Trentmann who in a close reading of Jacob Tanner's *Fabrikmahlzeit*, a study of food procurement and consumption in Swiss industrial workplaces in the first half of the 20th century, stresses that factory canteens function "as a prism of overlapping discourses and practices that connect work and home, individual productivity and social welfare, profit and health."⁶ Through the analysis of archival documents, local print media, workplace bulletins and oral history accounts originating from a range of Yugoslav factories and industrial sectors, we seek to better understand the role of food provision for workers and the sociality that collective eating engendered, as well as the grievances and discontent that it fostered. Exploring food provision for workers in Yugoslav factories provides some micro-level insights into socio-economic trends as well as workplace relations in the underexplored late socialist factory. We draw on sources from the shipyards and ports of Pula and Rijeka to the textile factories in Zrenjanin and Belgrade and the automotive and machine industries of Belgrade, Priboj, Maribor, Suva Reka and Titograd in an attempt to access a number of diverse perspectives.

Three interrelated factors differentiate the politics of worker nutrition under Yugoslav self-management from other state-socialist countries. Firstly, the autonomy and freedom that could be exercised at the lower levels of the party-state (including the (sub)enterprise units, and organs of workers' self-management tasked to resolve socialized food provision in various ways locally, through negotiations) has no parallels in other state-socialist contexts. Secondly, the reflexive nature and participatory conception of self-management ensured that quite extensive (semi) public discussions would take place regarding food provision and consumption inside the workplaces and at the municipal level. This is evidenced by detailed surveys and discussions in factory periodicals as well as the formation of special workplace commissions to inspect food quality. It is in these fora that public discussions about the social dimensions of food provision would take place. Thirdly, although investments in the production of goods for consumption increased significantly in nearly all Eastern European societies after the post-war Stalinist phase,⁷ Yugoslavia boasted the most developed level of consumption, fostering its own negotiated form of consumerism termed by Patrick Hyder Patterson as the "Yugoslav dream". As Patterson notes, "By the mid-1960s millions of ordinary Yugoslavs were eagerly participating

6 Frank Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, 3 (2004), 373-401, 389; Jacob Tanner, *Fabrikmahlzeit: Ernährungswissenschaft, Industriearbeit und Volksernährung in der Schweiz 1890-1950* (Zurich: Chronos, 1999).

7 Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger, "Introduction," in *Communism Unwrapped: Consumption in Cold War Eastern Europe*, eds. Paulina Bren and Mary Neuburger (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 8-12.

in a burgeoning culture of consumerism that made their society quite unlike anything else in the contemporary socialist world.”⁸

Yet not all Yugoslavs could participate equally in consumer culture of market socialism and this was particularly true for lower paid blue-collar workers. Social welfare services provided in the factory played an important role in attempts to bridge this gap. As part of a broader social contract, a duty to secure reasonable living conditions fell to the workplace and involved a plethora of factory level and municipal actors aimed at ensuring that a reasonable “social standard” (*društveni standard*) could be met for Yugoslav workers. One of the foundations of workplace efforts in maintaining non-market based social services was the provision of the “hot meal”. For workers of lesser means this form of subsidised nutrition tended to be of great importance and utility (alongside other perks such as factory-based basic healthcare, access to public transport, company-owned resorts at the seaside or factory hobby and sports clubs).

Factories represented the centre of social life for most workers and a sense of common identity and solidarity encompassed but also surpassed production, feeding into other facets of everyday life and social reproduction.⁹ The observations made by Daphne Berdahl with regards to socialist citizenship and the factory in East Germany also ring true for Yugoslavia:

“[O]ne of the definitive features of socialist citizenship was production, a worker’s identity that was inculcated through forty years of state ideology, factory production rituals, and physical, industrial labor [...]. [T]he workplace was thus not only the center of everyday sociality, it was also a symbolic space of community and national belonging.”¹⁰

During the different phases of Yugoslav socialism, industrial plants as sites of everyday sociality underwent frequent change. The varied institutional solutions, such as the introduction of workers’ councils in the 1950s, grouping of different enterprises and greater exposure to market incentives in the mid-1960s, and radical decentralisation and political control over the economy during the 1970s were meant to ensure continuous economic growth at different political and economic junctures. The capacity of the self-managed industry to generate income in the market laid the material base for the systematic organization of nutrition at the workplace. At the same time, the Yugoslav *laissez-faire* model of socialism fostered various inequalities within and be-

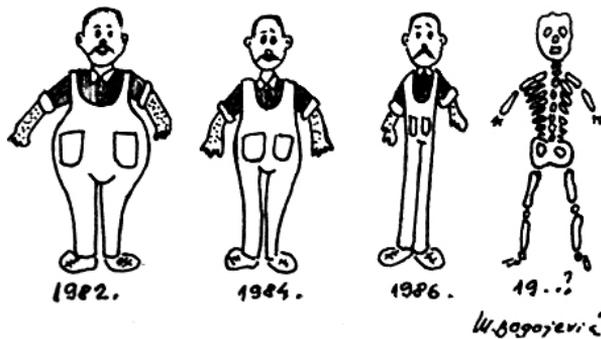
8 Patrick H. Patterson, *Bought and Sold: Living and Losing the Good Life in Socialist Yugoslavia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 19.

9 Susan Woodward, “The Political Economy of Ethno-Nationalism in Yugoslavia,” *Socialist Register* 39 (2003), 73-92, 76.

10 Daphne Berdahl, “‘(N)Ostalgie’ for the present: Memory, longing, and East German things,” *Ethnos* 64, 2 (1999), 192-211, 193-194.

tween factories, industries and regions.¹¹ Such inequalities were also reflected in the availability and quality of food provided for workers. Large, successful factories boasted modern canteen facilities serving workers decent meals. Others made do with cold cuts, cheap *pâté* and bread served in the factory while smaller and poorly performing workplaces distributed vouchers or cash for workers to buy food at local shops. The weakest collectives could not provide any food for their workers.

The period under scrutiny in this chapter – late socialism – was shaped by economic crisis from 1979 and the imposition of austerity measures throughout the 1980s. The commensurate fall in living standards disproportionately affected industrial workers. The procurement of food and essential household goods via workplace canteens and trade unions increased in importance as a means to mitigate the crisis. Economic contraction and austerity measures hindered the ability of Yugoslav factories to provide for their workers however. Demand for food through the workplace increased throughout the 1980s in a context where the lowest paid workers were, on average, spending 70 per cent of their wages on foodstuffs.¹² Inflation, shortages in various commodities and problems with company liquidity impeded the efforts of canteens and other actors like the workplace trade union to maintain the social standard. Conditions for providing workers with meals were deteriorating at the very time they were most needed. The distribution of foodstuffs for workers' households through the trade union, as well as the dysfunctionality of communal canteens, became symbols of the crisis of socialism in the 1980s. Workers were increasingly portrayed as being thin, hungry and on the brink of starvation as suggested below in a 1986 cartoon from a Montenegrin workplace periodical.



Picture 1: Radoje Dakić, 1986 (“Tanjir pun problema: iz OOUR-a ‘društvenog standarda’”, *Informator: Zajednički informativni list radnih kolektiva Industrije građevinskih mašina i opreme* “Radoje Dakić”, Titograd 209, 1986)

11 Rory Archer and Goran Musić, “Approaching the socialist factory and its workforce: considerations from fieldwork in (former) Yugoslavia,” *Labor History* 58, 1 (2017), 44–66, 48.

12 Branka Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracing the Break-up 1980–1989* (London: Verso, 1993), 98.

Institutional Solutions for Food Provision

The post-war drive for rapid industrialization brought hundreds of thousands of peasants and youths into the factories. The sudden growth of industrial workforce necessitated the organization of meals for the new recruits who left their families in the countryside. Yet the young, war-torn, socialist state was unable to provide systematic solutions for this need. Based on the reports of the political bodies overseeing early attempts at industrialization, Ivana Dobrivojević described the harsh work and living conditions faced by the first generation of socialist workers, recognizing the provision of food at industrial sites as one of the main challenges. The lack of hygiene, hard working conditions and poor nutritional value of food negatively affected workers' health, rendering tuberculosis, stomach diseases and anaemia common conditions.¹³

The inadequate government provisions were partly due to the general level of impoverishment and lack of infrastructure after World War Two. However, as Susan Woodward notices, it was also a deliberate policy on the part of the communist leadership, which stressed the importance of preserving the living standards of engineers and highly qualified workers while insisting that the newly recruited peasant-workers were “accustomed to living on a chunk of bread and bacon”.¹⁴ The aim was to rationalize the centralized distribution of scarce foodstuffs by discriminating against a section of the working population which was understood to have maintained ties to the land and was thus to be partly sufficient.

The introduction of workers' self-management marked the beginning of a departure from the attempts of centralized government food provisions under conditions of scarcity. The mass mobilizations of peasants and youth into shock brigades were toned down and the number of workers in industry fell from the peak number of almost 2 million in 1949 to 1,743,000 in 1952.¹⁵ The return of a number of former industrial recruits to the countryside eased the pressure on food reserves in the cities. Furthermore, access to Western markets and foreign loans enabled by the break with Moscow were used to import food and improve the supply of foodstuffs to industrial centres without the overt exploitation of the countryside. Finally, the stabilized economic growth and the enterprise autonomy gained by workers' self-management enabled the management of companies to begin investing in social infrastructure, such

13 Ivana Dobrivojević, “‘Svi u fabrike!’ Instant industrijalizacija u Jugoslaviji 1945-1955,” *Istorija 20. veka 2* (2009), 03-114, 112.

14 This quotation is from a speech of the Yugoslav communists' main economic strategist Boris Kidrič delivered at the Third Plenum of LCY Central Committee and cited in Susan Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia, 1945-1990* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 155.

15 Vladimir-Unkovski Korica, *The Economic Struggle for Power in Tito's Yugoslavia: From World War II to Non-Alignment* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 106.

as housing and organized food provisions at the workplace, thus tying the workers to their factories and creating a layer of a settled, urban working class.

The Collective Consumption Fund of each individual enterprise now replaced the centralized government redistributive mechanisms as the core instrument of social policy in industry. Based on government regulations and agreement inside the Central Workers' Council, the fund was divided between investments in housing, education, collective meals, holidays and various other amenities. Many factory workers of the post-war era recalled the mid-1950s as the time when the conditions of work finally improved with the arrival of protective gear, heating in the production halls, and factory canteens.¹⁶ The wellbeing of the work collective was now more directly related to its business results. Yet, the proportions of total income dedicated to various enterprise funds were strictly regulated from above and more successful enterprises were heavily taxed, which allowed for a more balanced development of the social standard in the various segments of Yugoslav industry.

The enterprise canteens and surrounding infrastructure, such as bars and company restaurants figured as the benchmarks for measuring of the success and the attained level of modernity of a work collective. Investing in factory restaurants and large canteens was important not only for the provision of food for workers, but also as sites for political and self-management meetings, company celebrations, and as objects of prestige where guests and business partners could be hosted. Especially in less developed regions where there was a lack of general infrastructure for consumption, political, and leisure activities, well-designed factory catering facilities had a prominent role as symbols of cultural and political emancipation in the eyes of the local population. For example, in the late 1970s the recently opened canteen in the *Balkan* rubber factory of Suva Reka, Kosovo was described by workers as "a super modern restaurant of cement and glass which looks more like an A-category hotel than a factory canteen."¹⁷

The mountainous municipality of Priboj in Sandžak (Southwest Serbia) and its largest industrial employer *Fabrika automobila* (FAP) built in 1953 also represents an instructive case. The prosperity of the town and region was largely based on the truck and heavy vehicle manufacturer (the second largest in Yugoslavia after TAM Maribor). FAP funded huge infrastructural projects which transformed and modernised the sleepy town and wider region. When conducting interviews with FAP

16 See for instance, S. Avramović, "Naši veterani: Život se nastavlja na Zlatiboru," *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica* 8 (1977); Marta Rendla, "Mariborski gospodarski gigant TAM v skrbi za izboljšanje življenjske ravni zaposlenih," in *Mesto in gospodarstvo: Mariborsko gospodarstvo v 20. stoletju*, eds. Željko Oset et al. (Maribor: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2010), 553-577.

17 "Radnici '21. maja' u Suvoj Reci", *DMB Informator: Bilten kolektiva fabrike motora dvadeset prvi maj* 82 (1977), 5.

workers in 2015-2016, every narrator mentioned the enterprise restaurant built in the late 1950s and its allegedly unique architectonic features. The responsibility of designing the hall was given to Ivanka Lavrenčić, a young female architect fresh out of university who was the wife of the director of FAP. The director allegedly had very precise demands when it came to the project, keeping in mind the central role the main factory canteen played in workers’ everyday lives. The entire roof construction of the hall, with a capacity for over 300 people, had to be supported without interior columns, a rather unique construction in the 1950s. Far from being the caprice of a powerful director, the challenging spatial design was supposed to permit transparency, eye contact between the workers and managers seated behind different tables and provide a direct view of the stage during political manifestations and festivities.

In the course of the 1960s, the government steadily decreased enterprise taxation and increased the autonomy of the self-managed collectives to make their own decisions when dividing the income between wages, accumulation and collective consumption.¹⁸ Unsurprisingly this resulted in increased inequalities in terms of the “social standard” services in various factories. The most successful enterprises on the market as well as those favoured by the general development plans could maintain high wages parallel to investments in their Collective Consumption Fund. The less profitable factories however, were under pressure to raise wages, usually by cutting spending on common consumption. By the late 1960s, these discrepancies led to an outbreak of industrial action, clashes between the shop floors and factory office staff, as well as political efforts of manual workers to attract the attention of the highest leadership of the party-state.¹⁹

The 1970s were marked by efforts of the communists to ease industrial clashes and regain influence over the enterprises by giving a greater voice to the manual workers and insisting on the implementation of the factory social services. This was achieved not by a return to the command economy and redistribution from above, but through further decentralization of the industry and the extension of self-management rights on the shop floor. The atomization of factories into smaller, independent self-management units called “Basic Organizations of Associated Labor” (BOALs)²⁰ was meant to enable a better functioning of workers’ democracy on a smaller scale and allow the socio-political organizations like the party and trade union a greater influence on decision making by releasing the shop floor from the direct influence of general management. The political orientation toward the

18 Ellen Turkish-Comisso, *Workers’ Control under Plan and Market* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 73.

19 Neca Jovanov, *Radnički štrajkovi u SFRJ od 1958. do 1969. godine* (Belgrade: Zapis, 1979).

20 Dejan Jović, *Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2009), 142-147.

strengthening of welfare state inside the industry was also encouraged by reinvigorated economic growth during much of the 1970s.

Nutrition in the workplace became one of the cornerstones of this renewed emphasis on the social standard of industrial workers. At the very top of the party-state, the trade unions and government expert bodies took the initiative. The 7th Congress of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation in 1974 explicitly adopted a resolution stating that “each work collective must introduce a hot meal” which obliged the local union organizations to take concrete actions to fulfil this goal.²¹ The concept of the “hot meal”, as promoted by the trade union, was shaped toward the assumed needs of workers involved in challenging physical work and living with low incomes. It usually implied a caloric hot meal distributed inside the factories after the third hour of work in each shift. As a local conference of self-managers in Split noticed in 1974, most of the manual workers in the city were migrants living in factory dorms or renting rooms inside other people’s flats and thus had no facilities to cook at home. They usually came to work without having a breakfast so the provision of an additional “hot meal” was crucial for them to have an adequate caloric intake, which could make them productive, healthy, and help to prolong their monthly food budget.²²

The formal caloric value of meals, the extent to which the nutritional content of food may help or hinder production as well as supplementing the irregular and insufficient nutrition of the low skilled workers represented the most dominant concern of the unions. This placed them at odds with nutritionists promoting public health, and government related expert associations which envisioned a more differentiated and science-based system of factory nutrition adjusted to the needs of various occupational groups and having an educational role on the eating habits of the working people.²³ For example, Miroslav Radovanović, a long term critic of the nutritional structure of factory meals considered them to be excessively fatty and caloric having a negative effect on the health of the workers, as well as also causing reduced perception, reflexes, tiredness and a consequent fall in productivity.²⁴

21 Mustafa Pljakić, “Društvena ishrana radnika i aktivnost sindikata,” in *Društvena ishrana radnika u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Kultura, 1975), 3.

22 Radna organizacija “Jugoplastika” (Split), *Društvena prehrana: Saopćenje* (Split: Općinsko sindikalno vijeće, 1974).

23 Miroslav Radovanović and Tatjana Đapić, “Radnička porodična i društvena ishrana u Vojvodini,” *Medicinski pregled: Povremeno izdanje Srpskog lekarskog društva-podružnice za Vojvodinu* 40 (1987), 181-185; Miroslav Radovanović, *Radnička porodična i društvena ishrana* (Novi Sad: Vojvodanska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1990).

24 Miroslav Radovanović, ed., *Osnovi društvene ishrane dece predškolskog uzrasta, učenika i radnika: Zbornik referata naučnog skupa održanog u Novom Sadu, 17. 11. 1987. godine u organizaciji Međuakademijskog odbora za proučavanje ishrane stanovništva Jugoslavije* (Novi Sad: Vojvodanska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1988), 30.

These types of discussions were ephemeral on the factory level however, as most actors struggled to set up functional food provisions with the aim of providing all three work shifts with hot meals. The institutional changes introduced by the Associated Labour Act in 1976 dispersed the responsibility for regulating food provisions even further to various institutions in the factory and the municipality. The professional management and the local trade union remained the key actors making decisions about workers’ nutrition. However, the various commissions for the social standard formed by the workers’ councils, gained more influence and workers also exercised their self-management rights as consumers through Commissions for Quality Control (*Savet korisnika usluga/potrošački savet*), bodies made up of workers’ representatives whose job was to inspect and monitor the quality of goods and services provided by the enterprise. Each BOAL was empowered to devise its own solutions regarding the food supply for workers which often meant there was a range of solutions for food provision undertaken within a single enterprise.

The party hoped that self-management initiative from below would be able to create economies of scale in spite of radical decentralisation. Municipalities were encouraged to create larger agro-industrial complexes and catering firms, which could rationalize food provision by delivering readymade meals to workplaces. The municipal bodies consisting of self-managing delegates called “Self-Managing Communities of Interest” were supposed to enable the factories to pool their investment funds and find collective solutions for food distribution. The new institutional frame of Associated Labour and political support enabled more flexibility in finding appropriate solutions for workplace food provision and advancement of workers’ living standards. It was only in the 1970s that most mid-sized companies attained their own canteens, whereas the smaller ones were included into collective food provision with other companies. Still, as the next section will show, many enterprises formally implemented the “hot meal” facing political pressure from above, without proper planning, trained cadres, or adequate infrastructure. The overall inequalities between the regions and factories persisted, whereas the promotion of BOALs as the main decision-making unit exposed and sometimes amplified the existing incoherencies within one workplace.

Persisting Inequalities

Despite the unambiguous duty of workplaces to provide workers with sustenance, in practice the provision of the “hot meal” varied enormously throughout Yugoslavia – across regions, within towns and even between different departments and work shifts of a single enterprise. Factory documents reveal a great diversity of approaches taken by companies in providing for the nutrition of their workers. They also attest to the existence of great disparities in the quality of the food provided from the perspective of both workers using the canteens and workplace authorities carrying out formal inspections.

For example, in a 1977 periodical of the most successful textile firms in Belgrade, *Kluz*, a report on the social standard declared “This is what we are proud of, our constant care.” In addition to photographs of the firm’s summer resort (*odmaralište*) on the Croatian coast, the factory library and a well-equipped medical centre, the canteen is displayed with the accompanying text – “in the modern workers’ canteen all employees receive a free meal.”²⁵ The canteen of the Slovene truck producer *Tovarna avtomobilov Maribor* (TAM) evolved into the largest catering unit in the entire region providing meals for almost 6,000 workers daily, employing a professional nutritionist and even preparing special meals for groups like diabetics.²⁶ Workers who dined in the modern facilities of the sock producer *Udarnik* in Zrenjanin praised food provision in their factory in the late 1970s. Notwithstanding minor complaints about portion size or occasional harsh words from an unpleasant member of canteen staff, workers were generally happy with the food and service which they considered had markedly improved on previous years. Vojna Jonel, a porter in *Udarnik* was very appreciative that the third shift workers received a freshly cooked meal. Cleaner Božana Petrović also praised the canteen, “I can also say I am happy with the food in our restaurant. I have no complaints [...] we get excellent quality food both in quality and variety.”²⁷

In contrast to these large and successful enterprises with enviable facilities, the less profitable collectives were unable to provide adequate canteen facilities and with the economic crisis of the 1980s, conditions worsened.²⁸ Titograd machinery manufacturer *Radoje Dakić* which was accumulating huge losses and teetering on the brink of bankruptcy in the second half of the 1980s, was burdened with subpar canteen facilities despite being one of the largest plants in the Montenegrin capital. Reports in its periodical deplored the conditions that kitchen workers and canteen users endured:

“Kitchen spaces are unpainted, the walls are greasy and mouldy from damp. On the windows there are no insect screens [...] the ventilation system is broken as is the drainage which runs straight into the yard [...] the rubbish is attracting vermin and swarms of insects [...] The area where workers eat is unpainted, the ceiling blackening with mould, and chairs and tables are broken.”²⁹

25 “Ono čime se mi ponosimo: Društveni standard – naša stalna briga,” *Kluz: List radnih ljudi industrije padobrana i konfekcije Kluz* 2 (1977), 6.

26 “Naš ustroj,” *Skozi TAM*, September 4, 1987, 14; Interview with Cveta Mitrović, Matjašić (TAM canteen chef), April 2015.

27 “Da je više supe i voća...: Da li ste zadovoljni kvalitetom ishrane,” *Udarnik: List radnog kolektiva fabrike čarapa “Udarnik”-Zrenjanin* 42-43 (1978), 10-11.

28 See: “Zaustaviti pad životnog standarda radnika: Zadaci pred sindikalnim i partijskim organizacijama,” *Srbijateks: Informativni list Trgovinske radne organizacije Srbijateks*: 25-26 (1983), 5.

29 “Tanjir pun problema: iz OOUR-a društvenog standarda,” *Informator: Zajednički informativni list radnih kolektiva Industrije građevinskih mašina i opreme “Radoje Dakić”*, Titograd, 209 (1986).

In other industrial centres conditions varied between BOALs of the same industrial complex. In Priboj, FAP (and its subsidiary *Poliester*) provided canteen meals to all workers at no cost. The meals were served in canteens housed in the four main factory subunits spread out along the Lim river valley. Despite the economic might of FAP, an industrial giant which was capable of financing and overseeing the construction of high rise flats and other large scale infrastructural projects in the town, discrepancies in the quality and service of its canteen system were discernible. Reports from a 1986 meeting of the FAP Commission for Quality Control praised the work of the canteen in two subunits of the plant (*pogon 1* and *pogon 4*) but in two other subunits (*pogon 2* and *pogon 3*) the commission recorded “serious shortcomings”. One part of the factory allegedly served “cold food, watery beans, moussaka which was far too salty”. Food from breakfast was being reheated and served to workers in the evening. Cockroaches were to be found in all areas of the canteen.³⁰

In smaller companies, arrangements for food provision and the quality of the meals served also varied, often quite drastically. In Zrenjanin, the third largest city in Vojvodina, a network of textile factories was dotted around the city and surrounding villages producing socks, carpets, underwear and hats.³¹ In the mid-1970s, when the industry expanded rapidly, a stated goal was to build canteens in order to socialise food preparation. In addition to feeding the workforce during their shifts the canteens would be used by the overwhelmingly female labour force to purchase food in the factory to bring home to feed other family members.³² Despite being located in a fertile region and in a town with a developed food processing sector, the textile industry was unable to secure a coherent system for the provision of hot meals. In *Sloga*, a producer of underwear and delicate fabrics and one of the largest employers in Vojvodina, a range of different solutions to feed workers was found for each BOAL. One *Sloga* subunit, *Domaća radinost*, arranged for workers to eat the local restaurant, *Kafana Drina*. Workers of the the BOALs *Slavica* and *Radna zajednica* ate cold meals on the shop floor while *Mider* and *Elastik* workers organised the delivery of pre-prepared hot meals from local catering firm *Isbrana* which was notorious among *Sloga* workers for poor service and inferior meals.³³

30 *Zapisnik sa IV. redovne sednice Saveta korisnika usluga*, broj 702, 3, Priboj, 23.05.1986, OOUR Društvena ishrana, FAP Priboj, Arhiv FAP Priboj.

31 Erne Lazar, Milorad Martinov, Radoslav Pavlović, *Tekstilna industrija regiona Srednji Banat: U vremenu od kraja 19. veka do početka 21. veka* (Zrenjanin: Art concept, 2009).

32 “Ravnopravnost žene je mnogo više od adekvatne zastupljenost”, *Sloga: list radnih ljudi fabrike miderske robe, trikotaže i konfekcije Zrenjanin* 22 (1976), 10-11.

33 “Dobro je, svi smo zdravi: Kako se hranimo – pitali smo u zrenjaninskom delu ‘Sloge’”, *Sloga: List radne organizacije za proizvodnju i promet minderske robe, trikotaže i konfekcije ‘Sloga’-Zrenajnin* 82-83 (1982), 11.

In some factories, the obligation of workplaces to provide a hot meal could instead be converted into remuneration for workers. In *Sloga* many workers expressed a wish to receive vouchers or cash payments to purchase foodstuffs at the supermarket instead of a hot meal at the factory. The trade union and department responsible for food provisions were sceptical of this however, noting that it would neither “save money [for *Sloga*] nor result in better nutrition”.³⁴ In Priboj municipality, workers who were part of smaller collectives unconnected to FAP or *Poliester* did not receive any hot meals. Instead, they were provided with cash payments or vouchers, a practice the municipal trade union had misgivings about “because receiving cash-in-hand does not mean that [the worker] actually takes a hot meal regularly”.³⁵ Similarly, in the Croatian port city of Pula a report on food provision for workers (prepared as part of plans to lobby for a modern system of processed ready-meals in the town) suggested that the practice of using hot meal vouchers to make other purchases was resulting in the under-usage of the capacities of worker canteens (and perhaps contributing to a decline in their quality).³⁶

Inequalities also emerged within the same canteen between the three factory shifts. Usually canteens would mirror the rhythm of the shop floor and provide meals during the designated break time for each shift. Reports suggest that the quality of the food deteriorated during the working day. The food served during the night shift tended to be inferior to the meals provided for during daytime. In FAP Priboj during 1986, reports of the Committee for Quality Control found cases of congealed and stale food being reheated and served to the second and third shift workers.³⁷ In *Proleter* carpet factory in Zrenjanin, reports also indicated that food quality deteriorated severely during the second and third shifts. In a 1982 survey of the quality of the *Proleter* workers’ canteen, the most frequent terms used to describe the food were “bad, awful, disgusting, terrible” with 320 such responses from third shift workers and 170 such responses from the second shift workers (600 workers in total were polled).³⁸ The second shift workers complained that they received watered down reheated food and stale bread left over from the first shift. This was echoed by third shift workers who believed they were getting the scraps left over from the first two shifts. Due to their night-time working hours, third shift workers considered they were deserving of better, hot food which should be easily digestible (in contrast

34 Ibid.

35 “Pravci aktivnosti organizacija i organa Saveza sindikata na zaštiti društvenog standarda i ostvarivanju socijalne politike,” Materijal za Izvršni odbor sindikata od 06.12.1985, Arhiv FAP Priboj.

36 *Savjetovanje o društvenoj prehrani u općini Pula* (Općinsko sindikalno vijeće Pula: Puljanka, 1976), 5.

37 *Zapisnik sa IV. redovne sednice Saveta korisnika usluga.*

38 “Većina radnika nezadovoljna: Šta je pokazala anketa o društvenoj ishrani,” *Proleter: List radnog kolektiva industrija tepiha Zrenjanin*, 179 (1982), 12-13.

to the greasy, reheated and tinned food they most often received).³⁹ In addition to complaints about the quality of the food in the second and third shifts, the quality of service from canteen staff was deemed to be poorer at night.⁴⁰

The efforts of the local authorities to enable a better quality of nutrition in these smaller and low income plants by networking them into broader food distribution chains were not usually met with enthusiasm by the consumers. Yugoslav workers demonstrated a commitment to fresh and seasonal produce in their workplace canteens. Attempts to modernise and centralise food provision by introducing ready-meals produced by large Yugoslav agro-companies like *Privredni kombinat Beograd* (PKB) and *Puljanka* were often criticised. Workers railed against these mass produced and tinned meals claiming that they were unhealthy and caused digestive problems. Some larger BOALs of the *Sloga* textile works in Zrenjanin received ready-meals provided by a local company *Isbrana*. Workers at one of the BOALs, *Slavica*, however, decided to end their cooperation with *Isbrana* citing the poor quality of the food. An anonymous worker declared she was glad to be rid of the *Isbrana* meals:

“[...] at least I know that I will not be poisoned. Thank god we are all alive, but so many times our stomachs hurt. I still remember the time when we found pieces of cement (*malter*) in the portions. You mightn’t believe it but it’s true!”⁴¹

The fear of being poisoned from industrially prepared food also surfaced in *21. maj* engine manufacturer in the Belgrade suburb of Rakovica during the late 1970s when the canteen began serving portions of convenience food. Rumours circulated on the shop floor that newly introduced pre-prepared meals from PKB were “full of preservatives and polluted with pesticides” causing the workers to fall ill with stomach problems.⁴² The rumours were evidently serious enough to induce the factory’s Commission for Quality Control to summon a representative from PKB come to *21. maj* to professionally explain the process of the food production in order to allay the workers’ fears. FRIKOM, the unit of PKB responsible for convenience food, was providing some 18,000 meals to Belgrade workers daily at the time. Their representative explained that the meals were packed in aluminium foil, frozen to -25C, and were uniform in quantity and quality. The meals were allegedly convenient, aiming to reduce labour in canteen kitchens while offering a variety of meals for workers.

Satisfied with the account of the FRIKOM representative, the *21. maj*, social standard appointees went to pains to explain that there was no need for concern regarding the FRIKOM meals, any issues relating to their quality was the fault of

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 “Dobro je, svi smo zdravi: Kako se hranimo”.

42 “Topli obrok na ispitu,” *DMB Informator*, September 15, 1978, 4.

the canteen staff at 21. maj who had heated some of the dishes to excessively high temperatures in dirty ovens which negatively affected their flavour. The stomach problems that workers had reported was explained by the FRIKOM representative as a “psychological factor” (*psihološki momenat*) whereby the thought of eating artificially preserved and frozen food creates a negative predisposition for a person who is used to eating fresh produce: “Thus nausea is present before the food even enters the organism and is increased with the power of suggestion”.⁴³

“Rude Servers and Uncultured Workers”: Negotiating Relations in the Canteen

Being the most mundane service with which all employees had daily experience, the factory food and the people serving it were the perennial targets of worker criticism and an entry point for dissatisfaction with the way in which the factories were run. Common gripes included the poor conditions of the canteen halls with overcrowding and long queues, the inferior quality of the meals served (in terms of taste, choice, hygiene, and nutrition), but also slovenly behaviour of fellow workers during meal breaks. In the canteen of Zrenjanin carpet factory, *Proleter* their periodical reflected:

“We are often confronted with unpleasant ugly pictures of our canteen which feeds more than 1,300 of our workers. Some workers really behave arrogantly (*babato*) and it is terrible to see how little attention they pay to hygiene [...] They take large quantities of bread [...] and don’t eat it but throw it away. They don’t return trays and cutlery to the counter. There are constant crowds because they don’t respect the time slots allotted for breakfast. The remains of food are found squashed on the floor and tablecloths. Do you behave like this at home?⁴⁴”

The canteen users were often portrayed as uncouth and unruly individuals lacking in basic socialist consciousness. Stolen or missing cutlery and other restaurant equipment was a common problem shared by both successful and struggling work collectives alike. In the engine manufacturer *Industrija motora Rakovica* (IMR) the Social Standard BOAL director complained that workers borrowed cutlery and trays in order to eat outside of the canteen, but failed to return them forcing the social standard staff to search for the missing items in remote corners of the factory or even find them thrown into garbage.

Missing cutlery was not always due to neglect, but also theft. In Priboj in 1986, one of the FAP canteens introduced a deposit system to try and counteract the theft of cutlery by workers.⁴⁵ In Rakovica, the original sets of cutlery used by IMR’s

43 Ibid.

44 “Kako se ponašamo u restoranu društvene ishrane,” *Proleter*, (83) 1982.

45 *Zapisnik sa IV. redovne sednice Saveta korisnika usluga.*

canteen was of very good quality and thus became a prime target for pilfering. An anecdote circulating inside the factory described how an IMR worker who attended a wedding in a Bosnian village noticed, to his surprise, that the guests were all served with forks and knives engraved with the Belgrade factory logo!⁴⁶ Due to continued theft, IMR Social Standard BOAL management considered placing controls at the canteen entrance but abandoned the idea, allegedly not wanting to offend the majority of honest workers who would end up being searched by the guards.⁴⁷ In the neighbouring factory *21. maj*, the canteen staff informed management that the chairs kept disappearing from the eating hall resulting in workers being forced to eat standing up at peak serving times.⁴⁸

Another common problem in the system of food distribution was the long queues at lunchtime during the first work shift. Almost all canteen users faced a ruckus at the entrance, lengthy waiting times in front of the food counters, pushy workers trying to skip the queue and others reserving seats in advance by placing personal objects on the tables. As the periodical of *Proleter* carpet factory from Zrenjanin reported:

“In the queue we behave incorrectly, pushing and shoving, cursing, skipping the line to avoid the long waiting times [...] some workers put small items (cigarettes, wallets with small change) to ‘reserve’ the table while others wait in line. If another person asks if a chair is free they practically get cursed at [...] Pupils who are on training (*na praksi*) from schools are undisciplined and rude, they sit in the restaurant for an hour after lunchtime, smoking and always laughing at someone, while workers with full trays cannot find a seat.”⁴⁹

In order to avoid the entire shift entering the canteen at the same time, some companies, IMR for instance, introduced various time slots for each work group. The problem was that the choice of meals tended to become more meagre as the lunch hours went by and the workers thus refused to eat during their allotted slots, preferring to appear at the canteen doors earlier, meet their colleagues from other parts of the factory and chat before lunch. The management tried to distribute coloured coupons for each time-slot to enforce discipline, but the foremen, responsible for distributing the coupons to their workers refused to accept this task arguing it took away precious time from production and triggered loud discussions on the shop floor.⁵⁰

46 S. Avramović, “Žetoni i nepoverenje,” *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica* 29 (1983), 3.

47 Živan Adamović, “Čiju imovinu uništavamo?,” *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica*, 15 (1979), 5.

48 S. J., “Gde su stolice?,” *DMB Informator* 27 (1981), 8.

49 “Kako se ponašamo u restoranu društvene ishrane.”

50 Lj. Vesković, “Menza ‘jede’ radno vreme,” *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica*, November 17 (1976), 3.

To solve these issues in the spirit of workers' self-management, the factory papers often ran articles appealing for more responsible behaviour while various commissions conducted surveys, reported to workers' councils and suggested solutions for improving not only worker behaviour and canteen work practices but also the quality of the food on offer. A *Proleter* commission formed by the trade union in 1981 found the quality of the factory meals to be utterly unsatisfactory. Most of the food served was tinned – even in summer when seasonal vegetables were cheap and plentiful. “Almost everyday sausages of a questionable quality are presented as an alternative to meat which is never provided in sufficiently large quantities.”⁵¹ To tackle some of these problems the Commission provided a set of recommendations including improving the behaviour of workers through “broad informative propaganda activities” (including through the factory periodical, notice boards and worker meetings, *zbor radnika*) and banning offending workers from using the facilities. The Commission also advocated banning smoking in the canteen for health and hygiene reasons as well as cutting down on “mooching”.⁵²

Six months later in *Proleter* during the summer of 1982, a factory-wide survey undertaken by the trade union found that workers were still dissatisfied with their canteen.⁵³ Nothing from the programme of the Commission had been implemented and so a survey was organised by the Commission as a means for workers to share their views and provide suggestions on how improvements could be made. Of 1,000 survey forms distributed, some 600 were returned. The poor response rate can probably be explained by the scepticism of *Proleter* workers who doubted that their opinions and suggestions would be meaningfully taken into consideration by management.⁵⁴ They had previously participated in surveys about food provision but nothing had come to fruition – in fact standards in the canteen had slipped even further as the economic crisis intensified throughout the 1980s.

In IMR, the director of the Social Standard BOAL openly admitted he had given up trying to solve the canteen problems after three years of unsuccessful attempts.⁵⁵ The protracted discussions inside the self-management bodies produced no concrete results and campaigns failed to initiate the desired change but rather spread cynical attitudes and outbursts of frustration among workers. Unable to have their complaints meaningfully addressed by the management or higher self-management functionaries, the workers often targeted the canteen staff instead. *Proleter* trade union

51 “Iz društvenog standarda,” *Proleter: List radnog kolektiva industrija tepiha Zrenjanin* 175 (1981), 9-10.

52 Ibid.

53 “Većina radnika nezadovoljna: Šta je pokazala anketa o društvenoj ishrani,” *Proleter: List radnog kolektiva industrija tepiha Zrenjanin* 179 (1982), 12-13.

54 Ibid.

55 Vesković, “Menza ‘jede’ radno vreme”.

reports and the Social Standard BOAL regularly observed a careless work ethic on the part of the Zrenjanin canteen workers. The canteen workers and their director were harshly criticised for their behaviour and attitude to work. Workers wished the canteen staff would be “more cultured in their behaviour” (*kulturniji u ophođenju*), nicer, and more amenable to better service (*uslužniji*) particularly on the second and third shifts.⁵⁶ In nearby *Sloga*, canteen server Rozalija Horvat claimed that workers often cursed at her thinking that she was at fault for the poor quality of food:

“What should I do when there are all kinds of things in the food – gone-off meat, other ‘articles’ [insects]. [...] You can imagine how I feel when in there is not even 50 grams of meat or when a piece has only fat and I have to serve it to somebody!”⁵⁷

Feminised Labour and Coffee Drinking in the Workplace

The staff of Social Standard BOALs, responsible for cleaning, preparing, and serving meals, were usually the lowest paid group of factory workers. The great majority of them were women with few qualifications. The factory kitchen rarely employed trained cooks and nutritionists, preferring to cut costs by moving the existing Social Standard employees, such as cleaners, into the canteen. The conditions of work in the kitchen were harsh. The kitchen staff had to follow the three-shift rhythm, which proved particularly challenging for mothers of young children. The canteen was usually the last place where new investments were made and as a result, hygiene standards were often poor. The *Proleter* Commission for Quality Control, for instance, mentioned hygiene as the most sensitive issue in all parts of the factory canteen (storage areas, kitchen, prep areas) with toilets noted as particularly bad – non-functioning taps, lack of soap, toilet paper and wet floors. Half of equipment in kitchen was reported to be broken or barely functional.⁵⁸ In IMR, broken-down kitchen equipment stood idle for months despite the fact that highly skilled maintenance department workers were located just around the corner. Production lines always had priority over food provision. Even though they performed hard manual work, the position of canteen staff was considered by many other workers as devalued in the factory producerist hierarchy as their work was not seen as “productive” in comparison to skilled (usually male) workers behind the machines.

Despite their marginalised position in the factory hierarchy, the women workers from social standard BOALs often played important roles in the everyday life of the work collective, including on the shop floor. The coffee attendants (*kafe kuvarice*) were one of the rare workers who were able to move freely between the shop floors,

56 “Iz društvenog standarda”.

57 “Dobro je, svi smo zdravi: Kako se hranimo”.

58 “Iz društvenog standarda”.

the white-collar offices and other parts of the plant. They had a rather unique social role and could in some cases form personal relationships with diverse workers and cadres and thus some achieved a degree of social capital which was incommensurate with their low wages. Manual workers behind the machines and white-collar workers and directors alike, all cherished breaks for Turkish coffee which coffee attendants provided. There were numerous attempts to institutionalize the consumption of coffee with the introduction of kiosks, automatic coffee machines or opening the canteens for short refreshments between meal times, yet none of these proved to be a durable solution. In Belgrade's *21. maj* factory the newly opened coffee buffet in the late 1970s was a site of constant contention between the workers and the vendors with workers complaining about the bad quality of coffee and long queues. The buffet was closed after only nine months due to an incident in which a coffee attendant threw boiling water at a customer (allegedly in self-defence).⁵⁹



Picture 2: *21. Maj* Coffee Buffet
(O. J. "Kafa sa ukusom gorčine," *DMB Informator*, February 28, 1979, 7)

White-collar staff enjoyed the privilege of drinking coffee whenever they pleased by bringing portable kettles to the office. On the shop floor, coffee was often consumed collectively by work groups behind the machines with foundry workers holding the Turkish coffee pot above metal casts and open flames. The coffee attendants filled the gaps left by the inefficient systemic solutions and enabled the workers to utilize their breaks more effectively by serving their own coffee at various points throughout the

⁵⁹ O. J. "Kafa sa ukusom gorčine".

factory. As the *21. maj* factory periodical reported, this coffee was of much better quality than the one distributed through official channels, helping this semi-legal business to boom with women from the Social Standard BOAL who made their own makeshift coffee-selling counters and devised their own price lists.⁶⁰ With time many of these informal counters starting selling snacks and even portions of deep-fried fish (*girice*).⁶¹

In the IMR paper a reader's letter posed the question of the legality of this practice and the quandary of private gain on the part of the coffee attendants. In the next issue however, another letter claimed that most workers are very fond of the informal coffee counters and pointed out that the sellers usually engage in the practice in order to nurture the communitarian ritual rather than for profit.⁶² Far more damaging than coffee attendants engaging in informal business on the shop floor was the proliferation of private providers beyond the factory gates. By the early 1980s, economic crisis, inflation, and the resulting shortages made the work of factory canteens ever more difficult. In Priboj in 1982, the head of the Social Standard BOAL Zećir Alić reported that "conditions of business this year have been very difficult for our department" as the price of food increased drastically and it was ever more difficult to obtain certain foodstuffs on the market. Compounding these difficulties, Alić also complained that his department received little understanding from the local political and social organisations who enabled the building of private bars and restaurants in the vicinity which created competition for the operation of the FAP canteens.⁶³

Within the Social Standard BOAL itself however, contradictions existed between the duty of food provision for workers (basic nutrition) and the facilitation of catering, restaurant and hotel facilities for business and leisure purposes (commercialised consumption). The completion of the *Hotel Lim* in Priboj in the late 1980s was to more clearly separate the commercial activities of the Social Sector from its social role and would allegedly lead to an increase in quality according to trade union representatives.⁶⁴ Presumably though, this improved quality would only apply to the commercial side of the Social Standard BOAL operations rather than to food provision as a whole.

60 "Smešno čoše", *DMB Informator*, March 18, 1980, 7.

61 Ibid.

62 Momčilo Ščekić, "Kafenisanje," *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica*, February 16, 1978, 10; J. Živković, "Ponovo o kafi," *IMR: List radne organizacije Industrije motora-Rakovica*, March 2, 1978, 10.

63 "OOUR Društvena ishrana: Odlučno protiv nerada i nediscipline", *FAP Dnevne vesti* 2408-9, November 2, 1982.

64 "Pravci aktivnosti organizacija i organa Saveza sindikata na zaštiti društvenog standard i ostvaranju socijalne politike".

Conclusion

Economic crisis in the 1980s impacted on canteens and food provision in numerous ways. While conditions were more difficult for canteen work, the importance of receiving a subsidised factory meal increased greatly for workers whose living standards were falling precipitously from year to year. Standards at factory canteens tended to decline due to the lack of funds for investment and shortages and irregularities in the delivery of foodstuffs. Factory canteens which had generally been well regarded by the workforces who ate in them began to be criticised. For example, in *Udarnik* sock producer in Zrenjanin, despite glowing reports on the work of the factory canteen in the “good years” of the 1970s, a sharp decline in the work of the canteen was evident to workers by 1982. “All the more complaints about the quality of the food in our restaurant but also about the behaviour of workers who eat there” were emerging in the factory press.⁶⁵ The canteen was being affected by shortages and price increases as well as staff problems like increased absenteeism and poor morale.⁶⁶

The role of the trade union in providing winter provisions (*zimnice*) which included not only picked vegetables and preserved fruit but also items like meat, beans and heating fuel, increased in importance as living standards declined. For example, in 1980 in *Radoje Dakić* in Titograd the fall in living standards was already palpable and the trade union stepped up its activities to gain supplies for its workers:

“All of the work – drawing up a contract, ordering, receiving the deliveries, distribution of the goods, all the administration – was undertaken by the presidency of the trade union (although some members helped) [...]. Goods included: 48 tonnes of meat, 2.5 tonnes of cheese, 6.5 tonnes of potato, 6 tonnes of apples, 4 tonnes of cooking oil. Workers also received honey, cabbage, beans and marmalade.”⁶⁷

The increased salience of nationalism in the 1980s, particularly in Serbia after the political rise of Slobodan Milošević in 1987 and a concerted media effort to bring the alleged plight of Kosovo Serbs to a broader Yugoslav public, was also evident in discussions pertaining to food. In factory publications during the tumultuous times of the “Antibureaucratic Revolution” in Serbia and Montenegro during 1988–1989 reports on constitutional amendments to rein in the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina ran parallel to detailed discussions on the provision of winter supplies through the trade union. The agenda for a meeting of workers (*zbor radnika*) in FAP

65 “Hrana se baca, tanjiri nestaju...” *Udarnik: List radnog kolektiva fabrike čarapa “Udarnik”-Zrenjanin*, 75 (1982), 8.

66 Ibid.

67 “Obezbijedena zimnica za radnike: Aktivnost sindikata,” *Informator: Zajednički informativni list radnih kolektiva Industrije građevinskih mašina i opreme “Radoje Dakić”, Titograd* 146, 28 (1981), 5.

Priboj in 1989, for instance, had two only items listed: "1. discussions about the amendments to the Serbian constitution" (which was to strip Vojvodina and Kosovo of autonomy) and "2. Information about securing winter supplies (*zimnice*) for workers".⁶⁸

During the wave of workers' strikes and walk outs across Yugoslavia in the summer and autumn of 1988 participants often chanted "We want bread". This was more of a symbolic slogan to draw attention to the fall in the general living standard, than a cry for help amidst starvation. Yet, in Rakovica the trade union leaders took full advantage of this trope claiming that workers were forced to steal bread from the canteens in order to feed their families at home. The image of "bread stealing" was an exaggerated depiction that aimed to stir emotions and arouse pity. Slobodan Milošević mentioned this alleged practice in his speech at the League of Communists of Serbia's conference in November 1988 to urge for a reformed economy in which each worker could capitalize on hard work.⁶⁹

The Serbian leadership utilized the image of an impoverished and humiliated working class not in order to revitalize the social functions within self-management, but to promote the idea of greater individual consumption in the market by getting rid of the allegedly expensive and bureaucratized factory services. In a way, the greater reliance on the individual supplies through the trade union and consumption within the household instead of factory canteens symbolized this tendency. The persisting inequalities and informality, complex procedures of decision-making which demanded constant participation from below and a myriad of local stakeholders with confusing prerogatives helped diminish the faith in the collectively designed and practiced nutrition among Yugoslav industrial workers.

68 OOUR Montaža 1989, Arhiv FAP Priboj.

69 Slobodan Milošević, *Godine raspleta* (Belgrade: BIGZ, 1989), 278.