

# Forum

## Work Identity as a Part of Social Identity of Female Schoolteachers in the 19th Century

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## **Working Identity as a Part of the Social Identity of Female Schoolteachers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century**

This paper was founded on the opinions based on the concepts of identity, expressed through different social roles (the role of father, mother, member of the nation, religion, etc), as well as on the gender theory rejecting all claims of unique male or female identities, separate worlds. By applying the category of gender, it has clearly been shown that the whole range of separate identities and histories exists, depending on culture, society level, race, etc.<sup>1</sup> Some differences exist even within basic sex differences, so the thesis about the unique female identity cannot be confirmed. That particular difference is the central point of this paper. It is possible to extract one group with different working, professional identity, from, relatively homogenous social identity of women in Serbia in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Even that particular group had its own, very precise, hierarchy.<sup>2</sup>

The principal factor of this thesis is that the schoolteachers were the first women employed in the state service, whose working ability was verified by the law. As Serbia of 19<sup>th</sup> century primarily was the state with developed administration and army, they managed to penetrate into the state bureaucratic apparatus using advantages, they were paid and got regulated pensions, and could get better position in the service. Regardless to their relatively limited number, their influence in those surrounding they worked was immense. Some of them had could get certain social positions, based on their working abilities and not on inherited or gained lucrative position. On the other hand, the fact that they earned money, for the work outside the house, in some cases even far away from the birth place, and contributing to the family economy, helping or preserving already weakened emotional relations, changed their position and influence within the family. Working conditions, social expectations, as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Joan W. Scott: *Gender and the Politics of History*, New York 1988, 28-53; *Women's History*, in: Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, Pennsylvania 1991, 42-67.

<sup>2</sup> This article is based on a lecture held on invitation by the Michael Zikic Foundation, Bonn and the Departement for East European History at the Bonn University, November 2001.

the proclaimed laws influenced the marital status of the schoolteachers, since many of them remained single. From of the rare memoirs, it can be assumed that they were the persons of specific personal and social identity. Their personal independence, but also their sensitivity had been increased after leaving home and supporting themselves.

Female schoolteachers had very important vocation, and their identity was very much the same with the professional identity of the schoolteachers in general. The common points: large mobility, life and working conditions, as well as the possibility of creating professional associations, were a part of their common professional interest.<sup>3</sup> The important common characteristics could be seen in the normatively regulated immense responsibility, permanent control performed by the authorities, as well as the fact that the whole profession was included in the complex relations between the church and the state. Permanent control of the state was organized according the social classification based on the sex, as well as all other differences that existed between male and female schoolteachers. Employment of women in the state service was considered as the additional work and a way for girls and women to gain a sort of “pocket money” for themselves. Such ideas existed in minds of the creators of the school system in Serbia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the laws regarding the education, in educational institutions, but also in everyday life seen by the others, even in their own minds. Although their lives were separate stories, there are common points which enable the historian to make the analysis.

According to the interpretations of the capability of women regulated by the Serbian Civil Legal Code (1844), their right to conclude legal deals was reduced, and it depended on their marital status. By marriage, women lose that right, which they principally have as single, divorced or widowed and according the law, they belong to the category of juvenile persons. They could neither gain the propriety nor have it at their disposal, and what is the most

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<sup>3</sup> Notion »professionally« has been used here conditionally. Question of professionalization of the certain vocations, for example the vocation of schoolteachers, could be a subject of more detailed study regarding the Serbian intellectuals of 19th century in general. The relation between the idea of »serving the people« and need for accomplishing more specific, vocational interest should be determined on the first place. In the evaluation of level of the

important for the issue, they cannot be a schoolteachers, workers, etc, without the consent of their husband.<sup>4</sup> Relation between the marriage and the professional life, as it will be shown, influenced the idea about permanency of the paid work for women, especially schoolteacher's work. Although the number of paid women vocations mentioned in the state statistics was very low (for example 20 female in comparison to 252 male vocations in 1899), just the fact that they had found their place on the list of the vocations, confirms the assumption that it was tacitly accepted for many years.<sup>5</sup>

### Schoolteacher's place in the Educational System

When determining the place of the schoolteachers in the social structure, it is very important to bear in mind the wider context of the state idea regarding the education in the Principality-Kingdom of Serbia during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In that period the school was developed as the national institution of great importance, according to the general determination expressed through the laws. The belief of the educated elite that young girls need to be educated created enough space to include women in the schoolteacher's vocation. The most important was the image of special closeness of mother with female children and her educational role. So, the principal idea was that women should teach the young girls.<sup>6</sup>

By analyzing the laws regarding the regulation of primary school, before all others, then decrees and orders issued by the Ministry of Education, as well as the appropriate manuals for teachers, it is possible to perceive the imagined role of teacher and expectations of vocation through the ideas of the creators of the educational system in Serbia of the time. For the purpose of this work, it is

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profesionalization of the schoolteacher's vocation, this analysis would be based on the forms, characters and scopes of their professional associations.

<sup>4</sup> M. Draskic, O. Popovic-Obradovic, *Polozaj zene prema Srpskom gradjanskom zakoniku (1844-1946)*, Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima, 2, Beograd 1998, 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Statistika Kraljevine Srbije*, XIII, Beograd 1899.

<sup>6</sup> P. Despotovic, *Vaspitanje u Srba*, Beograd 1958; S Cunkovic, *Skolstvo i prosveta u Srbiji u 19. veku*, Beograd 1970; V. Tesic, *Skole i nastava*, Istorija srpskog naroda, VI-2, Beograd 1983, 506-549; Isti, *Moralno vaspitanje u skolama Srbije (1830-1878)*, 1974; Lj. Trgovcevic, *Obrazovanje kao cinilac modernizacije Srbije u 19. veku (analiticka skica)*, Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima, II, Beograd 1998, 217-231.

of specific importance to find out time and means used by the legislator to appeal for their separate roles and responsibilities. In the whole range of laws regarding the schools, since 1844 until the *Law of People's Schools* in 1906, it is quite clear that, for the legislator, primary school is educational institution, above all. Model of the ideal teacher was sketched. Beside educating, the teachers had to be the example in good behavior, to teach the pupils church songs, to take part in the church service standing in the choir, to take part in the religious processions, etc. By doing so, tasks of the teachers entered at the church working field. Teachers were ordered to have good relations with priests, to help them in singing during the services, etc. Despite the fact that the legislators and creators of the educational policy wanted to see this relation as mutual, the real life showed permanent conflict. Certain competition always existed between the teachers priests and the result of it was the strengthening of the state. By manipulating them the state often used the church to control the teachers.

In 1845 there was not even one single girl's school in Serbia. There were, in Belgrade, private schools for girls and boys, "catholic and evangelistic" attended by the orthodox pupils as well. Separate private school for girls was opened in Belgrade in 1842. First municipal girl's school was opened in Paracin in 1864. In following 10 years, 24 municipal schools were opened in the various towns. In the regulations concerning those schools, the vocation of female teachers, i.e. females showing their ability by passing the exam, and convincing the outstanding members of the society in their good and convincing the outstanding members of the society in their good behavior, were accepted. Their duties were mentioned in details, and beside the common duties shared with the male teachers, they had some specific ones. Young girls were not thought science, but the female teachers had to supplement girls' education with knowledge that was in accordance with the "natural" characteristics of the female pupils. That supposed, particular temperament of the female pupils, and indirectly their teachers, recommending female schoolteachers to be gentle and calm, as mother with children. But, with the *Law of Primary Schools* dated from 1863 male and female schoolteachers had the same rights, according to the law. General regulations regarding the male

teachers (about the salary, working conditions and family) included the female teachers as well. But the majority of the recommended desirable behavior, opinions, and regulations regarding marriage or salaries confirmed the intention to preserve the traditional social identity of mother and wife, or to make possible the return to that identity, by maintaining the differences between male and female teachers.

Opening of the Girl's High School in Belgrade, first girl's secondary school in the Balkans showed, clearly, the needs of the state, but it also showed the doubts about the direction and limitations of the immeasurable optimal quantity of education for the girls. The interest of the state had surely been to obtain educated female schoolteachers and to offer girls good education, in order to be good mothers, wives and housewives.<sup>7</sup> That year, there were 36 female teachers in 28 schools. The foundation of the Girl's High School and its later reforms (in 1879, 1886 and 1898) was followed by the great protests, justified by the fact that the Girl's High School would produce educated girls, who would become, under foreign influence, show-away dolls and thus would neglect their principal duty, to be good mothers and wives. Even the teacher's vocation, i.e. practical side of such way of schooling, had been opposed. Even during the first years of working of the school, there had been opinions that particular training school for female teachers should be founded. In fact, such reactions were caused by the fear of changes that could easily lead to loss of the control over one important state and social job.

The circumstances in everyday life preceded and influenced the proclamation of some particular laws. For five years, until the beginning of the seventies, the number of the female teachers was almost doubled (63, 1870). The Law dated from 1872 gave to the female schoolteachers the right to teach in the first two grades in boy's primary schools.<sup>8</sup> At the end of seventies, in 1879, there were 86 female schoolteachers at the boy's schools, and the total number of the female schoolteachers was 190.<sup>9</sup> The same trend, caused by the fact that the

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<sup>7</sup> *Visa zenska skola u Beogradu. Pedesetogodisnjica 1863-1913*, Beograd 1913.

<sup>8</sup> *Zbornik zakona i uredaba Knezevine Srbije*, 23 (1870); 24 (1872).

<sup>9</sup> B. Jovanovic, *Stanje javne nastave u Knezevini Srbiji za 1877-1878 i 1879*, Glasnik srpskog ucenog drustva, 70, Beograd 1889, 134.

state needed schoolteachers and because of the increasing number of pupils who attended and graduated the Girl's High School, continued. In the following decade, between 1881 and 1891, in almost all districts, the number of the female teachers increased much faster than the number of the male. The same phenomenon occurred in some other European countries, where the female teachers replaced the male teachers. In Serbia, the process of including women in the service did not follow that pattern. Increased number of school, mainly boys, caused the need to employ new teachers in new schools in Serbia and liberated regions. According to the information we have at our disposal regarding the number of the teachers that left their positions, it could not be said that the male teachers were replaced by the female ones. The replacement of the available position in the frame of the teachers vocation did not happen in Serbia, as it was case in France for example, but all existing resources were used in order to fulfill vacant positions, as well as positions in the newly opened schools. If we persisted in finding the real cause of this phenomenon, we would find out that, beside the needs of the state, the image of gaining the position in the administrative hierarchy was very important. In order to achieve the ideal of clerk's life, the teacher's vocation was not the choice of the male candidates. It was the only secure way to enter the state service for woman, men had much wider choice. Their educational profession could be easily changed to profession of employees, clerks and custom officers.

All this points out that the female schoolteachers had the advantage to obtain the job with less year of training, owing to the specific situation of the great need of state and society. They obtained the permanent positions after finishing at first five, and later six grades of the Girl's High School and passing the teacher's examination. Male candidates obtained the position after 3, 4 or five years of high school and 4 grades of teacher training school. In reality, there were many women teachers who obtained the positions without enough years of training or teacher's examination. Number of the female candidates increased so rapidly that even the Ministers of Education were confused. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was quite obvious that there were no need for more the female teachers. All measures taken to limit women to work, such as increasing the training years and the high price of training, failed.

But even in the period of the most urgent need for teachers, there was obvious division to male and female teachers. Even in the eyes of contemporaries it was not logical that the female teachers were considered skilled enough to teach girls in all four grades of girl's primary schools, but to teach boys only in the first two grades. That shows that the school authorities were far from willing to give the same rights to all the teachers, regardless their sex. The authorities followed the imagined limit of what could be accepted in the society regarding the employment of the female teachers. The existing conditions were always presented as temporary solution, until enough number of male teachers for the boy's schools could not be found.<sup>10</sup> The same attitude continued in the following years. First two grades of boy's primary school was the limit that could not be surpassed.

### **Teacher and the Government (social status of teacher's vocation)**

Beside the mentioned law regulations that expressing the expectations, limiting conditions for joining this profession and giving, through decades, the legitimacy to this vocation, there was also a whole range of regulations that gives a picture of socially desirable professional identity for the teacher's vocation in general. Their status in the state administration, i.e. the fact that they were and not were a part of that administration represented the base of their social position. They were considered as the state employees, but they were not appointed by order of the King, as was the case with the high school and university professors, but by the order of the Minister of Education and Church Affairs. That fact determined their position in the official educational hierarchy and their social position. In reality, it meant, among other things, partial financing from the municipal budgets and additional, psychological dependence on the local authorities. Thus, the professional identity of male and female teachers regarding the authorities had much in common, because it was determined by general conditions of life and work. There were some special regulations, but also the expectations, that sometimes submitted to the category

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<sup>10</sup> Report of prof Ljubomir Protic, june 1895 in: *Pirot i srez nisavski*, III, Pirot 1986, 243.

of the unwritten rules. Those particular regulations made the difference in the position of male and female teachers, i.e. made the difference within the vocation. At the same time, they differed the teachers from the rest of the female population, turning their working identity to the particular social identity. For that reason it is necessary, for the further analyses, to describe the character and models of control of the authorities regarding the teacher's vocation.

There had been parallel, double system of the control for the teachers, organized on professional, but also on political and civil behavior. On one hand there was permanent evaluation of the professional skills through the grades given semiannually and annually by the special representatives of the Ministry of Education.<sup>11</sup> The professional control system had become more complicated from year to year, and the distance from the highest school authorities and the teachers had been growing further and further. The initiative for evaluation of good behavior of the teachers was in hands of the representatives of the local authorities. From the professional side, the teachers were subdued to the school supervisors - representatives to the year examinations that had been giving the evaluation of their work on the basis of pupils' knowledge.<sup>12</sup>

As for the relation with the local authorities, it should be mentioned that the resistance of the majority, especially rural ones, to accept the school and teacher caused the conflicts which usually turned into open animosities. Unfriendly attitudes towards new phenomenon - the school, and new people in their surroundings, they inclined, according to the contemporaries, to undermine this institution.<sup>13</sup> Problem of irregular attending of children usually was just the beginning of the conflict. The other cause of the conflict was permanent quarrel with the municipal authorities about the financial means to pay apartment, coal or wood and for teaching. In some districts, the teachers were permanent foreigners.<sup>14</sup> The interest of the local districts was to preserve good relations within the community, regardless the demands of the schools

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<sup>11</sup> Prosvetni glasnik, V, 1904, 463-465.

<sup>12</sup> *Zbornik zakona i uredaba Kraljevine Srbije*, 40, 1884.

<sup>13</sup> Prosvetni glasnik, 1, 1898, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Prosvetni glasnik 18, 1883, 738.

and their teachers.<sup>15</sup> Also, the unsteady position of the teachers and often transfers contributed to such a climate. Hereby we come to the third level of the conflict, which is of political origin. In the eighties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the time of the big political struggles, transfers of the teachers had the character of the great migrations. According to some evaluations, at the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties, not even 10% of transfers of the teacher had not been done because of needs of the schools, but because of "higher" state interest and personal conflicts.<sup>16</sup> The teachers had been, mostly because of conflict between the political parties, dismissed by a telegram. The distance of the region to which they had been sent depended on the real or imagined danger that they had represented to the government.

Majority of the above-mentioned circumstances, except political activities, influenced identity of the whole vocation and represented the joint characteristics of the position of both male and female teachers. What had separated them? There is clear methodological problem in trying to define the limit considering particular "female" identity. The best way to perceive that limit is to analyze the documents written during the investigation of the possible guilt of some female teachers that got into possession of the educational authorities. Based on real or manipulated mistakes, they founded themselves on the desk of the main educational council, i.e. cases taken out of context, lead to the wrong conclusions. However, it is possible to recognize the codes valid for all women in this profession.

The general impression is that school supervisors, who evaluated work of the female teachers, considered all professional difficulties as extenuating circumstances. On the other hand, certain number of the female teachers developed specific strategy, using the fact that their treatment in the service was determined by the gender identity.

The mistakes made by the female teachers had rarely been directly caused by their disobedience toward the school authorities. The local authorities often

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<sup>15</sup> B. Perunicic, *Grad Pozarevac i njegovo upravno podrucje*, Beograd 1977, doc. 764, 1736-1739.

<sup>16</sup> Prosvetni glasnik, 12, 1898.

showed their preference to see male then female teacher in their surrounding. The most often used explanations for the incompetence of the male teachers had been their political activities. Female teachers had been accused for the immoral behavior.<sup>17</sup> Even when there existed some other, more clear proofs of their guilt, shadow of the immorality had been added as confirmation of their sins. The open accusations regarding the forbidden behavior had been connected with their way of life, which was not always “regular”.<sup>18</sup> The accusations of incompetence were sometimes only the motive to make the details regarding the female teacher’s life public knowledge. The majority of the complaints regarding their inappropriate behavior had come from the villages in which they lived and worked. The fact that one number of the female schoolteachers had really broken accepted rules of behavior, does not diminish the hypothesis that the specific, “female” identity had been often used to prove their incompetence for the job.

The legal and educational policy influenced the division within the teacher’s vocation, mostly in the matters of marriage of the female teachers. Generally unsteady jobs, caused by permanent changes of the place of living, common to both male and female teachers, was additionally increased. The girls who entered into the service considered their job just as a phase in their life, temporary solution until they got married and made their own family. Furthermore, the marital status influenced formation of the particular, personal identities of married or unmarried women within the teacher’s vocation. Their taking part in the work of the teacher’s associations, their presence in the council of the Ministry of Education was also limited with image of the job as the temporary category.

Many years before the *Law of People’s Schools* was proclaimed in 1898, it was emphasized that the marriage, family, husband and children had not been in accordance with request of the job, because married women could not work with the same success as the male teachers.<sup>19</sup> It had been requested to dismiss them as soon as they got married, unless their husband was a village teacher

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<sup>17</sup> Prosvetni glasnik, 12, 1903, 11.

<sup>18</sup> V. Tesic, *Moralno vaspitanje u skolama Srbije*, Beograd 1974, 324.

<sup>19</sup> Prosvetni glasnik, 8, 1883.

and unless they continued to live in the village.<sup>20</sup> On the other side, the male teachers were encouraged to find good wives for themselves and to start the family. In real life, the married teachers kept on working, but their question was often subject of the discussions. Majority of the other countries led the same policy.<sup>21</sup> In France, from 1900 until 1944, the ban on work for married women was in effect, but nevertheless 56% of the female teachers were married. In Serbia, especially after 1903, the process of returning of the married teachers to the service started. The advantage was on the side of those who were out of service for less than 10 years. This is just one proof more that need of the state had been always more important than the regulations and desirable social identity of women.

The last criterion that confirmed existence of the division within the vocation was amount of the salaries. During the whole studied period the female teachers' salaries were lower, and this problem was not settled until the First World War. According to the general opinion, valid in the European frame as well, women's work was paid less because their earnings had been considered only as a part of the family economy.<sup>22</sup> It was considered that the unmarried female teachers were still a part of their parental families, so their salary was the supplement, contribution to the family budgets. Some of the girls worked as teachers on the Girl's High School as volunteers, since they were well provided financially. But, for the majority the things looked different. Job was of vital significance for many girls.

### **Personal identity as a part of the particular social identity of female teachers**

Although the factors that influenced personal identity of women within the teacher's vocation had been very different and sometimes it is hardly possible to determine them, it is possible, through detailed analysis of the written

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<sup>20</sup> *Zbornik zakona i uredaba Kraljevine Srbije*, 1898.

<sup>21</sup> *Prosvetni glasnik*, 1; 6, 1904, 23-24; 656.

<sup>22</sup> L. A. Tilly and J. W. Schott, *Women, work, and family*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston (1974), 121.

documents, newspaper articles, images and perceptions of life expressed in the memoirs, to define their general characteristics. All those particularities just confirm the basic thesis regarding the different social identity of women within the teacher's vocation. The earlier mentioned regulations showed that it was not possible to speak about the professional uniformity within the teacher's vocation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The interior division among them could be viewed through their place in the professional hierarchy (temporary, permanent, high), education and years in service, through their marital status – married, unmarried, through relation between the town and village teachers, famous and anonymous. Their life stories were written in the applications that future schoolteachers had summoned to the Ministry of Education. Those short biographies were very often testimonies of their poverty, of their widowed mothers and younger brothers and sisters that should go to school. Some of them supported the whole family because the husband was unemployed.<sup>23</sup>

Very important characteristic of particular identity of the female teachers was their marital status. Married or not, working only before marriage or stayed unmarried, they were in a specific position, different from majority of other women. Although it is very hard to define the exact numbers of married and unmarried teachers, it is clear that the unmarried ones had always prevailed.<sup>24</sup> Married teachers usually worked in the towns. The life of the unmarried schoolteachers was completely different from the usual way of living of the other girls of their age. They worked outside their homes, earned their salaries and lived in the different surrounding. All those circumstances increased their feeling of the personal autonomy. They were less dependant from the control of the family or of the community then ever before. But, the other side of the independence was their vulnerability. The loss of the family or wider community had increased their personal insecurity. In the reports written by the school supervisors, there are many examples that confirm that those girls were exposed to the rage of the pupils' parents or municipal authorities. The impression they left on the new surroundings, which was not ready to accept new faces, different by their look, clothes and education, was very often disastrous, and most usually they did not become a part of the community.

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<sup>23</sup> See: Archive of Serbia, Ministry of education, 1878 - 1903.

Many of them had accomplished very important educational mission by teaching village women how to sew and make embroidery, giving them the advises regarding care of their children and hygiene in their houses. By their attitude, behavior and style of their clothes that were completely different from everything seen in the village up to that moment, and they become the promoters of the values of the distant and unknown town. Some of them, by being serious, visibly modest in a long black dress and warm and friendly, managed to create, in the heads of the most ambitious girls, the ideal image regarding this profession.<sup>25</sup>

The differences in the living and working conditions between town and village decisively influenced modeling of the particular identities of the female teachers. For majority of the employed female teachers, a job in a bigger or smaller town was the final aim of the professional career. In the pleas for the transfer written to the Ministry of Education, majority of the female schoolteachers expressed their wish and need to continue their work "in even small town or nearby the railway", mostly because of family reasons. What did the town offer to them? Greater security, better living conditions, and for the ambitious ones possibility to advance in the service, and also the possibility of, although very controlled, public work. But on the other hand, the town meant higher living expenses and severe competence, especially in the capital. In the town, in this profession very precise hierarchy had been set up. From the nineties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century even in the smaller towns there were girl's schools and the Girl's High School. Teaching in those schools was more than just an ordinary job, it was highly praised and it had the highest reputation in the female teacher's vocation. Highly expressed wish for the advanced training in those subjects that were not thought during the regular schooling created severe competition between the female teachers.

Female teachers with the university degree started to teach at the Girl's High School in 1891, and some of them even passed the professor's exam. But the only job that they could possibly get was the job in this School. Nevertheless, the town offered more possibilities for the professional promotion. The female

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<sup>24</sup> *Dr\_avni kalendar Kraljevine Srbije, 1872-1890.*

teachers were the associates in the professional magazines, reviewers of the schoolbooks, mostly for the subjects regarding running of the household or domestic work, and their opinion was taken into consideration on the meetings of the Main Educational Council. They had become writers of the schoolbooks. Many of them tried to open the private nursery schools and schools.

The personal initiative was not the rare phenomenon among the female teachers, but the supervisors of this professions needed time to accept that. By comparing three different live stories of three female teachers from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to outline three different living perceptions. On the basis of the beautiful memoirs, it can be perceived that the ambitions expressed by the Ninkovic sisters was premature, Stanka Glisic lived her own life according to the desirable model of female teacher of the time, while Magazinovic all by herself, cleared a path to circumstances which made living her own life possible.

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<sup>25</sup> M. Magazinovic, *Moj zivot*, Beograd 2000, 65-68.

Ana Stolic wurde 1962 in Belgrad geboren. Sie hat Geschichte an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Belgrad studiert, wo sie auch ihren Magister erlangt hat. Sie schreibt zur Zeit an ihrer Promotion zum Thema „Die Frau in der serbischen Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts“. Seit 1995 ist sie als wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin am Historischen Institut der Serbischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste tätig. Ihre Forschungsschwerpunkte sind Nationalgeschichte des 19. und dem Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts, Institutionsgeschichte – der Hof in Belgrad und Gesellschaftsgeschichte.

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