Taking a stand in times of violent societal changes: Belgrade and Zagreb feminists’ positionings on the (post-)Yugoslav wars and each other (1991-2000)

Miškovska Kajevska, A.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

UvA-DARE is a service provided by the library of the University of Amsterdam (http://dare.uva.nl)
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements .............................................................................................................. xv

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 1
    Prologue ...................................................................................................................... 1
    A first sketch of the research topic ............................................................................ 2
    Research questions and propositions to be investigated .......................................... 3
    Terminological choices ............................................................................................... 5
        Belgrade and Zagreb instead of Serbia and Croatia .............................................. 5
        Wars instead of ethnic wars ................................................................................... 6
        Antinationalist and nationalist ............................................................................. 8
    Feminism ..................................................................................................................... 10
    Elaboration of the research topic .............................................................................. 11
    Analytical framework ............................................................................................... 22
    Methodology .............................................................................................................. 31
        Positionality of the researcher ............................................................................ 31
        Data selection, sampling and access .................................................................. 33
        Description of the interviews ............................................................................ 37
        Use of interviews and respondents’ reactions to the transcripts ....................... 39
    Challenges during the research process .................................................................... 43
    Advocating Slow Science ......................................................................................... 45
    Outline of the thesis .................................................................................................. 45

CHAPTER TWO
Review of relevant scholarship ...................................................................................... 49
    Biases and silent places ............................................................................................. 49
        Domination of the designations used by the self-declared antinationalist feminists .................................................................................................................. 50
    Political components of the scholarly texts ............................................................. 53
    Lack of analyses of the post-1995 developments ...................................................... 54
    Limited to non-existent presence of certain conflicts ................................................. 56
    Insufficient attention for the feminists’ biographies ................................................. 58
    Geographical (homogenising) bias ............................................................................. 58
Classifying and naming the feminists and their war-related positionings .... 60
Belgrade and Zagreb self-declared antinationalist feminists ............... 62
Zagreb self-declared antinationalist feminists .................................. 63
Belgrade self-declared antinationalist feminists .............................. 65
Belgrade or Zagreb so-called nationalist feminists .......................... 68
Zagreb so-called nationalist feminists ........................................... 69
Belgrade so-called nationalist feminists ....................................... 72
Conclusion .................................................................................. 76

CHAPTER THREE
Historical background ................................................................. 83
From the state of Yugoslavia to the post-Yugoslav states ................. 84
Creation and organisation of the Yugoslav federation .................... 84
The reappearance of organised feminism in Yugoslavia ............... 99
The violent creation of the Yugoslav successor states ................... 107
Introduction of the analysed feminist groups and some of their predecessors ................................................................. 116

Zagreb groups before the split ..................................................... 117
Women's Group Trešnjevka (later: Women's Help Now) ................. 118
Kareta ...................................................................................... 120
Independent Union of Women .................................................. 121
The split of Women's Help Now ............................................. 123

Zagreb so-called nationalist feminist cluster ............................. 124
Women's Help Now – SOS Hotline ........................................ 124
Kareta ...................................................................................... 125
(The second) Women's Group Trešnjevka .................................. 127
Network of Multicultural Help ................................................ 130
Multimedia Women's Centre Nona ........................................... 131
O-zona ...................................................................................... 132

Zagreb self-declared antinationalist feminist cluster ................... 133
Autonomous Women's House Zagreb ........................................ 133
Women's Lobby Zagreb ............................................................. 134
Center for Women War Victims ............................................. 136
Women's Information and Documentation Center (Women's Infoteka) ...... 138
In lieu of a conclusion

CHAPTER FOUR
War-related positionings and the processes of (self-)ascription of designations

The proposal for a Yugoslav feminist umbrella group (spring of 1990)
The speakers tour in Germany (November 1991)
The meeting in Venice (21–23 February 1992)
The international gathering ‘Women in War’ in Zagreb (2–4 October 1992)
Related developments after the gathering
The ‘International Women’s Solidarity’ meeting in Zagreb (7 February 1993)
The MADRE speakers tour in North America (24 March – 8 April 1993)
The meeting in Medulin (17–20 March 1995)
The Belgrade Women’s Studies Center (throughout the 1990s)
The NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the intensified war in Kosovo (Spring of 1999)
Conclusion

CHAPTER FIVE
Biographical differences and similarities
The Belgrade and the Zagreb feminists compared
The Zagreb feminists compared
CHAPTER SIX

Perceptions at the time of interviewing........................................287
  The unique deed of Zagreb24AN.........................................................288
  Authentic feminism ...........................................................................292
    Zagreb self-declared antinationalist feminists .................................292
    Zagreb so-called nationalist feminists ..............................................294
  Belgrade self-declared antinationalist feminists ...............................295
  Belgrade so-called nationalist feminists .............................................297

Authentic (anti)nationalism, ascribed-to designations, naming and individual feminists .................................................................299
  Zagreb self-declared antinationalist feminists .................................299
  Zagreb so-called nationalist feminists ..............................................305
  Belgrade self-declared antinationalist feminists ...............................314
  Belgrade so-called nationalist feminists .............................................323

Silence ..................................................................................................331
  Zagreb feminists ...............................................................................331
  Belgrade feminists ..........................................................................336
  Conclusion .........................................................................................339

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion .....................................................................................349
  What was this research about? ............................................................349
  How do the findings of this research enrich the existing scholarship? 352
  How did the respondents revisit the 1990s? .........................................363
  How could this research be followed up? ...........................................366
  Closing words ...................................................................................367

Bibliography ..................................................................................369
  News agency, newspaper, magazine and web articles .......................395
  Original documents ..........................................................................404
  Films and TV programmes ...............................................................414
  Websites ..........................................................................................414
Summary .................................................................................................417
Samenvatting .........................................................................................423

APPENDIX A
Names of the mentioned Belgrade and Zagreb groups ...............428

APPENDIX B
List of conducted interviews .........................................................430