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.

Publication date
2014

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.
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
CHAPTER FOUR
War-related positionings and the processes of (self-)ascription of designations ...........................................161
The proposal for a Yugoslav feminist umbrella group (spring of 1990) ......161
The speakers tour in Germany (November 1991) .......................................168
The meeting in Venice (21–23 February 1992) .................................................176
The international gathering ‘Women in War’ in Zagreb
(2–4 October 1992) ..........................................................................................187
Related developments after the gathering ...............................................193
The ‘International Women’s Solidarity’ meeting in Zagreb
(7 February 1993) .........................................................................................203
The MADRE speakers tour in North America
(24 March – 8 April 1993) ...........................................................................210
The meeting in Medulin (17–20 March 1995) .............................................222
The Belgrade Women’s Studies Center (throughout the 1990s) ..........230
The NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
and the intensified war in Kosovo (Spring of 1999) ....................................242
Conclusion .......................................................................................................259

CHAPTER FIVE
Biographical differences and similarities .................................................265
The Belgrade and the Zagreb feminists compared ....................................267
The Zagreb feminists compared .................................................................272
The Belgrade feminists compared .....................................................276
Conclusion ..........................................................................................280

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