



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

The fall of the pink curtain

Alliances between nationalists and queers in post-Yugoslavian cinema

Vravnik, V.

Publication date

2018

Document Version

Other version

License

Other

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Vravnik, V. (2018). *The fall of the pink curtain: Alliances between nationalists and queers in post-Yugoslavian cinema*.

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.

SUMMARY

The Fall of the Pink Curtain: Alliances between Nationalists and Queers in Post-Yugoslavian Cinema

My dissertation is situated at the intersection of the so-called Western, Anglo-Saxon queer discourses and their counterparts in Eastern Europe. More specifically, I focus on one geo-political area, which I have called the post-Yugoslavian geographic region, where the issue of sexual minority cannot be separated from religion and nationalism. My object of study, the development of gay and queer discourses in the post-Yugoslavian region, has been constructed through emergent complex geographical, historical, and cultural nodes, which are as multi-layered as the religious and political configurations of the various cultural and national contexts in the region. I have analyzed the concept of gay visibility as understood in the Western perspective and how it transforms when applied to my region of study, paying close attention to the fact that a direct application cannot be undertaken due to the specificities of the region. For example, once transferred to an Eastern context, Gay Pride Parades that have been organized in the first decade of 21st century led to violence and organized attacks. Yet, the first mainstream queer films from the region emerged and the queer community did not face such attacks from homophobes. The corpus of my analysis are four films produced in the post-Yugoslavian geographic region: *Fine mrtve djevojke* (*Fine Dead Girls* 2002), *Diši duboko* (*Take a Deep Breath* 2004), *Go West* (2005), and *Parada* (*The Parade* 2011). I analyze these films from the perspective of a political critique of homophobia within the post-Yugoslavian region and further address the underexplored activist potential of exhibiting national and religious discourses in cinemas. While analyzing the queer activist tactics within these films, I view them with an eye for the local queer perspective.

The main point of my dissertation was to address how these tactics challenge homophobia through peculiar alliances, for example when queers and nationalists become strange or not so strange bedfellows. By doing this, I wanted to raise and explore two key issues in this study: the need to situate the issues concerning homophobia, heteronormativity, and queer activism in the

post-Yugoslavian region and, at the same time, the need to de-centralize Western perspectives on queer sexuality.

In the **first chapter** I map the queer cultural history of the post-Yugoslavian geographic region and analyze various homophobic events in the region, as well as offer examples of artistic responses and direct activist actions. I have demonstrated that before the fall of communism and the so-called fall of the Pink Curtain, nationalists and queer community members were actually not such strange bedfellows as one might presume. During the 1980s these two groups were united against a common enemy, namely the communist government. Only after the rise of religious nationalism was homosexuality invoked and constructed as a political enemy. Alliances between right-wing government officials and religious nationalists led to severe repercussions during the initial pride parades/festivals in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. Later, when entering the European Union, strong alliances were established between regional and Western anti-gay groups, and between the local queer community and Western pro-gay initiatives. This results in a constant re-creation of new resistance movements and strategies. One of these strategies is the use of various forms of art.

The **second chapter** that focuses Ahmed Imamović's film entitled *Go West* (2005). It portrays a love story between Bosniak Kenan and Bosnian-Serb Milan. Both xenophobic and homophobic tensions lead Kenan to dress as a woman and they pretend to live as a straight Serbian couple. Kenan is both being raped and used by a sex worker Ranka, to the extent that the price of the sexual act protects his homosexual closet. The only option, in the film at least, is for homosexuals to move (or escape) Westward. However, this is not my main notion, rather it illuminates the background of my concentration point: the relationships between the agents of various colliding groups. The film aids me in probing the encounters between homosexuality and the specificity of the Balkans' masculinist culture. I focus on the positive images of solidarity and alliances between male-dominated society and homosexuality – specifically, between a straight father and his gay son. Setting up such an alliance is only one rhetorical tactic of *détournement* of a

constant conflict between male-dominated society and queer community. In order for these alliances to succeed, heterosexual men need to question the dictates of religion and governmental bodies. The film proposes two images of a father: one that fits the patriarchal role and its counterpart, a liberal father, who opposes patriarchal structures. Only by the rejection of a traditionalist patriarchal heterosexual position, can one actually cooperate with the queer community.

In the **third chapter** I analyze the Croatian film *Fine mrtve djevojke* (*Fine Dead Girls*, 2002), directed by Dalibor Matanić. The film depicts a love story between a lesbian couple who do not actively disguise their identities like in *Go West*, nor have they publicly revealed its sexual orientation. Once the landlady Olga discovers the couple's secret this leads to abuse and violence. After their forced coming out, they are violently pushed back into the closet which results in Iva being raped and Mare being killed while fighting for her partner. Criminals, however, are actually protected by nationalistic and religious forces, while lesbians are relegated to silent subjects and often slain. But the film also suggests the possibilities of alliances between the lesbian characters and other figures who are also pressured by the norm and especially by the narrow definition of masculinity. A relationship between the lesbians and Olga's husband Blaž is a queer alliance that redraws the boundaries of what is understood as normal. His intervention is a rather chaotic and individualized reaction which leans towards severe violence. This is a vendetta, a sort of lynching, and not justice. I also argue that this film criticizes Croatian society for its negative approach towards lesbians by: exposing homophobia with an excess of violence on the screen, condemning the police for not protecting lesbian victims, presenting the church as self-sabotaging, criticizing nationalist views, and criticizing the connection between violence, nationalism, and religion.

The lesbian couple is presented as a threat as well in the Serbian film *Take a Deep Breath* (2004) that I focus on in the **fourth chapter**. The film centers on Saša, a student from Belgrade, who dreams of emigrating to Canada. At the beginning of the film she has a boyfriend, Stefan, but soon we find out that she is a closeted lesbian when she begins an affair with his sister Lana. The film tells a story that accuses lesbians of being sick which immediately leads to criminalization,

surveillance, and policing. Their relationship brutally ends when Miloš exerts his power in the court to have Lana incarcerated. The depiction of surveillance in this film is quite different from that of *Fine Dead Girls*. There, the landlady spied on the lesbian couple to heterosexualize them and punish them for being lesbians. In *Take a Deep Breath*, however, the way in which surveillance is portrayed questions the voyeur's powers. Miloš' delegating orders make us aware of the danger of the chain of command trickling down the social ladder, similar as fascist regimes deploy their administrative tentacles. At the same time, the film also provides us with another narrative regarding his position of power. He is more pathetic than powerful: his disease is to see the world as a pornographic scene. But the film also displays a way out, by proposing lesbianism as a liberation process and thus offering a critique of homophobia. While the heterosexual relationship is a site of conflict where both partners are miserable and collapsing under the weight of hiding and pretending – Saša and Lana's partnership is presented as being harmonious.

And finally, in the **fifth** and the last **chapter** of my dissertation, I examine Srđan Dragojević's 2011 film entitled *The Parade* in which the director addresses the paradoxical, even comical, challenge of recruiting war veterans to protect Belgrade's queer community during the parade. I examine the paradoxical nature of these alliances (the veterans are usually seen as homophobic nationalists) and demonstrate how are nationalistic and homophobic discourses actually counteracted and appropriated by queer activists to challenge homophobia that will trigger a political change. The film is a kind of Trojan horse that attempts to enter the homophobic environment which is protected by a thick wall of heteronormative rules and legislation. The tactic of uniting war veterans is used to communicate while deploying a positive message regarding protecting LGBTI rights. The stronger the nationalist force from the outside is, the stronger the resistance by the war veterans becomes. Their historical trans-national connection embedded within their Brotherhood and Unity ideals comes to light. Their close friendship and cultural bonds are stronger than homophobia and this becomes a recruiting force in the fight against homophobia.

Since the queer discourse is embedded within the discourse of cultural bonding between different countries, the homophobic viewer is challenged to accept the film as a whole.

In my analysis I have discovered, as I pointed out in the **conclusion**, that homophobic violence is present in all the films, sometimes to extreme physical or mental degrees, and sexuality is often inseparable from religious beliefs or ethnic identity. Similarly, the denouements of the films propose forms of closure that do not constitute hopeful and unambiguous happy endings. I argue that in so doing, the films are effective because they make us imagine ambivalent tactics, pyrrhic victories, and strange alliances. Despite the negative portrayals and cinematic destruction of active and non-normative characters, I argue that these films are the beginning of an archive of anti-homophobic stories even if the message is never straightforward. They all present ambivalent narratives of hope in the fact that the victims of homophobia are worth grieving for, and that therefore their lives matter (Butler 2009). What is at stake in these films is a rough division between gay and lesbian alliances; whereas lesbian characters are forming alliances with feminine and liberal allies, gay characters are supposed to form solidarity with traditional masculine nationalists. As I have demonstrated, by adopting ways of storytelling that assist viewers to imagine new situations and new alliances between groups or individuals – for example between veteran Limun and queer activist Radmilo in *The Parade*, between the husband of the perpetrator Olga and the lesbian couple in *Fine Dead Girls*, between the father Ljubo and his gay son in *Go West*, and between the wife of the corrupt homophobic judge and her lesbian daughter in *Take a Deep Breath* – film directors offer a social and political critique and act as indirect activists or activists.

I expect this research to contribute to debates on queer theory by adding an under-explored local dimension, while analyzing activist strategies in the non-Western world. An inclusion of queer discourses from the post-Yugoslavian geographic region will allow a more historically and culturally accurate view of homophobia, while providing another argument for decolonizing non-Western queer discourses.

SAMENVATTING

De val van het roze gordijn: allianties tussen nationalisten en queers in post-Joegoslavische cinema

Dit proefwerk is gesitueerd op het kruispunt tussen het zogeheten Westerse, Angelsaksische queer discours en haar Oost-Europese tegenhangers. Ik richt bij meer bepaald op een geopolitiek gebied, dat ik de post-Joegoslavische geografische regio genoemd heb, waarbinnen de kwestie van seksuele minderheid niet gescheiden kan worden van religie en nationalisme. Mijn onderzoeksobject, de ontwikkeling van het gay- en queer discours in de post-Joegoslavische regio, is tot stand gekomen door opkomende geografische, historische en culturele complexe knooppunten die even gelaagd zijn als de religieuze en politieke configuraties binnen de verschillende culturele en nationale contexten in de regio. Ik heb het concept *gay visibility* geanalyseerd zoals verstaan binnen het westerse perspectief, en de manier waarop het transformeert binnen mijn studiegebied, waarbij ik aandacht heb besteed aan het feit dat een directe toepassing ervan niet kan worden uitgevoerd gezien de specificiteit van de regio. Wanneer de Gay Pride Parades uit het eerste decennium van de 21^e eeuw, bijvoorbeeld, overgeheveld werden naar de Oost-Europese context, leidde dit tot geweld en georganiseerde aanslagen. Desalniettemin werd de queer gemeenschap niet geconfronteerd met soortgelijke homofobe aanvallen toen de eerste mainstream queer films uit de regio verschenen. Het corpus van mijn analyse omvat vier films uit de post-Joegoslavische geografische regio: *Fine mrtve djevojke* (*Fine Dead Girls* 2002), *Diši duboko* (*Take a Deep Breath* 2004), *Go West* (2005), en *Parada* (*The Parade* 2011). Ik analyseer deze films aan de hand van een politieke kritiek op de homofobie binnen de post-Joegoslavische regio, en benadruk vervolgens het onderbelichte activistische potentieel van de zichtbaarheid van het nationale en het religieuze discours in cinema's. In mijn analyses van de queer activistische tactieken in deze films hou ik telkens het lokale perspectief voor ogen.

De basisstelling van mijn proefschrift is het aankaarten van de manier waarop deze tactieken homofobie uitdagen middels bijzondere allianties, bijvoorbeeld wanneer queers en nationalist

vreemde of niet zo vreemde bedpartners worden. Hierdoor wil ik twee sleutelthema's in deze studie ter sprake brengen en onderzoeken: de noodzaak om de kwesties met betrekking tot homofobie, heteronormativiteit en queer activisme te situeren binnen de post-Joegoslavische regio en, tegelijkertijd, de noodzaak om de Westerse perspectieven omtrent queer seksualiteit te decentraliseren.

In het **eerste hoofdstuk** breng ik de queer-culturele geschiedenis van de post-Joegoslavische regio in kaart en analyseer ik verschillende homofobe gebeurtenissen binnen de regio; daarnaast geef ik voorbeelden van artistieke respons en directe activistische acties. Ik toon aan dat voor de val van het communisme en de zogenoemde val van het Roze Gordijn, nationalisten en leden van de queer gemeenschap in feite niet zo'n vreemde bedpartners waren als men zou aannemen. Tijdens de jaren tachtig waren deze twee groepen herenigd tegen een gemeenschappelijke vijand, namelijk de communistische regering. Het is slechts na de opkomst van het religieuze nationalisme dat homoseksualiteit als politieke vijand ingeroepen en geconstrueerd werd. Allianties tussen de rechtse overheidsfunctionarissen en de religieuze nationalistes leidden tot zware repercussies tijdens de eerste Pride parades en festivals in Bosnië-Herzegovina, Kroatië en Servië. Later, bij de toetreding van de Europese Unie, ontstonden sterke allianties tussen de regionale en Westerse anti-gay groeperingen, en tussen de lokale queer gemeenschap en de Westerse pro-gay initiatieven. Dit zorgde voor een voortdurend heruitvinden van nieuwe verzetsbewegingen en -initiatieven. Eén van deze strategieën is het inzetten van diverse kunstvormen.

In het **tweede hoofdstuk** richt ik me op Ahmed Imamović's film getiteld *Go West* (2005). Deze film vertelt het liefdesverhaal van de Bosnische Kenan en Bosnisch-Servische Milan. Zowel xenofobe en homofobe spanningen leiden Kenan ertoe zich als vrouw te kleden en het tweetal doet zich op die manier voor als heteroseksueel Servisch koppel. Kenan wordt verkracht en misbruikt door een sekswerker Ranka, in die mate dat de prijs van deze seksuele daad zijn verborgen homoseksualiteit beschermt. De enige optie die de film biedt, is dat homoseksuelen westwaarts vertrekken (of vluchten). Dit is niet het zwaartepunt van mijn analyse, maar het schetst

wel de context voor de verhoudingen tussen de actoren van verschillende botsende groeperingen. De film maakt het mogelijk de raakvlakken tussen homoseksualiteit en de specificiteit van de masculiene cultuur in de Balkan te onderzoeken. Ik richt me op de positieve beeldvorming van solidariteit en allianties tussen de door mannen gedomineerde samenleving en homoseksualiteit – meer specifiek, tussen een heteroseksuele vader en zijn homoseksuele zoon. De constructie van dit soort alliantie is slechts een van de tactieken van een *détournement* binnen een constant conflict tussen de door mannen gedomineerde samenleving en de queer community. Opdat deze allianties slagen, moeten heteroseksuele mannen de dictaten van religie en overheidsorganen in vraag stellen. De film suggereert twee vaderfiguren: een die past bij de patriarchale rol en zijn tegenhanger, de liberale vader, die zich tegen de patriarchale structuren keert. Een ware samenwerking met de queer community kan slechts plaatsvinden wanneer de traditionalistisch patriarchale en heteroseksuele positie verworpen wordt.

In het **derde hoofdstuk** analyseer ik de Kroatische film *Fine mrtve djevojke* (*Fine Dead Girls*, 2002), geregisseerd door Dalibor Matanić. Deze film vertelt het verhaal van een lesbisch koppel die, net zoals in *Go West*, hun identiteit niet actief verbergen, noch hun seksuele oriëntatie publiek kenbaar hebben gemaakt. Wanneer de hospita, Olga, het geheim van het stel ontdekt, leidt dit tot misbruik en geweld. Nadat ze onder druk uit de kast komen, worden ze met geweld teruggedrongen, hetgeen leidt tot de verkrachting van Iva en de moord op Mare, terwijl die vecht voor haar partner. Criminelen worden echter beschermd door nationalistische en religieuze instanties, terwijl lesbiennes worden gedegradeerd tot stille subjecten en veelal worden vermoord. Maar de film suggereert ook de mogelijkheid voor allianties tussen lesbische hoofdpersonages en andere personages die eveneens onder druk staan van de norm, en dan met name de enge definitie van mannelijkheid. Een verhouding tussen de lesbiennes en Olga's echtgenoot, Blaž, is een queer alliantie die de grenzen van wat normaal geacht wordt, verlegt. Zijn interventie is een nogal chaotische en individualistische reactie die neigt naar ernstig geweld. Dit is een wraakactie, een soort lynchen, maar geen rechtvaardigheid. Ik beargumenteer ook dat deze film de Kroatische

samenleving bekritiseert omwille van haar negatieve benadering van lesbiennes: door homofobie met een overdaad aan geweld in beeld te brengen, door de politie te veroordelen voor het niet beschermen van lesbische slachtoffers, door de kerk als zelf-saboterend te presenteren, door nationalistische opvattingen te bekritisieren, en door het verband tussen geweld, nationalisme en religie te bekritisieren.

In de film *Take a Deep Breath* (2004), waar ik in het **vierde hoofdstuk** de nadruk op leg, wordt het lesbische koppel gepresenteerd als een bedreiging. De film concentreert zich op Saša, een student uit Belgrado, die ervan droomt naar Canada te emigreren. Aan het begin van de film heeft zij een verhouding met een jongen, Stefan, maar al snel komen we erachter dat zij een verborgen lesbienne is wanneer ze een affaire begint met zijn zus, Lana. De film vertelt een verhaal waarin lesbiennes van ziekte beschuldigd worden, hetgeen meteen leidt tot criminalisering, surveillance en handhaving. Aan hun verhouding komt op brutale wijze een einde, wanneer Miloš zijn macht in de rechtbank uitoefent en Lana laat opsluiten. De representatie van surveillance in de film verschilt aanzienlijk van die van *Fine Dead Girls*. Daar bespioneert de hospita het lesbische koppel om hen te heteroseksualiseren en om hen voor hun seksuele geaardheid te straffen. In *Take a Deep Breath*, daarentegen, stelt de representatie van surveillance de macht van de voyeur in vraag. De door Miloš uitgevoerde bevelen maken ons bewust van het gevaar dat hiërarchie langs de sociale ladder stroomt, net zoals fascistische regimes hun bestuurlijke tentakels inzetten. Tegelijkertijd biedt de film ons ook een ander narratief omtrent zijn machtspositie, waarin Miloš eerder zielig dan machtig is: hij is ziek, omdat hij de wereld ziet als pornografische scene. Maar de film presenteert ook een uitweg, door de homoseksualiteit van vrouwen als een bevrijdingsproces voor te stellen en daardoor een kritiek te uiten op homofobie. Hoewel de heteroseksuele relatie een grond voor conflict vormt waarin beide partners ellendig zijn en zwichten onder de druk van het verbergen en doen alsof, wordt Saša en Lana's verhouding als harmonieus gepresenteerd.

Tot slot, in het **vijfde en laatste hoofdstuk** van mijn proefschrift, onderzoek ik Srđan Dragojević's film uit 2011, getiteld *The Parade*. Hierin richt de regisseur zich op de paradoxale,

zelfs komische stimulans om oorlogsveteranen te werven voor de bescherming van de queer gemeenschap van Belgrado tijdens de parade. Ik onderzoek de paradoxale aard van deze allianties (veteranen worden meestal gezien als homofobe nationalisten) en toon aan dat het nationalistische en homofobe discours in feite tegengewerkt en toegeëigend wordt door queer activisten om homofobie in vraag te stellen wat betreft politieke verandering. De film is een soort Trojaans paard dat binnendringt binnen de homofobe context, die beschermd wordt door een dikke muur van hetero-normatieve regels en wetgeving. De tactiek die oorlogsveteranen samenbrengt, wordt als communicatiemiddel ingezet, terwijl de boodschap zelf positief is wat betreft de bescherming van LGBTI-rechten. Hoe sterker de nationalistische kracht van buitenaf is, des te sterker wordt het verzet van de oorlogsveteranen. Hun historische transnationale verbond dat ingebed is in hun idealen van Broederschap en Eenheid komt aan het licht. Hun hechte vriendschaps- en culturele banden zijn sterker dan homofobie en dit wordt de wervingskracht in de strijd tegen homofobie. Aangezien het queer discours is ingebed in het discours omtrent de culturele verbintenis tussen verschillende landen, wordt de homofobe kijker uitgedaagd om de film als geheel te accepteren.

Zoals in de **conclusie** vermeld staat, heb ik aangetoond dat homofob geweld aanwezig is in al deze films, soms zelfs in extreme fysieke of mentale mate, en seksualiteit is vaak onafscheidelijk van religieuze overtuigingen of etnische identiteit. De narratieve ontknopingen van deze films vertonen bovendien geen hoopvolle of ondubbelzinnige *happy endings*. Ik beargumenteer dat juist daardoor deze films effectief zijn, omdat zij ons ambivalente tactieken, pyrrusoverwinningen en vreemde allianties doen verbeelden. Ondanks de negatieve beeldvorming en afbreuk van actieve en non-conformistische personages in film, betoog ik dat deze films het begin zijn van een archief met anti-homofobe verhalen – al is de boodschap nooit eenduidig. Alle films vertonen ambivalente verhaalstructuren omtrent hoop door het feit dat de slachtoffers van homofobie ons verdriet waard zijn, en dat daardoor hun leven ertoe doet (Butler 2009). Wat in deze films op het spel staat, is een grove scheiding tussen homoseksuele en lesbische personages; daar waar lesbische personages allianties vormen met vrouwelijke en liberale bondgenoten, wordt van homoseksuele personages

verwacht dat ze solidariteit zoeken met traditionele mannelijke nationalisten. Ik heb aangetoond dat door het toepassen van verhaalstructuren die de kijker helpen bij het verbeelden van nieuwe situaties en nieuwe allianties tussen groepen of individuen – bijvoorbeeld tussen de veteraan Limun en de queer activist Radmilo in *The Parade*, tussen de echtgenoot van de schuldige Olga en het lesbische koppel in *Fine Dead Girls*, tussen de vader Ljubo en zijn homoseksuele zoon in *Go West*, en tussen de vrouw van de corrupte homofobe rechter en haar lesbische dochter in *Take a Deep Breath* – de regisseurs een sociale en politieke kritiek aanreiken, en daardoor indirect als activisten of *artivisten* optreden.

Ik verwacht dat dit onderzoek zal bijdragen aan de debatten omtrent queer theory door een onderbelichte lokale dimensie toe te voegen en de activistische strategieën in de niet-westerse wereld te analyseren. De toevoeging van het queer discours binnen de post-Joegoslavische geografische regio zal een meer historisch en cultureel accuraat beeld schetsen van homofobie, en dient nogmaals als argument voor de dekolonisatie van het niet-Westerse queer discours.

Works Cited

Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke University Press, 2006.

---. "Affective Economies." *Social Text*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2004, pp. 117-39. *Project MUSE*,
muse.jhu.edu/article/55780.

---. *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*. Routledge, 2004.

Aimée & Jaguar. Directed by Max Färberböck, Senator Film Produktion GmbH, 1999.

"Akcija sa LGBT lutkama u centru Beograda prošla bez incidenata." *Blic online*, 26 Jun. 2012,
www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/akcija-sa-lgbt-lutkama-u-centru-beograda-prosla-bez-
incidenata/68e43qf.

"Akcije LGBT inicijativa u regiji za blagdane." *Queer.hr*, 2 Sep. 2015, queer.hr/29407/akcije-lgbt-
inicijativa-u-regiji-za-blagdane.

Alcoff, Linda. "The Problem of Speaking for Others." *Cultural Critique*, no. 20, 1991, pp. 5-32.
JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/1354221.

Allen, Holly. "Gender, Sexuality and the Military Model of U.S. National Community." *Gender
ironies of nationalism: sexing the nation*, edited by Tamar Mayer, Routledge, 2000, pp.
309-27.

Babović, S. "Igra ljubavnog trougla." *Večerne novosti online*, 25 Aug. 2005,
www.novosti.rs/vesti/kultura.71.html:173379-Igra-ljubavnog-trougla.

Bal, Mieke. "From Cultural Studies to Cultural Analysis: "A Controlled Reflection on the
Formation of Method." *Interrogating Cultural Studies Theory, Politics and Practice*, edited
by Paul Bowman, Pluto press, 2003, pp. 30-40.

---. *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Bakić-Hayden, Milica. "Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia." *Slavic Review*,
vol. 54, no. 4, 1995, pp. 917-31. *JSTOR*, doi: 10.2307/2501399.

- Barton, Bernadette. "Male Fantasies about Lesbian Desire: A Review of Spike Lee's film *She Hate Me*." *Sexuality & Culture*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2005, pp. 77-80. Springer, doi: 10.1007/s12119-005-1015-8.
- Bahtkin, Michael. *Rabelais and his World*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1965.
- Ben-Hur*. Directed by William Wyler, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1959.
- "Belgrade Pride 2012 ispred Medija centra." *YouTube*, uploaded by TeVe Novine, 6 Oct. 2012, www.youtube.com/watch?v=gKfomfJECE4.
- Berg, Mariecke van den, et al. "Religion, homosexuality, and contested social orders in the Netherlands, the Western Balkans, and Sweden." *Religion in Times of Crisis*, edited by Gladys Ganiel, Brill, 2014, pp. 116-34.
- Berg, Stephanie van den. "Gay pride movie an unlikely Balkans box office hit." *AFP News*, 14 Feb. 2012, sg.news.yahoo.com/gay-pride-movie-unlikely-balkans-box-office-hit-184523590.html?guccounter=1.
- "Bez kravate Srdjan Dragojevic 23012012." *YouTube*, uploaded by RTV Yu Eco, 8 Nov. 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=bnFcxZvy9bQ.
- Bilić, Bojan, editor. *LGBT Activism and Europeanisation in the Post-Yugoslav Space: On the Rainbow Way to Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Bilić, Bojan and Sanja Kajinić, editors. *Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics: Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- The Birdcage*. Directed by Mike Nichols, United Artists Pictures, 1996.
- Boellstorff, Tom. *A Coincidence of Desire: Anthropology, Queer Studies*. Duke University Press, 2007.
- . *The Gay Archipelago: Sexuality and Nation in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press, 2005.
- "Bosnia and Herzegovina: Attack on LGBT activists." *Human Rights Watch*, 4 Feb. 2014, www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/04/bosnia-and-herzegovina-attack-lgbt-activists.

- Boys Don't Cry*. Directed by Kimberly Peirce, Hart-Sharp Entertainment, IFC Films, Killer Films, 1999.
- Bubalo, Robert. "Milijun eura za pet filmova iz BiH." *Večernji list*, 17 Dec. 2004, www.vecernji.hr/kultura/milijun-eura-za-pet-filmova-iz-bih-801787.
- Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. Routledge, 1997.
- . *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable*. Verso Books, 2009.
- . "Is Kinship Always Already Heterosexual." *Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2002, pp. 14-44. *Project MUSE*, muse.jhu.edu/article/9630.
- . "Sexual Politics, Torture, and Secular Time." *The British journal of sociology*, vol. 59, 2008, pp. 1-23. *Wiley Online Library*, doi: 10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00176.x.
- Canning, Paul. "New Film Makes Light of Serbia's Gay Parade." *Care2*, 8 Nov. 2011, www.care2.com/causes/new-film-makes-light-of-serbias-gay-parade.html.
- Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. University of California Press, 1984.
- Cicović, Ivana. "Srđan Dragojević: Od političara sam dobio k... da izbijem oči." *Kurir*, 30 Oct. 2011, www.kurir-info.rs/srdan-dragojevic-od-politicara-sam-dobio-k-da-izbijem-oci-clanak-119506.
- Cixous, Hélène. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1976, pp. 875-93. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3173239.
- Colović, Ivan. *Border ratnika. Folklor, politika i rat*. Biblioteka XX Vek, 2000.
- Cooper, Alex. "Living with Prajd: LGBTQ Activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *CritCom*, 8 May 2014, councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/living-with-prajd-lgbtq-activism-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina/.
- Crnović, Deja. "Poskus požiga lokala in napad na gejevskega aktivista." *Mladina*, 2 Jul. 2009, www.mladina.si/?__rewriter=1&id=47594&utm_source=tednik/200926/poskus%5Fpoziga%5Flokala%5Fin%5Fnapad%5Fna%5Fgejevskega%5Faktivista&utm_medium=web&utm_campaign=oldLink.

- Cvijić, V. Z. "Odgovornost policije za paljenje džamije u Beogradu nikada nije istražena." *Blic online*, 22 Jul. 2013, www.blic.rs/vesti/tema-dana/odgovornost-policije-za-paljenje-dzamije-u-beogradu-nikada-nije-istrazena/m35we6r.
- Davidović, Boris L. *Serbian Diaries*. Gay Men's Press, 1996.
- Dean, Carolyn J. *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and Other Fantasies in Interwar France. Studies on the History of Society and Culture*. University of California Press, 2000.
- Debord, Guy and Gil Wolman. "A User's Guide to Detournement." *Bureau of public secrets*, 1954/2006, www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/presitu/usersguide.html.
- Dioli, Irene. "From Globalization to Europeanization—And then? Transnational Influences in Lesbian Activism of the Western Balkans." *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3, 2011, pp. 311-23. *PubMed*, doi: 10.1080/10894160.2011.530149.
- Diši duboko (Take a Deep Breath)*. Directed by Dragan Marinković, Norga Investment Inc., DV Solution, 2004.
- Dressed to Kill*. Directed by Brian De Palma, Filmways Pictures, Cinema 77 Film, 1980.
- Duggan, Lisa. "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism." *Materializing Democracy: Toward a Revitalized Cultural Politics*, edited by Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson, Duke University Press, 2002, pp. 175-94.
- Dumančić, Marko. "Dalibor Matanić's Fine Dead Girls (Fine mrtve djevojke, 2002)." Vidan and Crnković, pp. 152-58.
- Dupe od mramora (The Marble Ass)*. Directed by Želimir Žilnik, Radio B92, 1995.
- Dyer, Richard. *Now You See it: Studies in Lesbian and Gay Film*, Routledge, 1990.
- Đokić, Jelena. "Intervju." *Večernje novosti*, 18 Nov. 2004, pp. 12.
- Egymásra nézve (Another way)*. Directed by Károly Makk and János Xantus, Dialog Filmstudio, 1982.

- Ejdus, Filip, and Mina Božović. "Europeanisation and Indirect Resistance: Serbian Police and Pride Parades." *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 2016, pp. 1-19. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/13642987.2016.1161212.
- Fine mrtve djevojke (Fine Dead Girls)*. Directed by Dalibor Mataić, Alka-Film Zagreb, 2002.
- Fischer, Henning. "Straight Macho Nationalism." *A Journal of Queer Studies*, vol. 2, 2007, *InterAlia*, www.interalia.org.pl/en/artykuly/2007_2/12_straight_macho_nationalism.htm.
- Fiske, John. *Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality vol 3: The Care of the Self*. Penguin, 1984.
- . *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Cornell University Press, 1977.
- Francoeur, Robert T. and Raymond J. Noonan, editors. *The Continuum Complete International Encyclopedia of Sexuality*. Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Freebie and the Bean*. Directed by Richard Rush, Warner Bros, 1974.
- G.J. "U Srbiji postoji sukob generacija." *Glas javnosti*, 8 Nov. 2004. arhiva.glas-javnosti.rs/arhiva/2004/11/08/srpski/K04110702.shtml.
- G.V. "Srbski veterani hočejo parado ponosa zlorabiti za parado sramote." *MMC RTV SLO*. 16 Sep. 2012, www.rtv slo.si/svet/srbski-veterani-hocejo-parado-ponosa-zlorabiti-za-parado-sramote/291578.
- Galloway, Steven. *The Cellist of Sarajevo*. Atlantic Books, 2008.
- Gantar, Pavel. "Discussion on Civil Society in Slovenia." *Civil Society, Political Society, Democracy*, edited by Adolf Bibič and Gigi Graziano, Slovensko politološko društvo, 1994, pp. 355-68.
- Ganzevoort, R. Ruard and Srdjan Sremac. *Lived Religion and the Politics of (In)Tolerance*. Palgrave Maximillian, 2017.

- Garber, Marjorie, editor. *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life*. Simon & Schuster, 1995.
- “Gavela: Ne postoji alternativni plakat za ‘Fine mrtve djevojke.’” *Poslovni dnevnik*, 18 Jan. 2013, www.poslovni.hr/hrvatska/gavella-ne-postoji-alternativni-plakat-za-fine-mrtve-djevojke-227705.
- Gec, Jovana. “Gay-themed Movie Overcomes Balkan Divide.” *Associated Press*, 22 Mar. 2012, news.yahoo.com/gay-themed-movie-overcomes-balkan-divide-074739240.html.
- “Gej Paradu U Beogradu 2001 Napadnuta od gomile ZOMBIJA!” *YouTube*, uploaded by Gashal Adny, 27 Jan. 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=OVIQqw68d_s.
- The Godfather*. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola, Paramount Pictures, Alfran Productions, 1972.
- Go West*. Directed by Ahmed Imamović, Compnex Sarajevo, Alka Film Zagreb, Federalna televizija BiH, 2005.
- Gramsci, Antonio. “Some aspects on the Southern Question, Unfinished, October 1926.” *CDN*, cpb-us-e1.wpmucdn.com/blogs.uoregon.edu/dist/f/6855/files/2014/03/gramsci-southern-question1926-2jf8c5x.pdf.
- Green, Barry. *The Mastery of Music: Ten Pathways to True Artistry*. Broadway Books, 2005.
- Greif, Tatjana. “Nemoćni alfa mužnjaci.” *Sarajevske sveske*, vol. 39-40, 2012, pp. 221-30, sveske.ba/en/content/nemocni-alfa-muzjaci.
- Grujić, Marija. “Beli rendžer na ćelu Dragojevićeve Parade.” *Sarajevske sveske*, vol. 39-40, 2012, pp. 176-93, sveske.ba/en/content/beli-rendzer-na-celu-dragojeviceve-parade.
- Guha, Ranajit, editor. *Subaltern Studies (I-VI)*, Oxford University Press, 1982-1989.
- Hall, Stuart. “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular.” *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*, edited by John Storey, Pearson/Prentice Hall, 1998, pp. 442-53.
- Haviland, David. *The Not-So-Nude Ride of Lady Godiva: & Other Morsels of Misinformation from the History Books*. Penguin Books, 2012.

- Hawton, Nick. "Gay war film stirs Bosnian anger." *BBC News*, 21 Mar. 2005, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4368077.stm.
- Hedl, Drago. "Croatia: Skinhead Violence Mars First Gay March." *iwpr.net*, 12 Jul. 2002, iwpr.net/global-voices/croatia-skinhead-violence-mars-first-gay-march.
- Heineman, Elizabeth. D. "Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?" *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 11, no. 1-2, 2002, pp. 22-66. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3704551.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "The Generation of Postmemory." *Poetics Today*, vol. 29, no.1, 2008, pp.103-28. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/hirs15652.
- Hoad, Phil. "The Parade is the Pride of Serbia." *The Guardian blog*, 24 Jan. 2012, www.theguardian.com/film/filmblog/2012/jan/24/the-parade-pride-of-serbia.
- Hollinger, Karen. "Theorizing Mainstream Female Spectatorship: The Case of the Popular Lesbian Film." *Cinema Journal*, vol. 37, no. 2, 1998, pp. 3-17. *JSTOR*, doi: 10.2307/1225639.
- Holt, Douglas B. *Cultural Strategy Using Innovative Ideologies to Build Breakthrough Brands*. Oxford University Press, 2010.
- "Hrabrost zabranjene ljubavi." *Dani*, 5 Jun. 2002, www.bhdani.ba/portal/arhiva-67-281/264/t26404.shtml.
- Igrutinović, Danica, et al. "Pride Parades and/or Prayer Processions: Contested Public Space in Serbia #Belgrade Pride 2014." *Journal of Empirical Theology*, vol. 28, 2015, pp. 1-22. *Brill Online*, doi: 10.1163/15709256-12341330.
- Iličić, Vanja. "Kako me ljubio Tarik Filipović." *Arena*, 14 Jul. 2005, pp. 20-21.
- I.M. "Film Parada domaći zadatak?" *Večernje novosti*, 26 Jan. 2012, www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.290.html:363746-Film-Parada-domaci-zadatak.
- . "Prikazivanje Parade direktorima platili bioskopi." *Novosti online*, 27 Jan. 2012, www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.290.html:363910-Prikazivanje-Parade-direktorima-platili-bioskopi.

---. "Prosvetare ne zanima Parada." *Novosti online*, 30 Jan. 2012,

www.novosti.rs/vesti/naslovna/aktuelno.290.html:364324-Prosvetare-ne-zanima-Parada.

Inglis, Tom. "Origins and Legacies of Irish Prudery: Sexuality and Social Control in Modern

Ireland." *Éire-Ireland*, vol. 40 no. 2, 2005, pp. 9-37. *Project MUSE*, doi:

10.1353/eir.2005.0022.

"INTERVJU: LibertaMo: Javnost prvo treba educirati jer većina ljudi ima strah od nepoznatog."

lgbt.ba, 23 Jan. 2015, [lgbt.ba/intervju-libertamo-javnost-prvo-treba-educirati-jer-vecina-](http://lgbt.ba/intervju-libertamo-javnost-prvo-treba-educirati-jer-vecina-ljudi-ima-strah-od-nepoznatog)

[ljudi-ima-strah-od-nepoznatog](http://lgbt.ba/intervju-libertamo-javnost-prvo-treba-educirati-jer-vecina-ljudi-ima-strah-od-nepoznatog).

"INTERVJU: TANKA: Ne moramo nužno imati dugine boje da dokažemo ljudima za čija se prava

zalažemo." *lgbt.ba*, 21 Jan. 2015, [lgbt.ba/intervju-tankane-moramo-nuzno-imati-dugine-](http://lgbt.ba/intervju-tankane-moramo-nuzno-imati-dugine-boje-da-dokazemo-ljudima-za-cija-se-prava-zalazemo)

[boje-da-dokazemo-ljudima-za-cija-se-prava-zalazemo](http://lgbt.ba/intervju-tankane-moramo-nuzno-imati-dugine-boje-da-dokazemo-ljudima-za-cija-se-prava-zalazemo).

Iordanova, Dina. "Balkan Film Representations Since 1989: The Quest for Admissibility."

Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television, vol. 18, no. 2, 1998, pp. 263-80.

Tanfonline, doi: 10.1080/01439689800260171.

---. *Cinema of Flames: Balkan Film, Culture and the Media*. British Film Institute, 2001.

Ivanov, Gabrijela. "Svetlana Đurković: Queer aktivizam, trovanje sistemom i BiH kao patološki

depresivan pacijent." *voxfeminae*, 2015. [www.voxfeminae.net/cunterview/politika-](http://www.voxfeminae.net/cunterview/politika-drustvo/item/7533-svetlana-durkovic-queer-aktivizam-trovanje-sistemom-i-bih-kao-patoloski-depresivan-pacijent)

[drustvo/item/7533-svetlana-durkovic-queer-aktivizam-trovanje-sistemom-i-bih-kao-](http://www.voxfeminae.net/cunterview/politika-drustvo/item/7533-svetlana-durkovic-queer-aktivizam-trovanje-sistemom-i-bih-kao-patoloski-depresivan-pacijent)

[patoloski-depresivan-pacijent](http://www.voxfeminae.net/cunterview/politika-drustvo/item/7533-svetlana-durkovic-queer-aktivizam-trovanje-sistemom-i-bih-kao-patoloski-depresivan-pacijent).

Jakovčev, Tanja. "Lezbijska ljubav kao društvena kritika (Interview with Nina Violić and Olga

Pavkov)." *Jutranji list*, 29 Mar. 2002, pp. 13.

---. "Moj novi film o lezbejskoj ljubavi za HTV je bio previše šokantan (Interview with Dalibor

Matanić)." *Jutranji list*, 16 Jan. 2002, pp. 33.

Janković Piljić, Ana. "Who's Afraid of Alice in Wonderland?" *KinoKultura*, 2009.

www.kinokultura.com/specials/8/jankovic.shtml.

- Ječmenica, Taja. "Glumica Ana Franić - biografija." *Sinemanija*, 18 Oct. 2015.
sinemanija.com/glumica-ana-franic-biografija/.
- Jerković, Iva. "Kako sam poljubio muškarca." *Jutranji list*, 17 Jun. 2005, pp. 10-11.
- Jivraj, Suhraiya and Anisa de Jong. "The Dutch Homo-Emancipation Policy and its Silencing Effects on Queer Muslims." *Feminist Legal Studies*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2011, pp. 143-58.
Springer, doi: 10.1007/s10691-011-9182-5.
- Jones, Caroline A., editor. *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art*. MIT Press, 2006.
- Jovanović, Miloš. "Silence or Condemnation: The Orthodox Church on Homosexuality in Serbia." *Družboslovne razprave*, vol. XXIX, no. 73, 2013, pp. 79-95. *Academia*,
www.academia.edu/4628245/SILENCE_OR_CONDEMNATION_THE_ORTHODOX_CHURCH_ON_HOMOSEXUALITY_IN_SERBIALINK.
- Jovičević, Dragan. "Živimo u sredinama sa lažnim moralom." *GaySerbia*, 18 Dec. 2005, www.gay-serbia.com/intervju/2005/05-12-18-danas/index.jsp?aid=2102.
- Jurčić, Marko. "Povijest LGBTIQ aktivizma u Hrvatskoj." *Čitanka LGBT Ljudskih Prava*, edited by Saša Gavrić, et al., Sarajevski otvoreni centar, 2011, pp. 93-102.
- K.S. "Parada ponosa v Beogradu že drugič zapovrstjo odpovedana." *MMC RTV SLO*, 3 Oct. 2012,
www.rtv slo.si/svet/parada-ponosa-v-beogradu-ze-drugic-zapovrstjo-odpovedana/292793.
- Kahlina, Katja. "Local Histories, European LGBT Designs: Sexual Citizenship, Nationalism, and 'Europeanisation' in Post-Yugoslav Croatia and Serbia." *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 49, 2015, pp. 73-83. *ScienceDirect*, doi: 10.1016/j.wsif.2014.07.006.
- Kajinić, Sanja. "'Battle for Sarajevo' as 'Metropolis: Closure of the First Queer Sarajevo Festival according to Liberal Press." *Anthropology of East Europe Review*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2010, pp. 62-82. *Indiana University*, scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/aeer/article/view/654.

- . "Dismantling the Geotemporality of Europeanization: The First European Festival of Lesbian and Gay Film was Yugoslav." *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2016, pp. 13-31. *Brill Online*, doi: 10.1163/18763332-03903013.
- Kalaba, Ana. "Merlinka, najtragičnija zvezda domačeg filma." *gayecho*, 3 Dec. 2016, gayecho.com/news/merlinka-najtragicnija-zvezda-domaceg-filma/.
- Kelliher, Diarmaid. "Solidarity and Sexuality: Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners 1984-5." *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 77, 2014, pp. 240-62. *Project MUSE*, muse.jhu.edu/article/542901.
- Kirschbaum, Erik. "Serb Comedy has Balkans United in Laughter." *Reuters*, 13 Feb. 2012, www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/13/us-berlinale-balkans-gay-idUSTRE81C1AP20120213.
- Korac, Maja. "Ethnic-nationalism, Wars and the Patterns of Social, Political and Sexual Violence Against Women: The Case of Post-Yugoslav Countries." *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1998, pp. 153-81. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/1070289X.1998.9962614.
- "Košara koromača za predsednika SLS." *SIQRD*, 27 Jan. 2004, www.ljudmila.org/siqrd/2004/01/kosara-koromaca-za-predsednika-sls/.
- Koteska, Jasna. "Tri funkcije balkanske muškosti." *Sarajevske sveske*, vol. 39-40, 2012, pp. 113-30, www.sveske.ba/bs/content/tri-funkcije-balkanske-muskosti.
- Kožul, Dijana. "Bandić: Ne možete ući u moju kožu, a još manje u kožu vjernika." *Večernji list*, 18 Jan. 2013, www.vecernji.hr/zagreb/bandic-ne-mozete-uci-u-moju-kozu-a-jos-manje-u-kozu-vjernika-499319.
- Kuhar, Roman. "The Family Secret: Parents of Homosexual Sons and Daughters." Kuhar and Takács, pp. 35-48.
- . "The Heteronormative Panopticon and the Transparent Closet of the Public Space in Slovenia." *Kulpa and Mizielińska*, pp. 149-65.

- . "Homofobija: Kultura strahu pred homoseksualnostjo." *Teorija in praksa*, vol. 43, no. 3-4, 2006, pp. 540-56. *DLIB*, www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-HHE4OLGE.
- . "Introduction to the Issue: In the Name of Hate: Homophobia as a Value." *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-16. *Brill Online*, doi: 10.1163/18763332-03701001
- . "Playing with science: Sexual citizenship and the Roman Catholic Church counter-narratives in Slovenia and Croatia." *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 49, 2015, pp. 84-92. *ScienceDirect*, doi: 10.1016/j.wsif.2014.07.005.
- Kuhar, Roman and Alenka Švab. "The Interplay between Hatred and Political Correctness: The Privatisation of Homosexuality in Slovenia." *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2013, pp. 17-35. *Brill Online*, doi: 10.1163/18763332-03701002
- . "The Transparent and Family Closets: Gay Men and Lesbians and Their Families of Origin." *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1-2, 2014, pp. 15-35. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/1550428X.2014.857553.
- Kuhar, Roman and David Paternotte, editors. *Anti-gender Campaigns in Europe: Mobilizing Against Equality*. Rowman & Littlefield International, 2017.
- Kuhar, Roman and Judith Takács, editors. *Beyond the Pink Curtain: Everyday Life of LGBT People in Eastern Europe*. Peace Institute, 2007.
- Kulpa, Robert and Joanna Mizielińska, editors. *De-Centring Western Sexualities: Central and Eastern European Perspectives*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011.
- Kulpa, Robert. "Western Leveraged Pedagogy of Central and Eastern Europe: Discourses of Homophobia, Tolerance, and Nationhood." *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2014, pp. 431-48. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.793656.
- Kupres, Radovan. "Drugačiji, pa šta!" *B92*, 11 Nov. 2004. www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=268&yyyy=2004&mm=11&dd=11&nav_id=237617.

The L Word. Created by Ilene Chaiken, Dufferin Gate Productions, Coast Mountain Films, Posse, Showtime Networks, MGM Television, 2004-09.

“LGBT: Najveći problem su predrasude da je homoseksualnost bolest.” *Blic online*, 26 Aug. 2016, www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/lgbt-najveci-problem-su-predrasude-da-je-homoseksualnost-bolest/j3y1elq.

Langer, Susanne K. *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art Developed from “Philosophy in a New Key.”* Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953.

Lepa sela, lepo gore (Pretty Village, Pretty Flame). Directed by Srdjan Dragojević, Cobra Films, 1996.

Lippard, Lucy R. “Trojan Horses: Activist Art and Power.” *Art after Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, edited by Brian Wallis and Marcia Tucker, New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984, pp. 341-58.

Marišal (Marshal Tito). Directed by Vinko Brešan, Hrvatska Radiotelevizija (HRT), Interfilm, 1999.

Matijević, Božena. “Kocsis na poprsju ispisala – protiv, Nataša Janjić se rasplakala.” *Večernji list*, 29 Nov. 2013, www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/nela-kocsis-na-poprsju-napisala-protiv-natasa-janjic-se-rasplakala-906003.

Mädchen in Uniform (Girls in Uniform). Directed by Leontine Sagan, Deutsche Film-Gemeinschaft, 1931.

Merck, Mandy. “Desert Hearts.” *Queer Looks: Perspectives on Lesbian and Gay Film and Video*, edited by Martha Gever, et al., Routledge, 1993, pp. 377-82.

Mikuš, Marek. “‘State Pride:’ Politics of LGBT Rights and Democratisation in ‘European Serbia.’” *East European Politics and Societies*, vol. 25, 2011, pp. 834-51. *ResearchGate*, doi: 10.1177/0888325411426886.

- Milanović, K. "Srđan Dragojević: Parada bez ustezanja!" *NaDlanu*, 31 Oct. 2011, www.nadlanu.com/pocetna/vodic/filmovi/Srdjan-Dragojevic-quotParadaquot-bez-ustezanja.a-121118.27.html.
- Milek, Vesna. "Največja Parada ponosa v srcu homofobnega Balkana." *Sobotna priloga Dela*, 2 Jan. 2012, www.delo.si/zgodbe/sobotnapriloga/najvecja-parada-ponosa-v-srcu-homofobnega-balkana.html.
- Mitchell, W. J. Thomas. *What do Pictures Want?* The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Moss, Kevin. "From Sworn Virgins to Tranvestite Prostitutes: Performing Gender and Sexuality in Two Films from Yugoslavia." *Sexuality and Gender in Postcommunist Eastern Europe and Russia*, edited by Aleksandar Štulhofer and Sandfort Theo, The Haworth Press, 2005, pp. 79-95.
- . "Queering Ethnicity in the First Gay Films from Ex-Yugoslavia." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 12, nr. 3, 2011, pp. 352-70. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/14680777.2011.615618.
- . "Representing Others: Queer as a Metaphor." Kuhar and Takács, pp. 249-67.
- . "Split Europe: Homonationalism and Homophobia in Croatia." *LGBT Activism and the Making of Europe. Gender and Politics series*, edited by Phillip Ayoub and David Paternotte, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 212-32.
- . "Three Gay Films from Former Yugoslavia." *Individual Advanced Research Opportunities Program*, 2007-08, pp. 1-5.
- Mosse, George L. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. Howard Fertig, 1985.
- Mostov, Julie. "Sexing the Nation/Desexing the Body: Politics of National Identity in the Former Yugoslavia." *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, edited by Tamar Mayer, Routledge, 2000, pp. 89-112.
- Mrs. Doubtfire*. Directed by Chris Columbus, Blue Wolf Productions, 1993.
- Muholi, Zanele. *Faces and Phases 2006-2014*. Steidl Books, 2014.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Screen*, vol. 16, no. 3, 1975, pp. 6-18.

Oxford Academic, doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6.

Murtić, Dino. *Post-Yugoslav Cinema. Towards a Cosmopolitan Imagining*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2005.

My Son the Fanatic. Directed by Udayan Prasad, The Arts Council of England, BBC Films, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Canal+, Image International, UGC DA International, Zephyr Films, 1997.

Najmabadi, Afsaneh. *Professing Selves: Transsexuality and Same-Sex Desire in Contemporary Iran*. Duke University Press, 2013.

Nevašćanin, N. "Suzavcem na gay povorku." *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 30 Jun. 2002, arhiv.slobodnadalmacija.hr/20020630/novosti02.asp.

"Ni tri godine nakon napada na Festival Merlinka 2014, nisu procesuirane odgovorne osobe." *Sarajevski otvoreni centar*, 1 Feb. 2017, soc.ba/ni-tri-godine-nakon-napada-na-festival-merlinka-2014-nisu-procesuirane-odgovorne-osobe/.

Njegić, Marko. "Parada smijeha i suza." *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 15 Dec. 2011, www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Kultura/tabid/81/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/158289/Default.aspx.

Njegić, Marko and Vladimir Dugandžić. "Parada Srđan Dragojević: Socijalistička revolucija je iza ugla." *Slobodna Dalmacija*, 19 Dec. 2011, www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Kultura/tabid/81/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/158737/Default.aspx.

November Moon. Directed by Alexandra von Grote, UK Jewish Film, 1984.

"Otkazivanje parade ponosa Beograd 2004." *Gayecho*, 10 Feb. 2006, gayecho.com/drustvo.aspx?id=3287&grid=2001&page=227#.WZ7NsQ2B3kI.

Parada (The Parade). Directed by Srđjan Dragojević, Delirium, Eurimages, F&ME, Forum Ljubljana, Mainframe Productions, Sektor Film Skopje, 2011.

- “Parada obara rekorde i u Hrvatskoj.” *Seebiz*, 16 Dec. 2011,
www.b92.net/kultura/vesti.php?nav_category=268&yyyy=2011&mm=12&dd=16&nav_id=566262.
- “Parada Ponosa 2010 - Kazne za nasilnike do 8 godina zatvora.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Nukelizard, 10 Oct. 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=czVPaUUghfs.
- “Parada Ponosa Beograd 2013.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Mondo Portal, 27 Sep. 2013,
www.youtube.com/watch?v=hroNRyg27P0.
- “Parada Ponosa u Beogradu (Belgrade Pride March), 10.10.2010.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Nukelizard, 10 Oct. 2010, www.youtube.com/watch?v=lv2pPMB_rCI.
- Paris Is Burning*. Directed by Jennie Livingston, Academy Entertainment, Off White Productions, 1990.
- Parker, Andrew, et al., editors. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. Routledge, 1992.
- Pavičić, Darko and Tea Romić. “Provokacija ili art: Zagrljene Djevice Marije – najava lezbijske ljubavi ili...” *Večernji list*, 16 Jan. 2013, www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/zagrljene-djevice-marije-najava-lezbijske-ljubavi-ili-498125.
- Pavičić, Jurica. ““Go West’: Neuspjeli obračun s Balkanom.” *Jutarnji list*, 2 Mar. 2003,
www.jutarnji.hr/arhiva/go-west-neuspjeli-obracun-s-balkanom/3389189/.
- Perica, Vjekoslav. *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States*. Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Pešić, Jelena. “Persistence of Traditionalist Value Orientalism in Serbia.” *Sociologija*, vol. XLVIII, no. 4, 2006, pp. 289-307. *DoiSerbia*, www.doiserbia.nb.rs/img/doi/0038-0318/2006/0038-03180604289P.pdf.
- Petrinović, Kruno. “Tajna moje ženske strane.” *Gloria*, 4 Nov. 2005, pp. 21-24.
- Phillips, John. *Transgender on Screen*. Palsgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Pilsel, Drago. "Film 'Parada' promovira grijeh i vrijeđa žrtve Dubrovnika." *tportal*, 15 Mar. 2012, www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/182501/Film-Parada-promovira-grijeh-i-vrijeda-zrtve-Dubrovnika.html.

Platoon. Directed by Oliver Stone, Hemdale Film Corporation, 1986.

Polimac, Nenad. "Festival bez koncepta: Fine mrtve djevojke - najbolji hrvatski film od Maršala." *Nacional*, 30 Jul. 2002, arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/13172/fine-mrtve-djevojke-najbolji-hrvatski-film-od-marsala.

Pratt, Mark. "Gay Vets can March in Boston St. Patrick's parade." *Associated Press*, 16 Dec. 2014. newsok.com/gay-vets-can-march-in-boston-st.-patrick-s-parade/article/feed/773878.

"Pretučena jer je "izgledala" kao lezbejka." *GaySerbia*, 6 Apr. 2005, www.gay-serbia.com/scena/2005/05-04-07-slucajevi/index.jsp?aid=1791.

Pride. Directed by Matthew Warchus, Calamity Films, 2014.

"Protiv zakona o životnom partnerstvu. Markić 'Povucite zakon koji gay parovima dopušta posvajanje djece' Vlada 'Nema šanse.'" *Jutranji list*, 3 Dec. 2013, www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/markic-povucite-zakon-koji-gay-parovima-dopusta-posvajanje-djece-vlada-nema-sanse/924899/.

Pryke, Sam. "Nationalism and Sexuality, what are the Issues?" *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 4, nr. 4, 1998, pp. 529-46. *Wiley Online Library*, doi: 10.1111/j.1354-5078.1998.00529.x.

Psycho. Directed by Alfred Hitchcock, Shamley Productions, 1960.

Puar, Jasbir K. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Duke University Press, 2007.

"Queer Sarajevo Festival (QSF) 2008 - documentary film (ENG Trailer)." *YouTube*, uploaded by Udruženje Q, 28 Apr. 2014, www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ojYhY1vcVE.

Radosavljević, Zoran. "Balkans gay box-office hit banned in Dubrovnik." *Reuters*, 21 Mar. 2012, uk.reuters.com/article/2012/03/21/us-croatia-movie-idUKBRE82K00L20120321.

- Rajković, Aleksandra. "Ana Franić: Film donosi lepe snove." *Glas Srpske*, 11 Jun. 2009, www.glassrpske.com/kultura/vijesti/Ana-Franic-Film-donosi-lepe-snove/23372.html.
- Rancière, Jacques. *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible*. Continuum, 2004.
- Rane (Wounds)*. Directed by Srdjan Dragojević, Cobra Films, 1998.
- "Razbijanje gej parade u Beogradu - Belgrade - 2001 - BKT.V." *YouTube*, uploaded by Tube RS, 24 Jul. 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=8vvpuIO0UcU.
- "Redatelj filma "Go West" kritičarki: Napuši se moje karakteristične kurčine!" *Index*, 28 Mar. 2006, www.index.hr/XMag/clanak/redatelj-filma-quotgo-westquot-kriticarki-napusi-se-moje-karakteristicne-kurcine/312285.aspx.
- Rener, Tanja. "O njih, ki smo mi." Švab and Kuhar, pp. 7-15.
- Rich, Adrienne. "Compulsory heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence." *Signs*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1980, pp. 631-60. *JSTOR*. www.jstor.org/stable/3173834.
- Robcis, Camille. "Catholics, the 'Theory of Gender,' and the Turn to the Human in France: A New Dreyfus Affair?" *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 87, no. 4, 2015b, pp. 892-923. *The University of Chicago Press Journals*, doi: 892. 10.1086/683599.
- . "Liberté, Égalité, Hétérosexualité: Race and Reproduction in the French Gay Marriage Debates." *Constellations*, vol. 22, nr. 3, 2015a, pp. 447-61. *Wiley Online Library*, doi: 10.1111/1467-8675.12168.
- Rosello, Mireille and Sudeep Dasgputa, editors. *What's Queer about Europe?: Productive Encounters and Re-enchanting Paradigms*. Fordham University Press, 2014.
- Sagasta, Sanja. "State of the Art: Lesbian Movements in Former Yugoslavia." *The European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 8, no. 3, 2001, pp. 357-72. *ResearchGate*, www.researchgate.net/publication/299065324_State_of_the_art_Lesbian_movements_in_former_Yugoslavia_I_Lesbians_in_Croatia.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. Pantheon, 1978.
- . *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Harvard University Press, 1983.

- Saša (Sasha)*. Directed by Dennis Todorović, Eastart Pictures, Filmstiftung NRW, Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien, Kuratorium junger deutscher Film, 2010.
- Savić, Marija. "Istorija LGBT aktivizma u Srbiji." *Čitanka lezbejskih i gej ljudskih prava*, edited by Saša Gavrić, et al., Sarajevski otvoreni centar, 2011, pp. 102-10.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Epistemology of the Closet*. University of California Press, 1990.
- Seidman, Steven. "Critique of Compulsory Heterosexuality." *Journal of NSRC*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2009, pp. 18-28. *Springer*, doi: 10.1525/srsp.2009.6.1.18.
- Sekulić, Tatjana. "LGBT osobe u BiH su nevidljive, žive u anonimnosti i strahu." *klix.ba*, 19 May 2013, www.klix.ba/vijesti/eu-integracije/lgbt-osobe-u-bih-su-nevidljive-zive-u-anonimnosti-i-strahu/130516144.
- Selmić, Adelita. "On the Other Side of an Ethnocratic State? Lgbt Activism in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina." Bilić, pp. 205-30.
- Serving in Silence: The Margarethe Cammermeyer Story*. Directed by Jeff Bleckner, Barwood Films, Storyline Productions, TriStar Television, 1995.
- Shapiro, J. Michael. "Go west, Go East: War's Exilic Subjects." *Security Dialogue*, vol. 44, nr. 4, 2013, pp. 315-29. *Sage Journals*, doi: 10.1177/0967010613492839.
- Sikora, Tomasz. "Queering the Heterosexist Fantasy of the Nation." *The nation of the other: Constructions of Nation in Contemporary Cultural and Literary Discourses*, edited by Anna Branach-Kallas and Wieckowska Katarzyna, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004, pp. 65-78.
- The Silence of the Lambs*. Directed by Jonathan Demme, Strong Heart/Demme Production, 1991.
- Simić, Mima. "Čuvarica granice: Celuloidna lezbijka kao dvostruka metafora u re/konstrukciji postjugoslavenskih nacionalnih identiteta." *Na marginama: Manjine i mediji u jugoistočnoj Evropi*, edited by Edin Hodžić and Tarik Jusić, Mediacycenter, 2010, pp. 205-24.

- . "Fine mrtve djevojke: Zašto su prve hrvatske celuloidne lezbijke morale umrijeti?" *Cunterview*, 2 Nov. 2006c, www.cunterview.net/index.php/Filmska.net/Fine-mrtve-djevojke-Zasto-su-prve-hrvatske-celuloidne-lezbijke-morale-umrijeti.html.
- . "Forenzičarka feministica u akciji." *Hrvatski filmski ljetopis*, no. 45, 2006a, pp. 64-69. *Hrvatski filmski savez*, www.hfs.hr/hfs/ljetopis_clanak_detail.asp?sif=1142.
- . "Gender in Contemporary Croatian Film." Vidan and Crnković, pp. 89-100.
- . "Musliman od medijskih vrijednosti." *H-alter*. 24 Mar. 2006b, www.halter.org/vijesti/musliman-od-medijske-vrijednosti.
- Sito-Sučić, Daria. "Gay Bosnian Film a Hit at Sarajevo Festival." *Advocate*, 23 Aug. 2005, www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/entertainment-news/2005/08/23/gay-bosnian-film-hit-sarajevo-festival.
- Slootmaeckers, Koen. "From EU-induced Institutional Change to Normative Change: When Organizations Matter." *CritCom*, 8 May 2014, councilforeuropeanstudies.org/critcom/from-eu-induced-institutional-change-to-normative-change-when-organizations-matter/.
- Soares, Andre. "'Go West': Gay Film Sparks Religious-Nationalistic Outrage." *Alt Film Guide*, 30 Mar. 2005, www.altfg.com/film/bosnian-gay-movie-go-west-sparks-outrage/.
- Some Like it Hot*. Directed by Billy Wilder, Mirisch Company, 1959.
- Spahić, Merima. "Ideološki talibani protiv gay filma." *Nacional*, 5 Apr. 2005, arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/14146/ideoloski-talibani-protiv-gay-filma.
- Spivak, Gayatri. "Can Subaltern Speak?" *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, Macmillan Education, 1988, pp. 271-313.
- . *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. Methuen, 1987.
- "Srdan Dragojević: 'Parada' bez ustezanja!" *nadlanu*, 31 Oct. 2011, nadlanu.com/80184/srdjan-dragojevic-parada-bez-ustezanja/.
- Sremac, Srdjan and R. Ruard Ganzevoort, editors. *Religious and Sexual Nationalisms in Central and Eastern Europe: Gods, Gays and Governments*. Vrije Universiteit, 2015.

- Sremac, Srdjan, et al. "For the Sake of the Nations: Media, Homosexuality and Religio-sexual Nationalisms in the Post-Yugoslav Space." Sremac and Ganzevoort, pp. 52-73.
- "Srpski pride HTV." *YouTube*, uploaded by Orionzg1, 30 Jan. 2011, www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIZC9Zy_kfM.
- "SRS osuđuje 'nametanje LGBT vrednosti.'" *Mondo*, 26 Jun. 2012, mondo.rs/a250569/Info/Drustvo/SRS-osudjuje-nametanje-LGBT-vrednosti.html.
- Swimelar, Safia. "The Journey of LGBT Rights: Norm Diffusion and its Challenges in EU Seeking States: Bosnia and Serbia." *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2017, pp. 910-42. *Project MUSE*, doi:10.1353/hrq.2017.0054.
- "Šalovi duginih boja na poznatim spomenicima." *Dalje.com*, 11 Sep. 2008, arhiva.dalje.com/hr-zagreb/foto--salovi-duginih-boja-na-poznatim-spomenicima/191282.
- Švab, Alenka and Roman Kuhar, editors. *Neznosno udobje zasebnosti: Vsakdanje življenje gejev in lezbijk*. Mirovni inštitut, 2005.
- T.V. "Nekdanje smrtne sovražnike združila beda življenja vojnih veteranov v BiH-u." *MMC RTV SLO*, 31 Jan. 2012, www.rtv slo.si/svet/nekdanje-smrtne-sovraznike-zdruzila-beda-zivljenja-vojnih-veteranov-v-bih-u/275875.
- Taylor, Verta, et al. "Performing Protest: Drag Shows as Tactical Repertoire of the Gay and Lesbian Movement." *Authority in Contention (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, Volume 25)*, edited by Daniel J. Myers and Daniel M. Cress, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2004, pp. 105-37.
- Terdiman, Richard. *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cornell University Press, 1985.
- "Tradicija visokog rizika." *diskriminacija.ba*, 10 Jul. 2013, www.diskriminacija.ba/tradicija-visokog-rizika.
- Todorova, Maria. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford University Press, 2009.

- Todosijević, Jelica. "Serbia." *Unspoken Rules: Sexual Orientation and Women's Human Rights*, edited by Rachel Rosenbloom, International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, 1996, pp. 171-80, www.outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/58-1.pdf.
- Tolz, Vera and Stephenie Booth. *Nation and Gender in Contemporary Europe*. Manchester University Press, 2005.
- Trajkov, Igor Pop. "Croatia: I love actors. Dalibor Matanić interviewed." *Kinoeye*, vol. 3 nr. 6, 2003, www.kinoeye.org/03/06/trajkov06.php.
- Trakilović, Milica. "Passing through: Negotiating Identity, Sexuality and Movement in Ahmed Imamovic's Go West." *Transnational Cinemas*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2016, pp. 183-95. *Tandfonline*, doi: 10.1080/20403526.2016.1217628.
- Twin Peaks*. Directed by David Lynch, Lynch/Frost Productions, Propaganda Films, Spelling Entertainment, Twin Peaks Productions, 1990-91.
- "Ujedinjeni u siromaštvu: Bošnjački i hrvatski vojni veterani u BiH pomažu srpskima." *Index*, 31 Jan. 2012, www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/ujedinjeni-u-siromastvu-bosnjaacki-i-hrvatski-vojni-veterani-u-bih-pomazu-srpskima/596708.aspx.
- Varuh meje (The Guardian of the Frontier)*. Directed by Maja Weiss, Belafilm, Taris Film, 2002.
- "Većina Srba veruje da je homoseksualnost bolest." *Blic online*, 11 Apr. 2008, www.blic.rs/vesti/drustvo/vecina-srba-veruje-da-je-homoseksualnost-bolest/bybjcv9.
- Veličković, Vukša. "Homofobni nacionalizam i kriza maskulnosti u Srbiji." *Sarajevske sveske*, no. 39-40, 2012, pp. 255-63, www.sveske.ba/bs/content/homofobni-nacionalizam-i-kriza-maskulnosti-u-srbiji.
- Velikonja, Mitja. *Titostalgia - A Study of Nostalgia for Josip Broz*. Peace Institute, 2008.
- Velikonja, Nataša, editor. *20 let gejevskega in lezbičnega gibanja: 1984-2004*. Društvo ŠKUC, 2004.
- . "Gejevska in lezbična scena na Metelkovi." *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, vol. 41, no. 253, 2013, pp. 60-69. *DLIB*, www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-WQZPDYVC.

- . "Narod, nacionalna država in homoseksualnost." *Časopis za kritiko znanosti*, vol. 27, no. 195-96, 1999, pp. 137-51. *DLIB*, www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:DOC-TBDBLLQN.
- Victor/Victoria*. Directed by Blake Edwards, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Pinewood Studios, 1982.
- Vidan, Aida and Gordana P. Crnković, editors. *Contrast: Croatian Film Today*. Berghahn Books, Croatian Film Association, 2012.
- Virgina (Sworn Virgin)*. Directed by Srđan Karanović. Centar Film, Constellation Productions, Hachette Première, Maestro Film, UGC Image, 1991.
- Vravnik, Vesna. "Lezbična seksualnost prikazana s fotografijami, gejevska zakrita v karikaturah." *Medijska preža*, vol. 34-35, 2009, pp. 31. *Mediawatch*, mediawatch.mirovni-institut.si/bilten/seznam/35/reprezentacije/.
- Vravnik, Vesna and Srdjan Sremac. "Strange Bedfellows: (non/mis) Alliances between Nationalists and Queers." *Facta Universitatis, Series: Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2016, pp. 71-82. *Facta Universitatis*, casopisi.junis.ni.ac.rs/index.php/FUPhilSocPsyHist/article/view/1984/0.
- Vučković, Dragana. "Lezbejska in gej populacija štampanima medijima." *ČITANKA: Od A do Š o lezbejskim i gej ljudskim pravima*, edited by Ljiljana Živković, Labris, 2006, pp. 214-22. *Scribd*, www.scribd.com/document/75104549/Citanka-LGBT-Labris-Beograd.
- Vuletić, Dean. "Out of the Homeland: The Croatian Right and Gay Rights." *Southeastern Europe*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2013, pp. 36-59. *Brill Online*, doi: 10.1163/18763332-03701003.
- Vuksanović, Ilija. "HOMOSEKSUALNOST – bolest ili opredeljenje?" *Intermagazin*, 8 Mar. 2016, www.intermagazin.rs/homoseksualnost-bolest-ili-opredeljenje/.
- Walk on Water*. Directed by Eytan Fox, Israeli Film Fund, Lama Films, Fond Européen Média, 2004.
- Warner, Michael, editor. *Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory*. University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

- . *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethic of Queer Life*. Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Wolfe, Susan J. and Lee Ann Roripaugh. "The (In)visible Lesbian Anxieties of Representation in the L word." *The L Word: Outing Contemporary Television*, edited by Kim Akass and Janet McCabe, I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2006, pp. 43-54.
- Yossi & Jagger*. Directed by Eytan Fox, Lama Films, ICP, FFF, Makor Foundation for Israeli Films, 2002.
- Young, Antonia. *East Europe, Russia and the Caucasus*. Berg Publishers, 2010.
- . *Women Who Become Men: Albanian Sworn Virgins*. Berg Publishers, 2001.
- Žarkov, Dubravka. "The Body of the Other Man: Sexual Violence and the Construction of Masculinity, Sexuality and Ethnicity in Croatian Media." *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender, Armed Conflict, and Political Violence*, edited by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark, Zed Books, 2001, pp. 69-82.
- . *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Duke University Press, 2007.