

GLASOM DO FEMINISTIČKIH PROMJENA



VOICING FEMINIST CONCERNS

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Urednice/ Edited by:
Renata Jambrešić Kirin
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Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku
Centar za ženske studije
Zagreb, lipanj 2009

Seminar *Glasom do feminističkih promjena* dio je planirane trogodišnje suradnje četiri institucije, svake godine s drugom temom, pod zajedničkim naslovom *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi*. Poslijediplomski seminar, organiziran pri Inter-univerzitetskom centru u Dubrovniku, namijenjen je mlađim znanstvenicima/ama i studentima/cama poslijediplomskih studija s interesima iz područja ženskih studija, antropologije, transnacionalnih i postkolonijalnih studija.

The course *Voicing Feminist Concerns* is part of a planned three-year co-operation between four institutions, each year focusing on a different issue, under the umbrella topic of *Feminisms in a Transnational Perspective*. The IUC courses are conducted at a postgraduate level. The course targets young scholars and postgraduate students with special interests in women's studies, transnational studies, postcolonialism and anthropology.

Poslijediplomski seminar FEMINIZMI U TRANSNACIONALNOJ PERSPEKTIVI
2007.-2009.

Interuniverzitetski centar Dubrovnik

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Post-graduate course FEMINISMS IN A TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE 2007-2009

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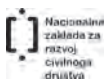
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**GLASOM DO FEMINISTIČKIH
PROMJENA**

RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN

UVOD: GLASOM DO FEMINISTIČKE POLITIKE I POETIKE

Zbornik *Glasom do feminističkih promjena* drugi je svezak nove biblioteke Centra za ženske studije *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi* koja objavljuje odabrane tekstove, rezultate istraživanja, znanstvene i umjetničke priloge koje predavači/ce i studenti/ce predstavljaju na međunarodnom poslijediplomskom seminaru pri IUC-u u Dubrovniku. Cilj je seminara upoznati sudionice s recentnim feminističkim teorijama i feminističkom pedagogijom koja promiče kritičko, procesualno i sudioničko znanje u svrhu akademskog i aktivističkog osnaživanja žena za emancipacijsko djelovanje u društvu. Zbornik donosi jedanaest radova koji su nastali na temelju referata što su ih sudionice izložile i međusobno prodiskutirale na seminaru *Voicing Feminist Concerns* (Dubrovnik, 25. – 30. svibnja 2008.) na kojem je sudjelovalo dvadeset i šest sudionica iz dvanaest zemalja. Autorice istražuju različite načine artikuliranja i afirmiranja ženskoga glasa kao moćnog agensa društvene promjene te analiziraju postupke s pomoću kojih osobni glas i njegov javni odjek konstituiraju žensku egzistenciju, teoriju, aktivizam i stvaralaštvo. Nadilaženje fonocentrizma, fenomenološkog i lingvističkog pristupa glasu unutar feminističke epistemologije (C. Gilligan, A. Cavarero, L. Irigaray, Ch. T. Mohanty) obilježeno je interesom za “politiku glasa”, za istraživanje modusa vokalizacije ženskog subjekta u prošlim i suvremenim kontekstima, unutar pisane tradicije i usmene komunikacije, u službenoj memoriji i individualnim naracijama protupamćenja. Neka od tih istraživanja prezentirana su ovdje teorijski izazovnim i etičkopolitički dobro “ugodnim” autorskim glasom nudeći primjere feminističke revalorizacije službene nacionalne historiografije, povijesti književnosti, povijesti glazbenih praksi, suvremenih političkih i socijalnih paradigmi.

Fokusiranjem na otjelovljene i glasom individualizirane pojedince/ke, kakvi/e se nadaju u iskazima i životnim pripovijestima, postiže se istodobni interes za ono osobno, relacijsko i glasovno – za susrete licem u lice – i za

šire odnose moći u koje su akteri/ce svakoga govornog, ujedno izvedbenog i djelatnog, čina uklopljeni. No to ne znači zagovaranje takozvane objektivnosti i lažne univerzalnosti. Naprotiv, riječ je o osmišljavanju i promicanju rodno obilježene vokalizacije subjekta kao temeljnog poduhvata feminističke politike i poetike. Prema talijanskoj filozofkinji Adriani Cavarero, zapadna povijest filozofije može se razumjeti kao “devokalizacija logosa”, kao prevlast semantičkog nad fonetskim, uma nad tijelom. Ta je tradicija izmjestila žene iz političke sfere univerzalnih subjekata (izjednačenih s muškarcima) baš zbog tjelesnosti glasa koja se smatrala ženskim svojstvom. U tom se smislu “devokalizacija logosa pojavila kao još jedan oblik simboličkog *matricida* patrijarhalne kulture”. O tome svjedoči i opresija užitka u glasu, u glasanju, u odjeku, u cirkularnom umnažanju i zvučnom “ogledanju”, užitka koji otjelovljuju ženske figure od Sirena do Muza, od nimfe Eko do opernih pjevačica. U važnoj studiji *A più voci: Per una filosofia dell'espressione vocale* (2003), Cavarero zastupa ideju “politike glasa”, politike ravnopravne i recipročne komunikacije koja bi na drukčiji način povezala govor i politiku. Za nju pravo pitanje nije kako misliti politiku užitka koja dokida odnos politike i govora, nego “kako promišljati politiku koja ne proganja glas iz područja govora”. Glasanje i odjekivanje, muk i ekspresivnost, povik i ušutkivanje u temelju su naše sposobnosti govorenja. Tjelesni porivi – karnalni, osjetilni i emotivni porivi – ti su koji glas čine idealnim sredstvom subvertiranja jezičnog i političkog poretka. No poetika feminističkog oglašavanja ne podrazumijeva samo “otkrivanje” glasa i užitak u njegovim glazbenim odjecima i ritmovima. Feminističku paradigmu karakterizira pristranost, konfrontiranost, zauzimanje strane u svakom sporu ili raspravi te obrana ženskih prava, baš kao i rodne ravnopravnosti, u kontekstu transformirane, ali jednako represivne globalne patrijarhalnosti. U svijetu u kojem nas dominantni mediji otupljuju senzacionalizmom ljudske nesreće *en masse*, oglašavanje vlastitim glasom kao pretpostavka feminističkog osnaživanja i artikuliranja podrazumijeva poštovanje demokratske slobode govora, etički su-odnos komunikacijskih partnera/ica, izoštravanje sposobnosti slušanja i prepoznavanja drugosti u kojoj prebiva i jedinstvenost svake egzistencije i mnoštvenost njenih nikada dovršenih identiteta. Dok “dati se vidjeti” znači povratak subjektu, ali i (narcističkom) egu, “dati se slušati” podrazumijeva relacijski odnos, vremensku i emocionalnu posvećenost te spremnost da svoju sudbinu podijelimo s drugim na (uvijek nove i nepredvidljive) načine. A time i suodgovornost za djelovanje.

Koncept otjelovljenog, javnog i buntovnog, ranjivog i osnaženoga glasa autorice oprimjeruju baveći se temama vezanim uz nasilje nad ženama i feministički aktivizam (E. Ensler i B. Kašić), izbjeglištvo i transnacionalne prakse (L. Huttunen), globalizam i razvoj (I. Ateljević, U. Vuorela), “nepročitanu” žensku književnost (I. Grgić Maroević, E. Šeleva, N. Badurina),

neistraženu žensku povijest i pamćenje (M. Richter i Ch. Bonfiglioli) te ponovno prisvojene glazbene prakse svirača (I. Bulić). **Biljana Kašić** ispisuje intelektualno i emocionalno angažiranu priču o vlastitom ulaženju u prostor plodnoga križanja feminističke s postkolonijalnom teorijom, ondje gdje obje zagovaraju osnaživanje testimonijalnih glasova viktimiziranih, opresiranih, marginaliziranih ili samo “prevođenih” postkolonijalnih subjekata. Bez obzira na rizike dekontekstualizacije, komodifikacije i preoznačavanja, osobna (ženska) pripovijest za nju (p)ostaje glavno sredstvo potkopavanja hegemonijske moći i destabilizacije logocentričnog poretka “jednostavno stoga jer osobna naracija kao rizik po sebi izlaže riziku cijelu narativnu matricu različitim nepredvidljivim učincima i posljedicama”. Autoricu posebice zaima kako se teoretičarke kao što su Trinh T. Minh-ha, Gayatri Ch. Spivak, Sara Suleri, bell hooks, vezane “trostrukom sponom” (rodnom, rasnom i klasnom) za manjinski identitet, uspijevaju oglasiti putem *protudiskursa* i tako se suprotstaviti dominantnom poretku prevrednovanjem fiksnih te prisvajanjem novih značenja. Naglasivši kako svako *glasanje* nije afirmacija “uznemirujućega”, pobunjenoga ženskog sebstva niti rad na podriivanju jezika hegemonije, B. Kašić nas upozorava da svaki govor otpora (subverzivan, mimikrijski, alegorijski, parodijski i dr.) podrazumijeva preuzimanje odgovornosti za posljedice govornih činova i djelovanja u zajednici pobunjenih. Pokazuje i kako rezonancija između latinskoameričkoga subalternoga glasa kroz *testimonio*, mirovnjačkog aktivizma žena iz bivše Jugoslavije i azijskih ženskih “sudova pravde” nije niz sinkronih slučajnosti. Uvažavajući različite epistemološke kritike i etičke zazore od “testimonijalnog obrata” u feminističkom diskursu, B. Kašić tumači kako je i zašto glas traumatiziranih žena osjetljiv na diskurzivnu komodifikaciju svjedočenja u metropolskim centrima njihove promocije i kritičke refleksije.

Zbog opasnosti od gubitka (testimonijalnog) autoriteta nad posvjedočenim, a voajerski prisvojenim, osobnim iskustvom, sve češće emocionalne anestezije recipijenata i okoštavanja značenja i slika vezanih uz traumatska iskustva, svjedočenjima katkad treba vratiti literarnost, retoričku snagu i fabulaciju. Stoga na bolnu istinu o pravoj prirodi lokalnih “prljavih ratova” u 21. stoljeću s više uspjeha upozoravaju literarizirana svjedočenja o “nezamislivim” oblicima ratnog nasilja nad afričkim ženama i djevojčicama kakva je posredovala književnica i aktivistica **Eve Ensler** u svojim novim radovima te u eseju *Čekajući gospodina Aligatora* nego svi novinski tekstovi, dokumentarni žanrovi i politološke analize koji fetišiziraju “snagu činjenica” i velikih brojeva. I **Ulla Vuorela** u radu *Žene, razvoj i srednja klasa*, u kojem analizira neke motive iz tanzanskih “socijalno-ljubavnih” romana, pokazuje kako nam ženski glasovi istančanim literarnim izričajem uspijevaju dati složeniji imaginarij, empatičniji opis te bolju analizu društva od one koju nude društveni znanstvenici, ekonomisti i emisari moćnih svjetskih organizacija. Susret sa svakodnevicom pojedinih

afričkih zajednica traži odmak od europske epistemološke tradicije koja nam ne pomaže razumjeti iskustvo političke modernosti u nezapadnim društvima, ali nas sili da i nju samu vidimo kao dio nelinearne, konfliktne i nezavršene makropovijesti. Kao što suvereno pokazuje Ulla Vuorela, svjetski se moćnici, putem djelovanja Svjetske banke, MMF-a i drugih UN-ovih organizacija, bave “menadžmentom siromaštva”, oni usmjeravaju razvojnu pomoć na “najsiriomašnije među siromašnima” čineći vrlo malo u smislu korjenitog restrukturiranja nejednake ekonomske raspodjele dobara što potiče stalan rast broja najsiromašnijih. Obrazovanje koriste tek kao retoričko sredstvo, kao sredstvo upravljanja ženskim tijelima (odgađanje majčinstva za djevojčice u školi) i usporavanja rasta stanovništva. Međutim, obrazovanje je istinsko samo onda kad postane oruđe koje omogućava ženama da budu aktivni subjekti vlastitih života i sudionice u politikama društvenog razvoja, da budu kritične prema hegemonijskim istinama te da postanu “čak i spisateljice, ako je to ono što žele”. Bez obzira na brojne točke disputa zapadnih i afričkih feministkinja, i jedne i druge složno ističu važnost povećanja broja obrazovanih i “relativno osnaženih” žena koje mogu pokrenuti strukturalne promjene, boriti se protiv humanitarnog, pravnog i kognitivnog imperijalizma te, poput Vandane Shive, postati predvodnice novih globalnih *grassroots* pokreta.

O načinima novoga kulturalnog osnaživanja žena koje se, zajedno s afričkom glazbom i tzv. world music, proširilo europskim ulicama, trgovima, pozornicama i medijima, piše **Iva Bulić** u svom prilogu o bubnjaricama u Hrvatskoj. Njezino sudioničko istraživanje i autorefleksivno promišljanje vlastitoga bubnjarskog iskustva u različitim muško-ženskim skupinama i tečajevima sviranja motivirano je idejom (pre)osvajanja javnog prostora što ga predvode bubnjarice svirajući na bubnjevima iz najrazličitijih glazbenih tradicija. Upoznajući nas s brojnim povijesnim i kulturalnim kontekstima u kojima su žene muzicirale u okviru religijskih praksi i društvenih rituala, autorica pokazuje kako je i zašto u pojedinim (afričkim) društvima došlo do radikalnog obrata – od zabrane ženskog bubnjanja do globalno oponašanog glazbenog trenda i ženskog aktivizma koji bučno “prisvaja prošlost i prigranjuje budućnost”. Osnovni zadatak njezina etnografskog i feminističkog istraživanja zagrebačke glazbene scene bio je prikupiti i analizirati iskaze glazbenika i publike u kojima se reproduciraju (mizogine) predrasude o “neprimjerenosti” bubnjanja za sviračice (te “bestidnice” ili “muškarače”, prema stavovima tradicijske kulture) do onih koji u figuri bubnjarice slave iskaz novih, kreativnih, samosvojnih i prosvjednih ženskih identiteta.

Za razliku od Biljane Kašić koja smatra da, suočeni s paradoksima suvremenoga globalnog stanja, obilježenog neokolonijalizmom i održavanjem raskola Sjever/Jug i Zapad/Istok, osjećamo tjeskobu ljudskog zajedništva koja se čini nerazrješivom, **Irena Ateljević** zastupa tezu pojedinih teoretičara (M.

Ghisi, J. Rifkin, P. H. Ray, D. Elgin, R. Eisler) da smo upravo zakoračili u doba novog humanizma i *transmodernosti* koje će materijalističko-patrijarhalnu matricu neodgovornog razvoja napokon zamijeniti postpatrijarhalnom transformativnom paradigmom koja se zalaže za promjenu globalne svijesti i razvoj ljudskih potencijala. Prema nekim globalnim istraživanjima javnog mnijenja poput onog D. Elgina, bitna promjena paradigme je već nastupila s napredovanjem globalne ekološke svijesti, s prihvatanjem koncepta “zemaljskog građanstva”, s novim društvenim vrijednostima i održivim načinom života. Ateljević dalje razvija ideju da žene čine većinu u “tihoj revoluciji kulturalnih kreativki i kreativaca” (*cultural creatives* – P. H. Ray i S. R. Anderson), da su nositeljice sociokulturnih promjena u kojima će istinska demokracija, kvaliteta života, pozivanje na socijalnu uključenost, partnerstvo i etiku ljubavi imati vodeću ulogu, a ontogeneza biti usmjerena na samoaktualizaciju i duhovnost. Teorija transmodernosti pripada malobrojnim akademskim naracijama što priznaju dubinski transformativni potencijal feminističke epistemologije i otvaraju dijalog vlastitih paradigmi (“paradigma živućih sustava”, “partnerski model brižne ekonomije” i “relacijska globalna svijest” o politici biosfere) s feminističkom “etikom ljubavi” b. hooks i “paradigmom cirkularnosti” G. Steinem koja zahtijeva bioetičko poštovanje svakoga živog stvorenja.

Autorice koje za predložak svoje analize uzimaju literarne tekstove to čine na inovativan, angažiran i rodnostudijski način – istražujući kako su pojedini književni ženski protuglasovi destabilizirali strukture moći dominantnih naracija i književnih kanona tijekom povijesti. Dodjeljujući pojedinim spisateljicama (poput Nade Bunić/Speranze di Bona, Marije Jurić Zagorke i Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe) njihovo “zaslužno” mjesto u književnom kanonu, i one same remete patrilinearnu reprodukciju autoriteta te se pozicioniraju kao “transmoderne” povjesničarke književnosti koje su spremne uhvatiti se u koštac sa složenom procedurom prekoračenja naslijeđenih sociokulturnih vrijednosti. **Iva Grgić Maroević** pokazuje kako su istraživači/ice manje prominentnih sredina prisiljene dovesti u pitanje nacionalni kanon, ali i “superiornost” književnopovijesnih odrednica i periodizacija velikih književnih tradicija. Čak i onda kad je u interesu nacionalne književne kulture da se istraže i afirmiraju domaće renesansne pjesnikinje kako bi se povukle paralele sa situacijom u Italiji u šesnaestom stoljeću, povjesničari književnosti nerijetko trbuhozbore, manipuliraju i, paradoksalno, ušutkuju ili cenzuriraju ženske literarne glasove. Tako je nacionalna povijest iznjedrila legendu o Cvijeti Zuzorić (Fiore Zuzzeri Pescioni, Dubrovnik, 1552. – Ancona, 1604.) kao prvoj velikoj hrvatskoj pjesnikinji premda nije sačuvan ni redak napisan njezinom rukom. Iva Grgić Maroević slijedi Germaine Greer te razlikuje pjesnikinju i poetesu da bi objasnila zašto se Cvijeta Zuzorić i dalje slavi kao najznačajnija renesansna poetesa premda je 2004. godine u ustanovi *Biblioteca comunale* u

Sieni pronađena integralna zbirka Nade Bunić pod naslovom *Obrana poezije i proze gospođe Nade Viktorije Bunić u obranu njezine čast i protiv onih koji su je pokušali oklevetati svojim stihovima* objavljena na talijanskom jeziku 1569. godine. Naime, dominantno vizualna reprezentacija “nijeme” Cvijete Zuzorić omogućuje da je povjesničari (i suvremeni književnici) koriste kao “prazan označitelj” u koji upisuju svoje ideje o renesansnoj (poetskim kanonom konstruiranoj) ženstvenosti, o ženstvenosti koja erotizira, intrigira i nadahnjuje, čemu se odupire dokumentirano stvaralaštvo Nade Bunić. Kako svojom analizom pokazuje Grgić Maroević, upravo se ono danas čini djelom najkoherentnije buntovne pjesnikinje ne samo svojega ambijenta već možda i cijeloga europskoga šesnaestog stoljeća. Upravo nam stoga *glas* Nade, a ne (pogledu usmjereno) *tijelo* Cvijete vraća optimizam u pokušaju da pronađemo kontinuitet među ženskim pjesničkim izričajima hrvatske i/ili mediteranske književnosti do današnjih dana.

Elizabeta Šeleva slijedi tu feminističku ideju reinskripcije kanona i promovira makedonsku autoricu u egzilu, Kicu Bardžievu-Kolbe, u egzemplarnu balkansku autoricu “novog internacionalizma” (prema slavistu A. B. Wachtelu) koja problem višestrukog samoidentificiranja u postjugoslavenskom i postideološkom okružju smješta u širu naraciju o univerzalnom iskustvu egzila, izmještenosti, o dvojnim pripadnostima, pluralnim lojalnostima, o egzistencijalnoj i metafizičkoj ne/udomljivosti intelektualaca. Roman “Snijeg u Kazablanki” opisuje žensko iskustvo dobrovoljnog egzila, potragu glavne junakinje za njezinom duhovnom obitelji koja se, kako ona vjeruje, nalazi na Zapadu, “upravo u onoj Europi koja ju je duhovno njegovala i koju ona nakon toga ponovno stvara kao predmet žudnje za pripadanjem”. Srodna težnja za dvojnim i pluralnim pripadanjem, za paralelnim domovinama, za transcendiranjem stanja dijasporičnosti odlikuje i ratne egzilante iz Bosne i Hercegovine koji već drugo desetljeće žive u Finskoj, a o kojima piše **Laura Huttunen** u prilogu *Kako dati glas dijaspori?*. Upravo zahvaljujući komplementarnosti istočnoeuropske i zapadnoeuropske suvremene svakodnevice te zajedničkim naporima za povećanje kvalitete života, razmišljanja bivših prognanika iz bosanske provincije bliska su svjetonazoru “vernakularnih kozmopolita” koji, prema H. Bhabhi, odlikuju današnje postkolonijalno stanje. Autorica je analizu usmjerila na prikrivenu disonancu glasova svojih sugovornika o pitanju povratka iz “prvo-prisilnog-pa-dobrovoljnog” egzila, na protuslovlja što se raz/otkrivaju tek nakon dugogodišnjega etnografskog istraživanja, zajedničkih putovanja u posjet BiH, tijekom prisnije komunikacije sa svim članovima obitelji. I tu se žene polako oglašavaju i izjašnjavaju kao subjekti, kao one koje zagovaraju ostanak, pravo na obrazovanje i rad, nove životne stilove i koje malo-pomalo iznose na vidjelo “puno složeniju stvarnost sazdanu od nada, želja i pregovaranja o životnim putanjama bosanskih obitelji”. Kao prava etnografkinja, L. Huttunen

pozabavila se i (feminističkom) politikom vlastitoga glasa unutar i izvan akademskoga društvenog polja, svojim pravom/obvezom da, u određenim slučajevima, govori u ime istraživanih kao i svojom (jezično i antropološki) ograničenom sposobnošću da ih čuje, razumije i kompetentno interpretira. Autorefleksija je urodila plodom, o čemu najbolje svjedoči njezin zaključak kako su bosanske sumnje, protuslovlja i nedoumice vezane uz povratak u domovinu samo dio “složenog niza pregovora o životnim sudbinama koje su tipične za mnoge geografske lokacije”.

Natka Badurina promišlja (trans)literarni motiv silovanja žena kao način opravdanja (političkog) prava na revolucionarnu pobunu kolektiva. Riječ je o čestom motivu europskog romantizma, a prigrljen je i u hrvatskoj preporodnoj književnosti u obliku tematizacije seljačke bune iz 1573. (u tragediji M. Bogovića iz 1859., romanu A. Šenoa iz 1877. i Zagorkinoj drami iz 1903.) s opsesivnim variranjem motiva silovanja kmetske djevojke kao okidača za socijalnu pobunu. Ta fantazma ima bogatu povijest u zapadnom kulturnom pamćenju biblijske i klasicističke provenijencije, a svoju modernu obradu dobiva u Rousseauovu tekstu *Efraimski levit* (1762./1781.) koji neprimjerenim sentimentalizmom postiže to da mizogina poruka biblijske priče postane prihvatljiva u modernom društvu. No, kako nas podsjeća autorica, zazorno seksualno nasilje postaje simbolički i kulturno produktivno upravo u trenutku stvaranja modernoga građanskog društva u 19. stoljeću, kad se, u više ili manje (kontra)revolucionarnim previranjima, ruše norme staroga feudalnog društva, ali zadržava patrijarhalni simbolički poredak. Posebice zahvalnim predmetom dosljedne feminističke kritike pokazao se semantički grozd preporodnih opsesija vezanih uz mit o silovanju, tj. uz sumnju u žensku krivnju i užitak – slike ženskog mazohizma i ludila, figure prijeteće seksualnosti, arhetip pohotne žene koja ugrožava muškarca te motiv ekskomunikacije silovane žene iz okrilja zajednice. Na taj se način mit o silovanju nadaje kao simptom regresivne kolektivne psihologije koja silovanu ženu, i kad je žrtva seksualnog zločina, stigmatizira kao onu “koja je primila stranca i okaljala čistoću zajednice”, a time što nije počinila samoubojstvo nije prešla prag ne/podnošljivosti patnje pa “jedino što ona može jest biti mjerom tuđeg trpljenja, razlogom tuđeg (muškog) bijesa koji je napunio svoju mjeru”. U Zagorkinoj neobjavljenoj i cenzuriranoj drami *Evica Gupčeva*, napisanoj u zatvoru 1903. godine, za pokretanje pobune više nije potrebna ženska žrtva, dapače u rukama Evice leže “ključevi pobune”, no ona – kao istinska predstavica poniženih i potlačenih bez “zajedničke svijesti koju bi suprotstavili vladajućima” (prema Gramscijevoj definiciji) – nema svoj jezik, nema svoju povijesnu misiju, nego je osuđena ponavljati riječi gospodara i nacionalnu državotvornu pripovijest punu “krvavih potoka” i grobova na kojima će jednog dana “svanuti sloboda”. Ipak, Evica je prva “neznana junakinja” kojoj je Zagorkina feministička literarna

gesta, i to upravo iz gramscijevskog zatvora u središtu Zagreba, omogućila da dokine represivnu moć društva nad ženskim glasom i da retroaktivno bude uključena u postojeću nacionalnu i romantičnu pripovijest, pa makar poput nimfe Eho samo ponavljala slogane prošlih i budućih nacionalnih vođa.

Melita Richter Malabotta donosi studiju iz usmene ženske povijesti na području “pomičnoga” graničnog teritorija između Italije i Slovenije u blizini Trsta. Riječ je o analizi životnih naracija koje su prikupili učenici i učenice slovenskih i talijanskih škola tršćanske regije intervjuirajući svoje bake (rođene između 1914. i 1939.) u sklopu projekta “Od granica do mostova” (*Da frontiere a ponti – Ko se iz meje ustvari most*). Pitanja koja su usmjeravala te polustrukturirane intervjuje bila su vezana uz rodno iskustvo života u obitelji, školi, braku, međuetničkom susjedstvu i vlastitom kućanstvu, uz rodno specifične nade, želje i snove, oblikovanje životnih vrijednosti i ideala, uz ženske uzore i različite uloge žena u mirnodopskim i ratnim vremenima itd. Autorica polazi od sociološke postavke o relevantnosti životnih iskustava žena koje, kao marginalni i marginalizirani subjekti, svojim utjelovljenim svakodnevnim praksama omogućuju život između i preko granice koja je tijekom dvadesetog stoljeća označavala zonu dodira suprotstavljenih političkih, socioekonomskih i svjetonazorskih blokova. Ona, međutim, oblikuje svoj zaključak u svjetlu feminističke argumentacije da se rodna, nacionalna i politička subjektivnost međusobno uvjetuju te ističe sposobnost žena da opisuju i razmišljaju o vlastitom životnom iskustvu drukčije od lažnog poopćavanja i mitova velike nacionalne naracije. Pripovijedanjem svoje životne priče, žene su osobnu povijest povezale s općim ženskim iskustvima te se otkrile kao predane *protagonistice i oblikovateljice* življenog vremena i političkih gibanja. Projekt je potvrdio feminističku pretpostavku da spoznaje o životu pretkinja (*our foremothers*) mogu postati osnova za osnaživanje studentica koje su vodile intervjuje i žena čije su povijesti povjesničari zanemarili. Naime, upoznavši životne pri/povijesti svojih baka i majki, učenice su se “uključile u raspravu u učionici ne samo kao učenice, nego i kao ‘autorice’ i ‘učiteljice’”.

I prilog **Chiare Bonfiglioli** govori o teškoćama rekonstrukcije ženske povijesti s pomoću različitih, javnih i privatnih arhivskih tragova, komunikacijskih kanala i medija pamćenja. Kako bi otkrila što je (domaćim i inozemnim) sudionicama prve međunarodne feminističke konferencije u jugoistočnoj Europi *Drug-ca žena. Žensko pitanje – novi pristup?*, održanoj u Beogradu 1978., značilo sudjelovanje na tom skupu, autorica je potražila arhivske materijale, novinske fotografije i izvještaje, svježe reminiscencije sudionica na obljetničarskom okupljanju 2008. godine, bilješke sudionica te intervjuirala neke od sudionica. Tragajući za odgovorom kakvo je sociopolitičko i simboličko značenje ovog feminističkog okupljanja unutar drugog vala feminizma, Bonfiglioli je prevodila i re-interpretirala ne samo jezike nego i

vremenske vizure, kulturne prostore, osobno i kolektivno iskustvo feminističkog djelovanja u pojedinim europskim sredinama. Zaključila je kako svaki komunikacijski medij i svaka “memorijska gesta” određuju tip pripovjednog autoriteta, strukturu (auto)naracije i utječu na mogućnost prevođenja između subjekata i između kultura, prevođenja koje u pitanje dovodi i “prevoditeljicu” i sam “originalni tekst” suprotstavljajući se hegemonijskoj ideji o jednom jedinstvenom značenju (nekoj događaju). Posebice je naglasila potencijal “suzdržanih i enigmatičnih” usmenih izvora da nas istinski suoče s drugošću prošlosti, da nas prisile da kao etnografkinje i teoretičarke ne namećemo svoje pretpostavke i koncepte, nego uvijek budemo spremne da “preformuliramo probleme i preispitamo svoje navike mišljenja”.

Autorice ovdje okupljenih radova na različite su načine i u različitom tipu diskursa (feministički i drugi teorijski modeli, književni iskazi, glazbeni kon/teksti, životne pripovijesti) pokušale prepoznati protudiskurzivno žensko gibanje što uznemiruje i subvertira dominantni simbolički poredak. Tu nije samo riječ o otporu koje tijelo pruža jezičnoj gramatici i pragmatici, takozvanim “funkcionalnim stilovima”, akademskoj i političkoj korektnosti, nego i o pokušaju da artikuliramo sebe i svoj doživljaj tijela “kroz poticajne, promišljene i provokativne ženske glasove o različitim temama iz rodne perspektive” (B. Kašić). Dominantnu poetiku upisa osobnoga glasa i osobnih iskustava u umjetničko i teorijsko pismo pokušala je objasniti Cavarero kao refleks opće žudnje za jedinstvom i jedinstvenošću egzistencije kojoj “jedino pripovijest može ponuditi opipljivu formu”. Za nju glas ukida apatiju i osjećaj poraza, izmiče zakonitostima jezika i logosa, patrijarhalnom zakonu što idealizira žene koje šute, pa je idealan medij za žensku subverziju i/ili pobunu. Naši su dubrovački naponi izricanja i oblikovanja meditativnih, autorefleksivnih i djelatnih glasova bili usmjereni na prošlost jednako kao i na budućnost, kretali su se od krajnjeg skepticizma feminističke društvene kritike do utopijskog zamišljanja “trećeg prostora” ženskog zajedništva u postkonfliktnom društvu koje nam ocrtavaju kulturni kreativci i kreativke, oni koji, riječima Irene Ateljević, gledaju izravno “s ruba kaosa u novi poredak društva”.

EVE ENSLER

ČEKAJUĆI GOSPODINA ALIGATORA

Donedavno sam vjerovala da je čekanje oblik zaštite, stanje koje je osiguravalo moju potpunu sigurnost. Donedavno sam uvijek čekala nešto. Nisam znala koga ili što sam čekala, ali ta je mogućnost postojala, negdje u kutku mojeg uma. Čekala sam toliko dugo da je to jednostavno postalo gotovo sve što sam činila. Pokatkad je to bilo svjesno, ali većinu je vremena taj čin bio poput refleksa, glagola koji je bio moj glagol: čekati. Mislim da sam zato osjećala povezanost s izbjeglicama, ženama beskućnicama, ženama u zatvoru. One su provodile svoje živote u čekanju – čekale su da se vrte u svoju domovinu, čekale su da ih nova zemlja pozove da ostanu, čekale su mjesto na kojem napokon mogu raspakirati svoje torbe, čekale su bijeg.

Zato sam voljela i poštu. Voljela sam otvarati poštanski sandučić. Voljela sam zapečaćene kuverte. Voljela sam prebirati po pošti i ugledati rukopis koji mi je bio nepoznat. Evo, evo. Možda je tu. Možda je u ovom pismu. Uvijek sam mislila da će stići danas. Otvorit ću kuvertu i bit će unutra.

Kad sam pila i uzimala droge, to je bio sljedeći džin tonik s kockicama leda, sljedeća doza bijelog praha metedrina. Kad sam bila divlja i promiskuitetna, to je bio sljedeći muškarac ili žena s kojima sam mogla svući svoju odjeću, sljedeća osoba s kojom sam mogla ići do kraja. Ali, što je bilo na tom kraju? Katkad sam zamišljala da će to što sam čekala doći kao trofej, obavijest, poziv. Jedanput sam ga umalo uhvatila u najnježnijem, najgladnijem poljupcu.

To je čekanje bilo poseban osjećaj. Sjećam se božićnih jutara (koja su često bila mučna i napeta, zbog radikalnih promjena raspoloženja mojeg oca), kad bih luđački odmotavala svoje darove iako smo to trebali učiniti uredno i pažljivo. Sjećam se da sam u tom trenutku razmišljala – to je to. Ova svjetlucava ili pahuljasta ili nova stvarčica omotana beskonačnom količinom ukrasnog papira ono je što čekam. Sjećam se da sam se jednom prilikom izgubila u šumi, zabrinula, sjela i smočila hlače i zatim pronašla mladu paprat.

Taj savršeni zeleni zavijeni komadić života koji će se razmotati i postati nešto veličanstveno, nešto lijepo. Tako će izgledati ono što sam čekala: zeleno i veće od samog sebe.

Postojali su ljudi koji nisu čekali ništa. Poznavala sam neke od tih ljudi. Ili su na neki način dobili to vrlo rano ili su savršeno sretno živjeli bez toga. Njihovo je glagolsko stanje bilo drukčije. Oni su živjeli, otkrivali, bili, doživljavali, gubili se. Nisu tragali ni za čime. Nisu čekali. Potrošila sam i previše sati na psihoanalizu te opsesije. Što mi je nedostajalo? Koja je rana psihička povreda prouzročila tu čežnju? Što sam pokušavala nadoknaditi, riješiti ili ispuniti? Odsutnost svoje majke, okrutnost svojeg oca. I tako dalje i tako dalje.

Pokatkad mislim da je to bila samo rupa, nekakva egzistencijalna provalija unutar mojeg bića, snažna želja za nekim dijelom sebe koji se odvojio pri rođenju. Ili je možda to bila nakupljena rana, zbroj mnogobrojnih gubitaka tijekom mnogih života – izdaja, smrti, žaljenja. Neka vrsta aktivnog i pradavnog groblja u mojoj psihi. Ili je to čekanje bilo sjećanje na drugi svijet unutar ovog svijeta? Je li to bila želja da prizovem svijet koji sam nekoć poznavala, da se prisjetim mjesta koje sam nazivala domom, alternativne priče koja živi paralelno s ovom paradigmom?

Možda je čekanje bilo neka obmanjujuća maštarija ili luđački optimizam iza kojeg se krije dubok očaj da ne postoji nešto što ili netko tko će svemu dati smisao i sve ispraviti. Možda sam jednostavno bila nesposobna suočiti se s dubokom besmislenošću cijelog postojanja. Zato sam čekala. U čekanju je bila budućnost. I što bi se dogodilo da to napokon stigne i da dobijem ono što sam čekala? Bih li jednostavno umrla? Bih li napokon bila zaštićena, sigurna? Bih li imala središte, mjesto, razlog za život?

Kao tinejdžerica otkrivala sam predmete koji su postali simboli ili projekcije onoga što sam čekala. Kad mi je bilo petnaest ili šesnaest godina, to su bili leptiri. Crtala sam ih. Sanjala sam ih. Proučavala sam ih. Pisala sam pjesme o njima. Svaki put kad sam ugledala leptira u blizini, to je bio dokaz prisutnosti nečega tajanstvenog, nečega što dolazi. Kad mi je bilo sedamnaest ili osamnaest godina, to je bila kožna hipijevska vrpca za kosu s ljubičastom trakom jelenje kože. Kad sam je svezala oko čela, to je bio magnet koji je privlačio ono što sam čekala, tu moguću budućnost.

Ali, istina je da je to čekanje počelo mnogo prije. Počelo je u tami, u strahu. Počelo je u pijanom i opasnom glasu mojeg oca koji je prijetio da će me uništiti. Počelo je u njegovoj teškoj ruci punoj mržnje na mojem obrazu, u hladnoj ravnodušnosti njegovih očiju, u drhtavu bijesu njegovih stisnutih usnica. Počelo je u mojoj sobi nakon batina, nakon što je njegov remen napravio natečene modrice na mojim nogama. Nakon što je mojom tinejdžerskom glavom lupao po drvenim oblogama na zidu radne sobe, nakon što je krv počela liti iz mojeg nosa na stolnjak s bijelim i crvenim kockicama u

obiteljskom restoranu, pa sam pojurila u toalet da zaustavim krvarenje, da se ne bi osjećao loše jer ga podsjećam da me udario. Počelo je u mojoj sobi, kad sam bila sama. Nakon što bi udarci i vrištanje prestali, a ja bih osjećala samo zujanje u glavi od snažne navale adrenalina i osjećaja krivnje i srama. Počelo je u toj sumornosti, tom neprekidnom ljuljanju na krevetu. Čekanje je bilo bolje nego da sam se rezala ili namjerno krvarila. Čekanje je bilo bolje nego da sam ubila svojeg oca ili ga zamišljala na električnoj stolici. Čekanje je bilo manje opasno od ubojstva. Nisam htjela biti ubojica. Bojala sam se biti ubojica. Zato sam naučila čekati.

Kako je moja situacija postajala sve očajnija, nisam više mogla čekati nešto neodređeno i apstraktno. Zato sam izmislila biće koje je dolazilo po mene. Biće nije moglo biti čovjek. Nisam vjerovala ljudima. Biće nije bilo baš dobronamjerno ili umiljato. Nisam imala koristi od mekoće i umiljatosti. Uvijek sam bila oprezna i mislila da se u onome što se doima nježno krije nešto okrutno.

Čekala sam gospodina Aligatora. On je bio mali čovjek-reptil. Imao je tijelo aligatora i kratke noge čovjeka. Bio je prijatelj djeci u nuždi. Postojao je za njih. Bio je uvijek spreman doći. Štitio ih je. Bio je opasan samo za počinitelje – mogao je bez problema progutati najstrašnijeg lošeg tatu. Imao je poseban telefonski broj koji se mogao dobiti samo ako ste bili u nevolji. Kad sam dosegнула određenu razinu beznada, odjednom bih ga se sjetila. Nazvala bih ga. Razgovarala bih s njim glasno kao da je veza loša. Moj otac i moja obitelj znali bi da telefoniram s gospodinom Aligatorom, znali bi da postoji netko vani tko sluša, promatra, svjedoči.

“Zdravo, gospodine Aligatore”, rekla bih. “Ja sam, Evie.” (Tada su me zvali Evie). “Evie je na telefonu i trebaš doći po mene. Dođi po mene što prije možeš. Grozno mi je. Zli su prema meni. Ne vole me. Ali, znam da me ti voliš. Molim te, kad možeš doći, gospodine Aligatore? Možeš li, molim te, doći brzo?” Obećao bi da će doći što prije. Znala sam da je zaposlen. I druga su djeca zvala. Znala sam, jer kad me jednom prilikom otac bacio u zid, pokušala sam ga nazvati i linija je bila zauzeta. Nakon što smo razgovarali, otišla bih u svoju sobu i spakirala mali smeđi kovčeg. Uzela bih svoju malu četku za kosu, tri magična flomastera (uvijek ljubičasti) i nekoliko keksa. Izašla bih iz kuće. Hodala bih stazicom na našem prednjem travnjaku i sjela bih na rub, dok bih teniscama uporno i odsutno premetala šljunak u prilazu.

Čekala bih ga. Katkad bih čekala sat vremena, katkad cijeli dan. Čekanje je postalo moj otpor. Ništa me nije moglo omesti. Moja bi majka izašla iz kuće nakon što sam propustila obrok i rekla mi da uđem unutra, da prekinem s glupostima. Ali, to za mene nije bila glupost. To je bilo ozbiljno kao život i smrt. Dolazi gospodin Aligator. On je bio budućnost. Bio je moj, nešto što sam stvorila, o čemu sam sanjala. On me volio. On će sve ispraviti. Morao je. Inače ne bih mogla nastaviti.

Naravno, nikad se nije pojavio.

Ali, to nije potpuno točno. Četrdeset godina poslije otišla sam u Afriku jer sam čula da ondje ima žena koje pokušavaju prekinuti praksu genitalnog sakaćenja žena. Jedna od njih bila je Agnes Pareiyo. Živjela je u Strmoj dolini. Jednog dana kad joj je bilo 12 godina protiv svoje volje odvedena je tamnu sobu. Dvije su je žene držale dok joj je starija žena odrezala klitoris britvom. Nije smjela vrištati ili ispustiti bilo kakav zvuk jer bi to značilo da je slaba. Nakon što su je osakatili, morala je ležati mirno sa svezanim nogama tri dana. Prisiljavali su je da čisti ranu mokreći po sebi. Bol je bila nezamisliva. Pokušavala je ne vrištati. Taj prigušeni vrisak živi u njezinim kostima do danas.

Agnes nikad više nije bila ista. Odrezali su joj klitoris. Nikad više nije osjetila spolni užitak. Bila je prisiljena odreći se nečega prijeko potrebnog protiv svoje volje. Cijela njezina zajednica bila je uključena u tu praksu, pa je izgubila povjerenje. Kad je odrasla, Agnes nije mogla podnijeti pomisao da se to dogodi i drugim djevojčicama. Zato je krenula na put s čarobnom kutijom u kojoj je bio medicinski torzo žene, s vaginom i zamjenskim dijelovima. Hodala je prašnom strmom dolinom od jednog naselja do drugog. Masai su u osnovi nomadski narod, pa je putovala satima ili danima prije nego što bi naišla na obitelj ili pleme. Naučila je majke i očeve i djevojčice i dječake kako izgleda zdrava vagina i kako izgleda osakaćena vagina. Pokazala im je različite oblike sakaćenja i način na koji se vagina ponovno zašiva nakon rezanja, pokatkad s pomoću trnova. Pokazala im je opasnosti rezanja – rizik od infekcije, side i smrti pri bolnom porođaju. Naučila je dječake da njihove supruge nikad neće upoznati užitak pa će ljubav između njih biti prazna. Pokazala je djevojčicama kako će, ako sačuvaju svoj klitoris, krenuti u školu i neće se morati udati u vrlo ranoj dobi za vrlo starog muškarca. Osmislila je alternativni ritual za djevojčice koji je slavio njihovo odrastanje plesom, glazbom i kazalištem. Djevojčice su dobile na dar krave umjesto da budu osakaćene.

Agnes je hodala Strmom dolinom. Hodala je danima i godinama – od jednog masajskog sela do drugog. Često je spavala vani, na tlu. Tijekom godina hodanja spasila je od rezanja 1500 djevojčica. Upitala sam Agnes što zaklada V-day može učiniti za nju, kako joj možemo pružiti potporu. Rekla je: “Ako mi V-day kupi džip, mogla bih brže putovati.” Kupili smo joj džip. Prve je godine uspjela posjetiti 4500 djevojčica. Zato sam pitala što još V-day može učiniti za nju. Odgovorila je: “Eve, ako mi date novca, mogla bih sagraditi kuću za djevojčice, gdje bi mogle pobjeći kad im prijete sakaćenje i spasiti svoj klitoris i krenuti u školu.” Zato smo joj dali novac da sagradi kuću. Prije dvije godine ponovno sam posjetila Afriku. Usred Strme doline bio je znak na kojem je pisalo *Tasaru Ntomomok: Spasilački centar za škole – Dok nasilje ne prestane*, što je slogan V-daya.

Agnes se za ovaj dan pripremala tjednima. Dok sam prilazila kući, ugledala sam nekoliko stotina djevojčica odjevenih u crveno (to je boja naroda Masai i boja V-daya). Bila sam tako dirnuta da nisam mogla izaći iz džipa. Bio je vedar i sunčan afrički dan i nebo je bilo nevjerojatno plavo. Napokon, dok su mi noge još klecale, izašla sam iz auta. Agnes me pozdravila i krenula sa mnom stazom. Odjednom je to bila staza mojeg djetinjstva, koja vodi duž prednjeg travnjaka do mjesta gdje bih sjedila pokraj ceste i čekala. Sada su djevojčice – malene djevojčice, tinejdžerice – stajale u redovima uzduž obje strane staze, plešući, dižući prašinu, pjevajući pjesmu na svahiliju o tome kako je vrijeme genitalnog sakaćenja žena završilo. Okupile su se oko mene i odjenule me u crveni masajski šal s perlama i svjetlucavim ukrasima. Njihova pjesma i veselje nosili su me stazom. Na kraju staze bila je kuća, naša kuća: *V-day sigurna kuća za djevojčice*. Stajala sam i shvatila da sam prestala čekati. Plesala sam. Plakala sam. Pjevala sam. Smijala sam se. Ali nisam čekala. Trebale su mu gotovo 42 godine, ali gospodin Aligator je konačno stigao. Spašeni smo kada damo ono što i sami najviše trebamo. Ono što čekamo oduvijek je živjelo u nama.

S engleskog prevela Tamara Slišković

Izvor:

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BILJANA KAŠIĆ

OGLASITI SE SVOJIM GLASOM: O UTOPIJSKIM ČINOVIMA I ČINOVIMA OTPORA

1.1. Uvod

Polazeći od kritičke feminističke perspektive kao polazišta i nosivog mjesta pristupa, želim istražiti potencijalnost ženskoga glasa kao činitelja djelovanja i etičke nužnosti u imenovanju suvremenih pitanja usprkos zaprekama i nejasnoćama vezanima uz pristupe i neizvjesnosti u sučeljavanju sa “zbijskim područjem” svijeta/svjetova. Prikazat ću i pokušati teorijski artikulirati načine na koje su žene izražavale svoje glasove (prikrivene, subverzivne, one koji pružaju otpor) obujmljujući neke osebuje misli/govore/priče/ činove (Trinh T. Minh-ha, Irit Rogoff, Gayatri Ch. Spivak, Staša Zajović i mnoge druge) i kako putem njih *protudiskurs* istodobno izoštrava i zaziva značenje tekstualnosti diskursa i tekstualnosti zajedničkog življenja.

Iako analitički okvir obuhvaća raspon različitih ženskih glasova koji danas usmjeruju feminističku zabrinutost i prijepore, uključujući rat, neokolonijalizam, poniženje, nepravedan društveni poredak, pitanja identiteta i pripadanja, izmještanja i suvremenog ropstva, glavna namjera ovog izlaganja nije dati jedan sveobuhvatan prikaz, nego ponuditi subjektivan uvid u problem, uvid pun dvojbi osobito iz motrišta jugoistočne Europe, odnosno bivše Jugoslavije. Istodobno posrijedi je dijalogiziranje i propitivanje bliskosti i razlika između “europskog Juga” i “globalnog Juga”, posebno kad je riječ o ženskim pitanjima, ali i o različitim tipovima pomicanja/prelaženja/prijestupa(nja) onkraj paradigmi i dihotomija “Sjever/Jug” i “Istok/Zapad”.

1.2. Kako govoriti u vlastito ime

Počela bih ovo izlaganje pojedinim glasovima različitih žena u različitim situacijama posljednjih dvadeset godina.

“Moje je ime Rigoberta Menchú. Dvadeset i tri su mi godine. Ovo je moje svjedočenje. Nisam ga spoznala putem knjige i nisam ga spoznala sama. Želim naglasiti da to nije samo moj život nego i svjedočenje mojeg naroda” (Menchú, 1983: 1). To je izjava iz 1983. godine Indijanke iz zajednice Quiche u Gvatemali, kojom ona svjedoči o strašnoj istini, priči o užasu i mučenjima koje je vojna represija u Gvatemali provela nad pripadnicima njezine zajednice.

“Povijest valja zamijeniti pamćenjem. Jer, za kolonizaciju povijest je bila arhetipski rasistički projekt koji je, osim što je pokrenuo razdoblje *univerzaliziranog nasilja*, također nastojao uspostaviti i institucionalizirati nadmoć bijelaca, Europljana, Zapada. (...) U toj velikoj naraciji, žena je stvorena i iznova stvorena kao trajno *rodno određeno Drugo*; svedeno na biološki objekt koji je postao poprište brojnih sukoba. Bilo da je žrtva silovanja, oblik etničkog čišćenja, bilo sukob kasti” (Kumar, 2007: 268, 269). To su riječi Indijke, Corinne Kumar, žene koja je prije gotovo trinaest godina osnovala alternativne sudove za žene.

“Ponovile smo: ‘Ne govorite u naše ime, mi govorimo u svoje ime’; našim tijelima, kao vrisak i upozorenje, izražavamo našu gorčinu i gađenje prema svima koji vode rat.” To je glas Staše Zajović (1997: 5), iznimne mirovne aktivistkinje i protivnice srpskoga militarističkog režima, predvodnice *Žena u crnom* iz Beograda.

“To je svijet u kojem se krećem, nepozvana, neposvećena na svetoj zemlji, ni ja ni moji, ali ipak sam tu. Priča je počela već davno... stara je. Starija od mojeg tijela, tijela moje majke, tijela moje bake. Jednako stara kao moje ja, staro spontano ja, svijet.” (Minh-ha, 1989: 2) Tim odlomkom Trinh T. Minh-ha, američka profesorica, spisateljica i skladateljica, započinje svoju knjigu *Woman, Native, Other* i priziva vlastito sebstvo, svoju nostalgичnu imaginarnu smještenost, i zemljopisnu – vijetnamsku i onu žensku.

Uz netom spomenute, oglašavaju se mnogi drugi glasovi otpora oblikovani unutar drugih okvira ili drukčijih vrsta tekstualnosti, uključujući i umjetničke, koji potiču kritičke stavove protiv “proizvodnje” ljudskog pustošenja tražeći promišljanja nanovo, zahtijevajući odgovornost.

Dvije ugledne feminističke umjetnice – hrvatska umjetnica Sanja Iveković i američka umjetnica kubanskog podrijetla Ana Mendieta, spomenula bih ovom prigodom samo njih, upotrebljavaju tako na različite načine svoje tijelo kao glas i čin otpora, jednako kao što i različita feministička okupljanja i prosvjedne skupine, posebno *Žene u crnom*, koriste umjetničku praksu uključujući zajedničke tjelesne performanse kao poseban oblik svojeg otpora. Primjeri mnogostrukih ženskih glasova pojavljuju se diljem svijeta; primjeri koji svjedoče, vrište, podsjećaju, prizivaju, imenuju, uznemiruju, upisuju, osporavaju, prestupaju; glasovi koji izražavaju svoju ljutnju i svoju moć, pišu svoje priče, iskazuju svoj stav, pomiču svoju perspektivu promatranja svijeta

ili promiču bolje “postojanje u svijetu” (*worldliness*), kao što bi to rekao postkolonijalni teoretičar Edward Said.

Svjedočenje Rigoberte Menchú, dobitnice Nobelove nagrade za mir 1992. godine, postalo je jedan od najglasovitijih tekstova srednjoameričkog otpora; alternativni sudovi žena djeluju kao najvažniji forum za javna svjedočenja protiv nepravde diljem svijeta; činovi otpora obznanjeni u političkom angažmanu *Žena u crnom* ili utjelovljeni u umjetničkim pozivima Ane Mendieta, Trinh T. Minh-ha, Irit Rogoff, Sanje Iveković, svi oni govore o značajnom feminističkom pozicioniranju. U tom se smislu feminističko oglašavanje odnosi na artikulaciju¹ koja, poticajnim, promišljenim i provokativnim ženskim glasovima o različitim temama iz rodne perspektive, istodobno nastoji osporiti legitimnost dominantnog diskursa.

1.3. Kako govoriti izvan lokalnog mjesta/dometa/okružja?

Kad sam razmišljala o tome kako pripremiti ovu prezentaciju, dva su me pitanja stalno opsjedala: prvo, kakvu bih poruku željela podijeliti s vama i drugo, kakvu vrstu epistemologijskog zahtjeva ovo izlaganje zahtijeva. Sve vrijeme osjećala sam se uznemirenom, smišljajući različite verzije osobnog ulaska u problematiku glasanja/pisanja/iskazivanja, a koje su duboko pokrenule moj osjećaj sebstva, prisjećajući se uvijek iznova koliko sam puta izgubila glas ili prikladne riječi ne bih li izrazila ono što sam željela. Istodobno sam se, tijekom šetnje kroz svoj *prostor pamćenja*, prisjećala kako sam u tišini ili prostoru javnog pozivala svoje “pobunjeno sebstvo” na čin otpora; kako sam nebrojeno puta iskusila istodobno i ljudsku tjeskobu i feministički ponos, kao onomad u Jeruzalemu s Radom (Borić) 1994. godine, godinu dana prije u Zenici s Gaby (Mischkovski), svojom prijateljicom iz Njemačke, ili u Cape Townu 2001. godine, kad sam u statusu svjedokinje ekspertice sudjelovala u javnom svjedočenju o ratnim sukobima u već podijeljenim jugoslavenskim zajednicama. Ili pak, 1991. godine, kad sam kao jedna od malobrojnih žena prigovaračica savjesti radila s muškarcima koji su se suprotstavljali ratu. U međuvremenu, dijelovi priča tkani su i pisani s Melitom, Stašom, Corinne, Yvonne (Deutsch), Radom (Iveković)...

Moja druga dvojba bila je kako “izmisliti” vlastitu smještenost za ovu prigodu. Posuđujući glasove spomenutih žena kao nosivo mjesto gdje se i sama oglašavam, susrela sam se s radovima Toni Morrison, bell hooks, Irit Rogoff, Judith Butler, Sare Suleri, Gayatri Ch. Spivak itd. i nekih muških teoretika, poput Homi K. Bhabhe, Billa Ashcrofta, da spomenem samo neke od njih, koji su obujmili/e moj proces razmišljanja. Čitajući i iščitavajući u nekoliko navrata njihova promišljanja i bivajući u dosluhu sa sobom, u

¹ Slažem se s izjavom Ernesta Laclaua da je “Artikulacija’ (...) primarna ontologijska razina uspostavljanja zbiljskog” (1990: 184).

međuvremenu sam otkrila određenu mrežu pojmova i koncepata kao što su protudiskurs, *uzvratni govor*, preživljavanje, izmještenost, egzil, nepripadanje, *uznemirujuće drugo*, važnih i pokretnih pojmova kako bih stvorila i oblikovala svoju smještenost. Pod smještenošću mislim istodobno na svoje feminističko pozicioniranje i kritičko samolociranje i prelaženje.

Pitanja “Gdje pripadam?”, u smislu rušenja stabilne državne zajednice, i “Gdje je nečije mjesto?” (Ashcroft, 2001: 124), kako je Bill Ashcroft imenovao problem pripadnosti za neku drugu svrhu, odnosno označavajući ga ključnim “(...) za kulturni učinak kolonizacije i onaj koji utječe na svaki aspekt koloniziranog društva” (ibid) nekako su se spojila u jedno. Vraćajući se u devedesete, bila sam uznemirena nesigurnošću svojega “življenog” mjesta koje je oblikovala veza između tzv. pretpostavljenog identiteta i stvarne lokacije kao što sam intenzivno osjećala značenje prostora u njegovoj globalnosti i poveznici s njom, izvan lokalnog dometa/okružja.

Ali, neodgodivo pitanje ticalo se zapravo žudene potrebe da ponovno izgradim svoje žensko ili, preciznije, feminističko mjesto iz kojeg bih mogla govoriti/djelovati. U onom trenutku kad je ljudska raspuklina postala sastavnom matricom mojeg iskustva i razmišljanja, feminističko stajalište otvorilo je mogućnost za mnoge pristupe, stvarne i zamišljajne. Moje tijelo i moja svijest ili utjelovljeno mjesto mojeg bivanja/pripadanja počelo je pulsirati. Povrh svega, kao glavni problem pojavilo se pitanje kako raščistiti mjesto s kojeg bih mogla govoriti, da se poslužim vrlo značajnom dilemom Gayatri Ch. Spivak. Spomenuta autorica zacijelo je bila u pravu ustvrdivši, uz to, da “etika nije samo problem znanja nego i poziv na odnos” (1996: 190). U tom smislu, žensko progovaranje kao “govor o” čini se nemogućim bez sučeljavanja poveznice subjekta i vlastitog pozicioniranja s odgovornošću progovaranja ili “govora za” ili, drugim riječima, za mjesto intersubjektivnosti kao potencijalnosti tog odnosa; za pozivanje/dozivanje i uključivanje drugih glasova uvijek kad je posrijedi ljudskost.

Glas otpora kojim se bavim traži pozivanje i prizivanje drugih, bivajući istodobno nalog vlastitog sebstva kao i, feminističkim riječima, vlastito sebstvo “u odnosu”, svjesno da samo sučeljavanjem s dramatičnim činom vlastite pozicije u odnosu na sebe i na druge,² “uznemirujuće sebstvo” može prestupiti ili “iskoračiti izvan linija”, što je, među ostalim, bila odlika feminističkoga mirovnog aktivizma tijekom ratnog sukoba u bivšim jugoslavenskim zemljama.

² Odnos, kako je ustvrdila Carol Gilligan u svojoj poznatoj knjizi *Drukčijim glasom*, zahtijeva vezu koja ovisi “(...) ne samo o kapacitetu ili sposobnosti slušanja drugih i učenja njihova jezika ili zauzimanja njihova stajališta nego i o posjedovanju vlastitoga glasa i jezika.” (Gilligan, 1996: xx).

1.4. Kako stići do ženskoga glasa: tjelesni i diskurzivni glas

Oglašavanje je pitanje pozicioniranja, ali za žene znači nešto više. Subjekt – i ovdje prizivam Juliju Kristevu (1980) – pojavljuje se čim se pojavi svijest o njegovu označavanju i imenovanju. Prema tome, glasanje/oglašavanje za žene je i čin pozicioniranja i čin objave/imenovanja ili glasanjem/oglašavanjem kao pozicioniranjem, žene izražavaju svoje bivanje i svoje postajanje, svoja mnogostruka sebstva, hvatajući se sve vrijeme u koštac sa složenom procedurom prekoračenja ne bi li “nepozvana sebstva” bila prisutna u javnosti kao i s posljedicama nelagode koju to donosi, a isto tako i sa žudnjom za artikulacijom svoga (ženskog) programa. Prema Judith Butler, oglašavanje je vrsta uprizorenja i djelovanja. Prema tome, smatram da je svako feminističko oglašavanje kao izvedba i čin uprizorenja istovremeno i glas otpora i glas pobunjenog sebstva.

Toni Morrison (1993), poznata feministička spisateljica koja se strastveno bavila problemom kako da žene dođu do svoga glasa, uvelike je svjesna da žene upotrebom jezika zapravo djeluju, a upravo putem tog djelovanja jezik postaje norma, znak, smjer za živote žena. Slijedeći njezin slijed misli, J. Butler ustvrdila je da je “jezik (...) i ‘ono’ što činimo (...) i ono što proizvodimo, činovi i njihove posljedice” (1997: 8). Za Trinh T. Minh-ha pronalaženje glasa, traganje za glasom i riječima unutar jezika uvijek je čin osobne predanosti jeziku i vlastitom sebstvu ili ono što je, prema riječima Susan Griffin, adresirano kao mjesto u vlastitom sebstvu u kojem riječi imaju autoritet, ali i kao čin ‘ontološke’ solidarnosti s i među onima koji pripadaju potlačenim zajednicama/skupinama.

Postoje različiti odgovori i različiti ženski glasovi koji zahtijevaju dekolonizirajući jezik i prekid bezglasnosti i nevidljivosti, ali za mnoge od njih pitanje prvenstva kad je vlastiti potlačeni/ugnjjetavani identitet posrijedi³ i dalje ostaje ključni problem. Kako bismo dokučile smisao toga složenog pitanja i, povijesno gledano, vrlo često najveće dvojbe, spominjem glasove dviju feministkinja koje danas otvoreno i glasno propituju taj problem.

“Zašto ne razviti određenu količinu bijesa usmjerenog protiv povijesti koja je za tebe ispisala tako bijedan scenarij kojim si ušutkana?” (Spivak, Harasym, 1990: 62) pitanje je koje je postavila Gayatri Ch. Spivak, iznoseći nakon toga i mogući prijedlog: “Zatim počneš istraživati što ušutkava tvoj

³ Ono što je Trin T. Minh-ha nazvala “trostrukom sponom” da bi objasnila složenost pozicije nekoga tko je žena, spisateljica i (ne-bijela) “stanovnica Trećeg svijeta” čini poziv iznimno teškim kad je moguć bilo koji izbor između ta tri suprotstavljena identiteta. Međutim, žena, kako Minh-ha ističe u jednoj od svojih sljedećih ključnih tvrdnji: (...) “često je u zavadi s jezikom, koji sudjeluje u ideologiji ‘bijelog muškarca kao norme’ i koristi se uglavnom kao sredstvo za kruženje uspostavljenih odnosa moći” (1989: 6).

glas, umjesto da zauzmeš tu vrlo determinističku poziciju – budući da je moja boja kože takva kakva jest, budući da je moj spol takav, ne mogu govoriti.” (1990: 62). S druge strane, prije gotovo dvadeset godina bell hooks postavlja vrlo strog zahtjev feminističkom programu pitajući se: “Smijem li govoriti potlačenima i tlačitelju istim glasom?” (1989: 28) i nastavlja radikalnijom retorikom: “Smijem li govoriti/obratiti se tebi/vama jezikom koji će nas udaljiti od granica dominacije, jezikom koji te/vas neće sputati, ograničiti, zarobiti?” (ibid.)

Prvi glas suočava nas izravno s učincima i izvorima načina na koji je ušutkana povijest ženske potlačenosti i žena unutar višestruko potlačene povijesti ugušila ženski glas u jeziku velikih naracija⁴ i stvorila taj nepremostiv cijep unutar njega; drugi glas otvara stalan proces tjeskobe oko rodno određenog Drugog i rodno određene Rase kao koloniziranog Drugog u smislu maskulinih imperija – diskurzivnih kao epistemologijskih i prostornih kao kolonijalnih tijekom povijesti – i njihovih suprotstavljenih/konkurentnih aspekata. Također nas tjera da se suočimo sa složenošću i paradoksima suvremenoga globalnog procesa obilježenog uvjetima kolonizacije i neokolonijalizma koji je uvijek ovjeren putem glasova autoriteta, i načinima kako paradigme Sjever/Jug i Zapad/Istok funkcioniraju unutar njega, kao i tjeskobom ljudskog zajedništva koja se čini nerazrješivom.

Stoga postavljanje problema smještenog unutar istoga glasa kao metaforičkog označitelja za kolonizaciju “ženskog sebstva” i “rasnog sebstva” usmjeravanjem aspekata višestrukog ugnjetavanja prema ženama podsjeća nas ne samo na neka pogrešna čitanja feminizama unutar konteksta rase kao specifičnog/partikularnog/potlačenog iskustva (Mohanty, 1991) nego prije svega na dvije tekstualnosti žena; one hodaju odvojeno i zajedno, unutar svojih međusobnih i internih napetosti i dinamike; tjelesna i diskurzivna. Kad bell hooks tvrdi da je jezik poprište borbe, ona objavljuje subjekt opreke, točnije, subjekt otpora prihvaćenog i postavljenog unutar osobne pripovijesti kao najmoćnijeg čina ženskoga glasa, a ujedno najnezgodnijeg i najdvosmislenijeg čina unutar dominantne naracije.

1.5. Potlačeni ženski glas kao “tjelesna bilješka”

To jasno stajalište u nazivu ovog ulomka zaslužuje dodatno objašnjenje. Ako shvaćamo zašto je glas većine uvijek bezličan, dok je glas manjine uvijek

⁴ Između te dvije linije propitivanja/odgovaranja kod Spivak možemo iščitati prisutnost i nelagode i bijesa koje proizvodi povijesni scenarij kao čin ušutkavanja ženskoga glasa, ali također i pokretača transformativne pozicije koja ide usporedo s oporom/teškom odlukom o istraživanju vlastite (subjektivne) pozicije u odnosu na dominantnu (“objektivnu”) historijsku pripovijest.

osoban, kako je Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989: 28) ispravno ustvrdila u svojoj potrazi za ženskim glasom, možda smo bliže razumijevanju zašto svaka osobna pripovijest preuzima rizik da joj glas bude oduzet, podcijenjen, zloporabljen i izrabljivan ili prilikom da bude samo “fusnota” ili “tjelesna bilješka” unutar velike naracije i za nju. Uzgred, to je upravo jedno od iskustava koje žene s europskog Juga iz regije bivše Jugoslavije dijele sa ženama s globalnog Juga: dobivanjem mogućnosti da budu vidljive pripovijedanjem osobnih priča i iskustava tijekom rata, preuzele su rizik da postanu “fusnote” za veliku (teorijsku/zapadnjačku) naraciju (Narayan, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Kašić, 2004). Povreda diskurzom (Butler, 1997; Butler, 2005), bez obzira na to je li medijska ili teorijska, osim što je pojačala traumu daljnje marginalizacije ili oduzimanja glasa, povećala je i jaz unutar prostora diskurza kao mjesta prakticiranja moći nad manjinom/manjinama. Judith Butler s pravom ističe ključnu razdjelnicu u prividno sitnoj razlici između “biti prepoznat” i “biti prepoznatljiv”⁵ i pozicioniranja u jeziku u trenutku kad želimo od objekta postati subjekt. Metafora “pronalaženje glasa”⁶ koja sadrži oba netom spomenuta značenja prepoznavanja i oslanja se na njih postavlja se istodobno kao ključno pitanje potlačenih skupina i posebno žena. “Pronalaženje glasa” naravno znači više od dometa njegova doslovnog značenja; ono objavljuje trenutak pomaka; trenutak kad oni/e koji/e su povijesno potlačeni/e postaju subjekti promijenjene i preokrenute povijesti i subjekti društvene promjene.

Vraćajući se na osobne priče kao izuzetne otiske navedenih metafora i usprkos različitim rizicima u tome kako, tko i za koju svrhu ih koristi, smatram da ništa osim osobnog priče/pripovijesti ne bi moglo snažnije upozoriti na način na koji se muška moć upisuje; ništa snažnije preokrenuti pogled prema suočavanju s problemom, uznemiriti “uređenu” hegemonijsku moć ili potkopati njene učinke destabilizacijom njegova povijesnoga patrijarhalnog racionalizma/univerzalizma; ništa ne bi moglo biti bolji označitelj transformativnog “stanja” vlastite izloženosti i ranjivosti u vlastitu moć. Jednostavno zbog toga jer osobna naracija kao rizik po sebi izlaže riziku cijelu narativnu matricu različitim nepredvidljivim učincima i posljedicama.

Posuđujući glas Billa Ashcrofta, upravo zato što u slučaju svjedočenja Rigoberte Menchú Tum, “Povlaštenost iskaza (*énonciation*) u njezinoj priči,

⁵ “Počinjemo ‘postojati’ kad smo prepoznati/e, ali tek kad smo *prepoznatljivi/e*” (Butler, 1997: 5) ili, točnije, po onome što se diže iznad konvencionalnog prepoznavanja, njegove stalne krhkosti i simboličnih rituala.

⁶ Kobena Mercer u tekstu “‘1968’: Periodising Politics and Identity” naglašava da nam metafora “pronalaženje glasa” kao teorije govornog subjekta (...) omogućuje da pristupimo analizi oblikovanja subjekta u najširem mogućem smislu – u smislu demokracije kao borbe oko odnosa predstavljanja/reprezentacije” (1992: 429).

povlaštenost pripovijedanja nad pripovijedanim” (2001: 123), povlaštenost iskustvene istine nad univerzalnom povijesnom istinom, osim što se smješta u novom prostoru, međuprostoru (cf. Bhabha, 1994: 36) između književnosti i povijesti ili književnosti i kolonijalizma, pokazuje i takvu nepredvidljivu moć u pripočavanju istine o potlačenosti da usmjeruje točku diskursa prema vlastitom značenju; značenju koje je Foucault jednom opisao kao “volju za istinom”. Postoje različiti razlozi zbog kojih svjedočenje može uznemiriti više od bilo kojega drugog žanra unutar niza osobnih naracija. Slijedeći Ashcroftovu argumentaciju (2001: 114–123), spomenut ću tri: prvo, stalno premještanje granica između sadašnjosti i prošlosti zajedno sa zajedništvom glasova potlačenog pojedinca/ke i potlačenog naroda; drugo, neodvojivost afirmacije osobnog identiteta i identiteta kolektivne potlačene skupine, i treće, učinci svjedočenja na autoritet tekstualne povijesne naracije putem proizvodnje razdora iznutra, ponovnim uvođenjem “retorike iskustva u ‘povijesnu’ naraciju” (116). Stoga žena kao nositeljica svoje pripovijesti, kao subjekt iskaza ili upravo uznemirujuće “Drugo”⁷ postaje ono što ili, bolje rečeno, ona koja je važna i čija “volja za istinom”, izlaganjem sebe, transformativnim činom i djelovanjem, izoštrava i reže dominantnu naraciju te osvještava i, na kraju, tim činom prelazi okvir bilo kojega partikularnog diskursa i diskursa kao takvog.

Upravo su to Ana Mendieta i Sanja Iveković učinile unutar svoje radikalne umjetničke prakse ili Staša Zajović unutar mirovnog aktivizma ili Kim Hak-Sun (Ueno, 2004: 69) kad je u prosincu 1991. godine s još dvije Korejke, nekad imenovane kao “žene za ugodu” militarističkom ustroju, na okružnom sudu u Tokyju progovorila o spolnom zlostavljanju nakon gotovo pedeset godina, zahtijevajući službenu ispriku i pojedinačnu odštetu od japanske vlade i tim istupom izravno uznemirujući konstrukt javnog sjećanja i službenu historijsku naraciju. Naravno, zajedno s mnogim drugima.

1.6. Ženski glas višestrukih drugosti

Pitanje se pojavljuje u dva oblika: kako višestruka Drugost postaje predvorje za zaht(i)jev-anje, za glas-anje, za upad-anje, za nečiju novu nepoznatu naraciju i potencijal novih naracija i kako se glas okreće prema oblikovanju samo-zahtjeva. U određenom smislu, nalazimo se na području tekstualnosti

⁷ Iako kulturna kritičarka Irit Rogoff (2000: 155) koristi pojam “uznemirujući drugi” za različite marginalne skupine (uključujući dijasporu, prognanike itd.) koje se suprotstavljaju dominantnom poretku; sam pojam se može se može koristiti za žene koje intrinzično uznemiruju dominantnu matricu ponovnim vrednovanjem, prisvajanjem i pomicanjem fiksne proizvodnje značenja ili raščinjavanjem njezinih izvjesnosti.

koja se opire ili različitih vrsta protuglasova koji aktivno nastoje destabilizirati ili uznemiriti strukture moći dominantnih tekstova i njihovih kanona i tim činom dekonstruirati praksu označivanja autoriteta.⁸ Helen Tiffin, pozivajući se na postavku Richarda Terdimana da "(...) protudiskursi imaju sposobnost *smještanja*: relativiziranja autoriteta i stabilnosti dominantnog sustava izražavanja koji ne može čak ni poduprijeti njihovo postojanje" (1997: 98), zapravo naglašava tu neprekidnu proceduru svjesnog ometanja temeljnih pretpostavki kolonijalne povijesti, njenih znanstvenih ili bilo kakvih drugih pretenzija iz, kako napominje, "(...) transkulturalnog stanovišta imperijalno uspostavljenog opredmećenog 'lokalnog'" (1997: 98). Drugim riječima, protudiskurs može postojati i razumjeti se samo unutar svoje veoma određujuće smještenosti odnosno lokacije i prema referentnom mjestu iste (Tiffin, 1997: 96) na isti način kao što ne podrazumijeva ili nema nakanu da provede čin ireverzibilnosti s vladajućom/velikom naracijom. Protudiskurs funkcionira kao nov prostor izražavanja koji stvara novu strukturu značenja, nov obzor razmišljanja, novo kritičko oko za nosivu priču, ali bez težnje da je zamijeni.

Uzimajući u obzir da je diskurs po sebi uvijek mjesto za protudjelovanje zahvaljujući njegovoj implicitnoj podvojenosti i dvoznačnosti, napose umjetnički diskurs koji ima vlastitu nišu što omogućuje različite oblike otpora kao što su mimikrija, alegorija, metonimija, subverzija, parodija, modusi podvojenosti, *testimonio*, poetika egzila, to znači mogućnosti za intervenciju, umetanje i stvaranje ženskoga glasa otpora. U razmatranju feminističkog samosmještanja i kritičkih potencijala vezanih uz to, imam na umu i kategoriju performativnosti u interpretaciji Judith Butler kao partikularni modus otpora ili spomenuti pojam "uzvratnoga govora" koji uvodi bell hooks kao dvostruki način protudiskursa, odnosno kao zahtjev za ponovno čitanje rodno određene rase kritikom obaju tekstova: patrijarhalnog i kolonijalnog racionalizma. Nadalje, Toni Morrison i Patricia Williams predlažu teorijske prostore za konceptualizaciju odsutnosti, kulturnih opsesija, rodničkih maštarija, a Linda Tuhiwai Smith u svojem projektu *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), koristeći različite etičke smjernice, među ostalim, zahtijevanja, svjedočenja, pripovijedanja, prisjećanja, slavljenja preživljavanja, povezivanja, preoblikovanja, imenovanja itd., govori istodobno o sporenju s poviješću i ženskim pričama otpora. Drugim

⁸ "Ne radi se o tomu da je glas autoriteta ostao bez riječi. Prije će biti da je kolonijalni diskurz došao do točke u kojoj se, u suočavanju s hibridnošću svojih objekata, *prisutnost* moći obznanjuje kao nešto drugo nego što njegova pravila, ako se uzmu u obzir, nalažu" – tako je Homi K. Bhabha (1997: 35) u drugu svrhu objasnio tu proceduru nemogućnosti zadržavanja nadzora gospodara/moćnika unutar diskurzivne dominacije i prilike za protustrategije.

riječima, postoje mjesta na koja službene zone kontrole nad diskursom ne djeluju i unutar kojih “manjinski” glasovi mogu nastajati i time u diskursu trajno povećati “spornu *internu* liminalnost” (Bhabha, 2002: 300).

1.7. Glasanje/oglašavanje o vlastitim dvojbama

Bez obzira na to kako postavim ovaj problem, ženska autobiografija stoji kao izvjesnost u svim prikazima i izvedbama otpora – kao artikulacija (njezine) osobne priče, svjedočenje (njezinih) vlastitih ideja, izvor složene i neodređene autentičnosti, čin (njezina) osobnog angažmana i kao mogućnost za višestruke iskorake kako bismo razvile novi politički imaginarij, koji, kako razmišlja Corrine Kumar, korespondira sa složenošću zbilje na kritičniji i kreativniji način.

Kako u tom slučaju možemo šutjeti? Zašto bismo šutjele?

U tom pitanju, tako sročenom, pronašla sam razlog za ponovno prikupljanje/pro-govaranje o protudiskurzivnim praksama žena što će biti temelj za ponovan upis i ponovan zaziv solidarnosti među ženama kao njima bitne i zajedničke vokacije, usprkos ili upravo zahvaljujući, višestrukim starim i novim preprekama i razlikama s kojima se susreću.

S engleskog prevela Tamara Slišković
 autorizirala Biljana Kašić

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IRENA ATELJEVIĆ

TREBAMO VIŠE MJESEČEVE ENERGIJE:
FEMININI GLASOVI TIHO STVARAJU
NOVI TRANSMODERNI SVIJET

Uvod

Snovi zahtijevaju optimizam, osjećaj da se nadanja može ispuniti. (Rifkin, 2005: 384)

Ovo se poglavlje bavi feminističkim zabrinutim glasovima u kontekstu takozvanog svijeta “poslije jedanaestog rujna”, vrhunac kojeg je globalna kriza ratova, “terorizma”, klimatske promjene, prekomjerne potrošnje, rastućega rascjepa između bogatih i siromašnih, društvenog otuđenja i individualnih osjećaja prisile, tjeskobe, kaosa i bespomoćnosti diljem svijeta. Svi su ti procesi potaknuli cijeli niz futurističkih scenarija, od “mekših” problema ekološke održivosti do radikalnih tvrdnji da čovječanstvu prijete kolektivna smrt (npr. Brown, 2006; Ghisi 2006; Rooney, Hearney i Ninan, 2005). Pitanja o održivosti (Zemlje), koja u javni diskurs prodiru tijekom dvaju posljednjih desetljeća, šire se brže nego što možemo shvatiti. Problem je u tomu što ih još smještamo u postojeće ekonomske i političke okvire koji nastavljaju rabiti racionalnost, novac i tehnologiju kao prevladavajuća mjerila napretka i ljudskog razvoja. U odgovoru na to teoretičari/ke društvenih znanosti, ekonomisti/ce i politički aktivisti/ce, autori/ce i duhovne vođe te mnogi uspješni poduzetnici/ce tvrde da je čovječanstvu potrebna snažna globalna promjena uma i paradigmatički pomak (kojima je već zahvaćen).

U ovomu ću poglavlju analizirati različita stajališta i istraživanja koja nagovještavaju snažnu globalnu promjenu u svijesti i nude koncept transmodernosti kao krovni pojam što konotira izranjajući društveno-politički, gospodarski, politički i filozofski pomak. Počet ću razradom koncepta prema

Ghisiju (2001; 2006; 2008)¹ i nastaviti osvrtom na ostale radove na polju kritičke ekonomije, socijalne antropologije i psihologije, kulturalnih studija, političkih znanosti, subalternih i postkolonijalnih studija te društvenoga aktivizma. S obzirom na to da se mnoga načela sadržana u Ghisijevoj ideji o transmodernosti odnose na druge radove koji ne rabe nužno isti termin, ali prenose istu ideju o nastajućem paradigmatskom pomaku kao sljedećoj etapi kulturalnoga i materijalnoga razvoja u ljudskoj (iako dominantno zapadnjačkoj) povijesti, odlučila sam koristiti koncept kao medij za prijenos onoga što se čini da je jedinstvena poruka: “čovječanstvo se, još jednom, nalazi na raskrižju između umirućega, staroga poretka i uspona novoga doba” (Rifkin, 2005: 181).

Upoznajući se s tom literaturom, zamijetila sam da ženski glasovi transmodernoga pozivanja na socijalnu uključenost, partnerstvo i etiku ljubavi imaju vodeću ulogu u pomaku. No, očekujući kritiku skeptičnih teoretičara i pesimista političke ekonomije da je moja rasprava o etici ljubavi prilično naivna, željela bih objasniti svoj stav. Kako imam naobrazbu neomarksističke geografkinje, ne mogu poreći dominantnu i silnu očitost strukturalnih nejednakosti u svijetu. Međutim, tijekom karijere prihvatila sam stavove Glorije Steinem i bell hooks koje tvrde da označavanje opresirane razlike kreira način razmišljanja žrtve, koji ozbiljno utječe na osobno i kolektivno povjerenje u sebe, pa tako suptilno reproducira daljnju marginalizaciju. Stoga, u nadi da možemo istinski preobličiti svijet, odlučujem se usredotočiti na znakove što signaliziraju potencijalni pokret u kolektivnoj svijesti. U pletori pesimističkih pogleda i loših vijesti ostavljam taj (priznajem, važan) posao drugima i posvećujem se traženju i otkrivanju onoga što je pozitivno i moguće u našem ljudskom, razvojnom potencijalu.

Transmodernost: dijalektička trijada

Koncept transmodernosti vrlo je složena teza koju Ghisi (1999; 2001; 2006; 2008) prije svega objašnjava kao novu paradigmu svijeta što prenosi inherentne vrijednosti na koje se ljudi oslanjaju u donošenju vlastitih ocjena i odluka u svim područjima svojih djelovanja: ekonomiji, politici i svakodnevnomu životu. Prije nego što počnem ocrtavati njegove glavne ideje, valja mi upozoriti čitatelja/icu da ću ih izložiti kao “zadane”, tako da steknu opću sliku o konceptu. Ipak, istodobno ću prikazati dodatne dokaze iz vlastite analize

¹ Marca Ghisija srela sam na konferenciji *Transmodern visions of tourism* gdje je govorio o globalnom kulturalnom preobražaju kao teolog, filozof i istraživač koji je deset godina radio u Odjelu za napredne studije Europske komisije, savjetujući predsjednika Delorsa i Santera o vizijama Europske unije, etičkim i kulturnim pomacima. Njegov govor “dobrih vijesti”, temeljen na knjizi (2001) *Au-delà de la modernité du patriarcat et du capitalisme: La société réenchanteé?*, zaintrigirao me i potaknuo da detaljnije istražim ideju transmodernosti.

ostalnih referencija koje upućuju na slične smjernice, ali i na one koje Ghisi pripisuje sebi (premda često na, priznajem, sjajan način).

Međutim, imajući u vidu ograničenost prostora, svjesna sam također da će moja rasprava ostati na razini općega pregleda, što uvijek znači i rizik pretjeranoga pojednostavljanja mnogih složenih aspekata koji će ovdje biti izloženi. Ghisi počinje svoju tezu osvrtom na pet razina promjene koju opisuje s pomoću "metafore o ledenjaku" ljudske globalne (ne)svijesti i (ne)spoznaje te (ne)vidljivosti, pri čemu su prve dvije razine vidljive barem u smislu spoznaje o svojoj "laganoj smrti". Dakle, prva je razina na najtamnijemu i najhladnijemu dnu, na kojemu se naša globalna civilizacija nalazi danas, na rubu održivosti i onoga što on opisuje kao smrt i kolektivno samoubojstvo čovječanstva. Druga je razina povezana sa smrću patrijarhalnih vrijednosti "zapovijedi, nadzora i osvajanja" što su svijet pretvorile u natjecateljsko i teritorijem opsjednuto bojno polje. Treća se razina odnosi na smrt modernosti kao dominantne paradigme kroz koju svijet vidimo kao objektivnu stvarnost ukorijenjenu u nepristranoj istini. Četvrta razina odnosi se na smrt industrijske vrste poslovanja i propast materijalne ekonomije, dok je peta razina u vezi s ukupnom krizom neskriveno birokratskih i piramidalnih institucija. Iznoseći te tvrdnje, poziva se na brojne znanstvenike/ice, vodeće pojedince/ke i razne predstavnike/ice vlasti, koji već neko vrijeme upozoravaju javnost i vlade na nužnost promjene (Elgin, 1997).

Premda ih čitam kao tipične postmoderne izjave, Ghisi nastavlja objašnjavati da se *transmoderni* način razmišljanja sada pojavljuje kao naša nada u očajnički potrebnu i rekonstruiranu viziju, nakon beskrajnih postmodernih (premda nužnih) dekonstrukcija modernosti, kojima se intelektualke i intelektualci bave posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća. Postmoderne krhotine s kojima se suočavamo Rifkin vrlo jasno ocrtava:

Ako je postmodernost srušilo ideološke zidove modernosti i oslobodilo zatvorenike/ce, nije im ostavilo nikakvo posebno mjesto na koje bi otišli/e. Postali/e smo egzistencijalni nomadi, koji/e lutaju svijetom bez granica, ispunjeni/e nedovršenim čežnjama u očajničkoj potrazi za nečim za što bismo se vezali/e i u što bismo vjerovali/e. Premda je ljudski duh oslobođen starih kategorija misli, svi/e smo pojedinačno prisiljeni/e pronaći vlastitu stazu u kaotičnomu i fragmentiranomu svijetu, koji je čak opasniji od onoga sveobuhvatnoga što smo ga ostavili/e iza sebe (2005: 5).

Dakle, prema Ghisiju, sam koncept *transmodernosti* podrazumijeva da je najbolje od modernosti sačuvano, dok se istodobno krećemo onkraj nje. Linearna projekcija stoga nas ne vodi od (pred)modernosti, preko postmodernosti do transmodernosti, nego ona transcendiraju modernost tako što nas preko, tj. kroz modernost vodi u drugo stanje bivstva "s ruba kaosa u novi poredak

društva” (Sardar, 2004: 2). Ta tvrdnja u velikoj mjeri odražava izvorno značenje samoga pojma, koji je navodno skovala španjolska filozofkinja i feministkinja Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda u eseju *La Sonrisa de Saturno: Hacia una teoria transmoderna* (1989)² u kojemu rabi hegelovsku logiku u skladu s kojom modernost, postmodernost i transmodernost oblikuju dijalektičku trijadu što dovršava proces teze, antiteze i sinteze. Njezinim riječima rečeno: “Treća nastoji sačuvati definirajući poriv prve, ali je lišena njena temelja: integrirajući svoju negaciju, treći moment ostvaruje određenu spekularnu obuhvatnost” (Magda, 1989: 13). Drugim riječima, transmodernost je kritična prema modernosti i postmodernosti, dok u isto vrijeme crpi elemente iz svake od njih. Na određen je način to povratak na oblik apsolutne “logike” koja seže onkraj zapadnjačke ideologije i pokušava povezati ljudsku rasu novom zajedničkom pričom, koju se može nazvati *globalnom svijesću* (Rifkin, 2005).

Što, dakle, točno znači ova složena filozofska premisa u smislu njena prevođenja u socijalne, ekonomske i političke aranžmane u svijetu i našoj ljudskoj egzistenciji? Da bih to objasnila, podijelit ću raspravu u tri dijela – prvo, glavna teorijska načela koncepta; drugo, socijalne čimbenike promjene, te, na poslijetku, ekonomske i političke promjene. No, budući da smatram kako ljudi oblikuju strukture te da one oblikuju ljude, važno je ovdje napomenuti da je svrha te podjele samo to da olakša razumijevanje, a ne da umjetno razdvoji snage strukture i djelovanja (*agency*).

Glavna načela transmodernosti

Ghisi opisuje transmodernost kao *planetarnu viziju* u kojoj ljudi tek počinju shvaćati da smo svi (uključivši biljke i životinje) povezani u jedan sustav, što nas sve čini međuovisnima, ranjivima i odgovornima za Zemlju kao nedjeljivu životnu zajednicu. U tom je smislu ta paradigma aktivno tolerantna i istinski demokratska po samoj definiciji jer svijest o međuovisnosti raste, a hijerarhije među različitim kulturama se rasklapaju. Usto je bitno postpatrijarhalna, u smislu da vizije i intuicije žena valja priznati kao nužne da bi se zajedno osmislilo inovativna hitna rješenja. Radikalno je to drukčije od (prethodnih i nužnih) (post)modernih feminističkih pokreta koji se samo bore za prava žena. Riječ je o zajedničkomu nastojanju muškaraca i žena da se bore za bolju sutrašnjicu odbacujući vrijednosti kontrole i dominacije. Također je bitno postsekularna, u

² Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda španjolska je filozofkinja i feministkinja čija su djela objavljena uglavnom na španjolskomu jeziku, što objašnjava zašto njezin rad nije tako dobro poznat na engleskomu govornom području na Zapadu. Na internetu sam uspjela pronaći samo jedan njezin esej na engleskomu jeziku, koji u načelu objašnjava temeljna filozofska načela njezina koncepta.

smislu da redefinira nov odnos između religija i politike na način koji nanovo začarava svijet prema otvorenosti za duhovno vodstvo kao osnovi za “privatno” ponašanje i “javnu” politiku, uz istodobno odbacivanje religijskih podjela i dogmi. Otvoreno je za transcendentala dok se opire svakom autoritarnom nametanju religijske izvjesnosti. Čineći to, pokušava ponovno otkriti sveto kao dimenziju života i naših društava.

Transmodernost se suprotstavlja beskrajnom ekonomskom napretku i opsjednutosti materijalnim dobrima, a umjesto toga promiče koncept kvalitete života kao mjerila napretka. Izraženo je to u obliku ekonomije znanja koja pomiče naglasak s materijalnoga kapitala na nematerijalne vrijednosti i skrb o ljudskom kapitalu. Dovodi u pitanje racionalizirane ideje o radu u njegovoj umjetnoj rastavljenosti od života. Kombinira racionalnost s intuitivnim umnim radom. Odmiče se od vertikalnoga autoriteta prema “ravnijim”, “horizontalnijim” organizacijama; od upravljanja u stilu “preporuke gore – naredbe dolje” prema konsenzualnijem odlučivanju. Redefinira odnos između znanosti, etike i društva da bi posegnula za stvarnom i radikalnom transdisciplinarnošću. Umanjuje koncept klera, tehnokrata i stručnjaka/inja da bi podigla samospoznaju, samoznanje i individualnu odgovornost svih. Promiče zemaljsko državljanstvo i crpi iz najvećih potencijala čovječanstva. No, riječ nije o stavu što uniformira jer je u isto vrijeme sačuvana globalna usklađenost oko održive budućnosti i široka lepeza kulturalne raznolikosti. U globalnoj viziji povezanog čovječanstva tvrdi da svaka zajednica ili regija treba biti slobodna da se razvija na način koji je jedinstveno primjeren njenoj kulturi, ekologiji, klimi i ostalim obilježjima. Želi da uvidimo kako je danas opasnost manje između kultura i religija nego u sukobu različitih paradigmi. Transcendira modernističke srazove “da bi preskočila” u transmoderni svijet i kao takva nudi moćan put u mir i novu platformu dijaloga između svjetskih kultura. Općenito, karakterizira je optimizam u pružanju nade za ljudsku rasu.

Sociokulturalna promjena: tiha revolucija kulturalnih kreativki i kreativaca

Ghisi potvrđuje svoje tvrdnje referencom na fenomen “tihe revolucije” koju predvodi sve više takozvanih “kulturalnih kreativaca i kreativki” (Ray, 1996, 1998; Ray i Anderson, 2000), “koji kreiraju nove vrijednosti i – a da to ne znaju – aktiviraju paradigmu dvadeset i prvog stoljeća” (Ghisi, 2008: 158). Koncept tihe revolucije kulturalnih kreativaca/ivki potiče od Arnolda Toynbeeja, historičara koji je analizirao uspon i pad 23 civilizacije u svjetskoj povijesti te tvrdi da u trenutku kulturalnog pomaka, njega obično u tišini priprema pet posto “kreativnih marginalaca/alki”. Taj su koncept posudili sociolog Paul H. Ray i psihologinja Sherry Ruth Anderson te ga primijenili u svojem marketinškom klaster-istraživanju politike u Americi. Na temelju 13 godina

dugih istraživačkih studija provedenih na više od 100.000 Amerikanaca i Amerikanki, plus više od 100 fokus-grupa i desetaka dubinskih intervjua, otkrili su da oko 24 posto Amerikanaca i Amerikanki napušta tradicionalne ili moderne kulture da bi istaklo nove načine življenja. Novonastalu supkulturu nazivaju "kulturalni kreativci/kreativke" koji su duboko zabrinuti za ekologiju i spas planeta, za odnose, mir, društvenu pravdu, samoaktualizaciju, duhovnost i samoizražaj. Kao što su orijentirani/e prema svojoj unutrašnjosti, tako su i društveno osjetljivi/e. Aktivisti su i aktivistkinje, volonteri i volonterke, osobe koje pridonose pravim stvarima – više nego ostali Amerikanci. Među brojnim zanimljivim pokazateljima ponašanja, one/i su među onima koje/i najviše slušaju radio, a najmanje gledaju televiziju. Razmišljaju o sebi, vole putovati i ozbiljno traže duhovnu dimenziju u životu, koja seže onkraj religijskih dogmi. U svakodnevnom životu traže harmoniju tijela, uma i duha; stoga su njihova putovanja često duhovni i obrazovni izleti (primjerice, duhovne obnove i događaji usredotočeni na duhovnost i unutrašnje traganje, boljitak, alternativnu medicinu, itd.). Zanimljivo je da je u toj skupini 66 posto žena. Ray i Anderson (2000) tvrde da su zbog svoje potpune nevidljivosti u američkom životu kulturalni kreativci i kreativke začuđeni kada doznaju koliko puno drugih ljudi dijeli i njihove vrijednosti i njihov način života. Njihova vidljivost i moć da proizvedu ozbiljnu promjenu zasjenjene su jer ih se često zanemaruje kao ezoterične poklonike Novoga doba koji jednostavno biraju "alternativne načine života".

Statistike, međutim, prelaze granice sjevernoameričkoga kontinenta.³ Statistički ured Europske komisije (EUROSTAT) primijenio je metodu sličnu američkoj studiji i potvrdio sličan trend od otprilike 20 posto europskoga stanovništva koje pokazuje sličan niz vrijednosti (Tchernia, 1997). U svojem najnovijem radu Ghisi navodi i brojne anegdote koje pokazuju da se isti trend tiho širi Istočnom Europom, Azijom i Srednjim istokom. Na tipičan način sinkroničnosti takozvanih "slučajnosti" (Jaworski, 1996), ti su rezultati izloženi 1997. godine u San Franciscu na forumu *State of the World* (skup svjetskih vođa koji organizira Zaklada Gorbačov), gdje je još jedan znanstvenik, Duane Elgin, na temelju dodatne, nezavisne, svjetske studije izložio slično: pojavu nove paradigme i promjene globalne svijesti.⁴ U izvještaju *Millenium Project*

³ Ghisi, koji je Paula Raya sreo u svojstvu službenika Europske komisije, predložio je svojem Odjelu za napredne studije da se slično istraživanje provede i u zemljama Europske unije.

⁴ Tu sam sinkroničnost, međutim, otkrila slučajno. Dok sam pregledavala "literaturu o novoj paradigmi", Duane Elgin bio je visoko na popisu, a u kasnijoj sam analizi njegova djela shvatila da je 1997. godine sudjelovao na istom okupljanju na kojemu je Marc Ghisi predstavio europsku studiju o kulturalnim kreativcima/kreativkama. Inače, koncept sinkroničnosti uveo je C. G. Jung u svom radu "Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle" u kojem ga definira kao "značajnu podudarnost dvaju ili više događaja koja nadilazi mogućnost slučajnosti" (1960: 520).

Report (1997) navodi mnoge pokazatelje koji upućuju na nov pogled na svijet što nastaje, a koji on naziva *paradigmom mislećih/živećih sustava*. Svoje tvrdnje izvodi iz sveobuhvatnog pregleda mnogih objavljenih radova o “kulturalnomu preobražaju i paradigmi” poznatih znanstvenika/ica i svjetskih vođa, kao i empirijske dokaze o svjetskim statistikama o globalnoj ekološkoj svijesti, glavnim trendovima u ponašanju, novim društvenim vrijednostima i održivom načinu života.

Ekonomске i političke promjene

Za skeptične, koje/i uvijek olako zanemaruju ovakve tvrdnje smatrajući ih elitističkim, luksuzom više srednje klase, posebno želim citirati dvoje slavni znanstvenika koji navode uvjerljive dokaze o novim tehnološkim, ekonomskim i političkim aranžmanima što stvaraju i manifestiraju preobražaj. Najprije ću razmotriti Riane Eisler (1987; 1996; 2002; 2007), slavnu makrohistoričarku,⁵ a potom Jeremyja Rifkina (1995; 2005), dobro poznatog ekonomista i savjetnika predsjednika vlada i država (Europe i Sjedinjenih Američkih Država).

Djelujući posljednjih 20 godina kao kulturalna historičarka i teoretičarka evolucije, Riane Eisler uvela je sustav *partnerstva* i *dominacije* kao dvije podrazumijevajuće mogućnosti za strukturiranje vjerovanja, institucija i odnosa koji transcendiraju kategorije kao što su religiozno nasuprot sekularnog, desno nasuprot lijevog te tehnološki razvijeno i zaostalo. Njezina sjajna analiza (1987) više od 30.000 godina povijesti nudi osvježavajući pogled na našu povijest i “datosti” u svim aspektima osobnog, zajedničkog, ekonomskog i političkog života. Primjerice, pozivajući se na nedavna arheološka otkrića, pokazuje da je prapovijesno doba (prije 3500. godine pr. n. e.) počivalo na matrifokalnim vrijednostima, koje nisu značile opreku patrijarhatu (tj. dominaciju žena nad muškarcima), nego društvenu organizaciju usredotočenu na vrijednosti davanja života, plodnosti, zadovoljstva postojanja, umjetničke kreativnosti i seksualnoga užitka. U “novom” svijetu, kojega smo posljednji nasljednici i nasljednice, “moć” se više ne doživljava kao sposobnost davanja života, nego tumači kao moć donošenja smrti, uništavanja života, podčinjavanja drugih i pokoravanja pod svaku cijenu. Kozmička moć da se život stvori i odnjeguje, u naše doba još simbolizirana drevnim “ženskim” kaležom ili graalom, nadomještena je smrtonosnom moći oštrice. Riana Eisler, usto, daje novo tumačenje “prvotnoga grijeha” i početka Evandjelja u Bibliji kao teksta koji reprezentira prijelaz “starih”

⁵ Riane Eisler autorica je međunarodnog bestsellera *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future*, objavljenoga u 23 strana izdanja, što ju je učinilo jedinom ženom u izboru dvadeset velikih mislilaca (s Hegelom, Marxom i Toynbeejem) uvrštenih u *Macrohistory* i *Macrohistorians*.

matrifokalnih simbola u patrijarhalni mit u kojemu drvo života i mudrosti postaje zlo, a sveti Eros između muškarca i žene postaje “sramotnim činom”.

Navodeći dojmljivo mnogo dokaza iz cijelog svijeta o osobnim, društvenim i ekonomskim inicijativama, organizacijama i politikama, Riana Eisler tvrdi (u tonu sličnom onomu prethodno citiranih autora) da konačno svjedočimo svjetskomu pokretu za *partnerski sustav* (1996; 2002) *brižne ekonomije* (2007). Uvjerava nas kako u medijima ne čujemo o tom pokretu zato što nije centraliziran i koordiniran pod zajedničkim nazivom i da “bez imena kao i da ne postoji, unatoč svekolikom napretku oko nas” (2002: xxi). U svojem najnovijem, inovativnom djelu (2008) *Real Wealth of Nations* dekonstruira teoriju Adama Smitha o “nevidljivoj ruci tržišta” kao najboljem mehanizmu za proizvodnju i distribuciju sredstava nužnih za život, da bi razotkrila njenu duboko smještenu kulturu dominacije i izrabljivanja koja je obezvrijedila sve aktivnosti što ispadaju izvan tržišnih parametara kupovanja i prodaje. Umjesto nje predlaže novu “brižnu ekonomiju” koja u obzir uzima cjelokupan spektar gospodarskih aktivnosti kućanstva, od djelovanja njegovateljica/negovatelja i zajednica na obogaćivanju života do prirodnih procesa koji podupiru život. Nasuprot silnoj očitosti strukturalnih nejednakosti i društvenih nepravdi sustava dominacije, Riana Eisler nudi dokaz i brojne praktične prijedloge za nove ekonomske izume – nove mjere, politike, pravila i prakse – za ostvarenje brižne ekonomije koja ispunjava potrebe čovjeka. U primjerima koje koristi, kao što je npr. visokokvalitetna skrb za djecu, primjenjuje i čisto financijsku analizu troškova i dobiti da bi pokazala kako je brižnost jedno od najboljih ulaganja što ih država može imati. U svojoj pronicavoj ekonomskoj analizi politika i njihove (ne)djelotvornosti diljem svijeta, učinkovito pokazuje kako je u pozadini ekonomskih politika i praksi zapravo vladajuća kultura valoriziranja dvostrukih ekonomskih standarda o “proizvodnim” nasuprot skrbničkim djelatnostima, a ne tipično neistinita tvrdnja da je u pitanju novac. Teze o ključnim poslovima i poslovima skrbi dodatno podupire primjer da mnoga srednjostrujaška poduzeća preispituju glavnu svrhu svojega “stvarnoga” postojanja (tj. jedino trku za profitom), što je proizvelo koncept duhovne ekonomije i duhovnih poduzetnika/ca svjesnih svoje misije za zajedničko dobro čovječanstva (vidi Allee, 2003; Harman, 1998; Stewart, 2002; www.worldbusiness.org).

Dok nam Riane Eisler donosi novi ekonomski model za budućnost, Jeremy Rifkin tvrdi da je “europski san o ujedinjenoj Europi” (sa cijelim svojim potencijalom) već politička manifestacija nove, dolazeće ere te da tiho zamračuje američki san:

Novi europski san snažan je zato što se usuđuje pretpostavljati novu povijest, s pozornošću usmjerenom na kvalitetu života, održivost te

mir i harmoniju. U održivoj civilizaciji, temeljenoj na kvaliteti života umjesto na neograničenoj individualnoj akumulaciji bogatstva, sama materijalna baza modernoga napretka bila bi stvar prošlosti... Novi san nije usredotočen na gomilanje bogatstva, nego na podizanje ljudskog duha. Europski san nastoji proširiti ljudsku empatiju, ne teritorij. Čovječanstvo izbavlja iz materijalističkog zatvora, u kojemu je bilo ograničeno od ranih dana prosvjetiteljstva osamnaestog stoljeća, na svjetlo nove budućnosti motivirane idealizmom (2005: 7–8).

Da bi potkrijepio svoje tvrdnje koje bi se lako moglo protumačiti kao “neskriveno idealističke” u svjetlu mnogih kontroverzi, licemjerja i problema Europske unije, naglašava dva elementa. Prvo, jasno kazuje da snovi odražavaju nade, ne postignuća, i otud ideja o *potencijalnosti* u mnogim načelima što ih nudi ideal europskog sna. Drugo, da bi jače kontekstualizirao mogućnosti, iznosi detaljan pregled povijesnog stvaranja prosvjetiteljskog/modernog doba, koje je izazvalo promjene što su potresle srednji vijek.

Razrađujući svoje teze, Rifkin prikazuje kako su stvoreni temeljni stupovi modernog doba: individualizam, ekonomije tržišne razmjene, ideologija vlasništva i vlasti teritorijem vezane nacionalne države (skovanom s pomoću kapitalističkih tržišta) te kako ih polako nadomještaju novi prostorni, ekonomski, socijalni i politički aranžmani globalnog doba. Dajući nam pregled političke arhitekture i povijesnog stvaranja ujedinjene Europe, njenih jedinstvenih obilježja ekstrateritorijalne uprave, ustava, unutrašnjega ustroja i raznovrsnih politika, prikazuje realističnu sliku njenih brojnih licemjerja i proturječja, ali i mnoga njena postignuća i potencijale.

Rifkin govori i o potencijalnosti univerzaliziranja modela europskog sna, dok se druge zemlje (osobito Indija i Kina) suočavaju sa sve većim preprekama u svijetu u kojem model nacionalne države slabije može prihvatiti globalne trgovinske i kulturne sile. Navodi Richarda Nisbetta (2003) i njegovo djelo o geografijama misli i “kako Azijci i zapadnjaci misle drukčije”, što podupire stajalište da su azijski narodi i države možda čak sposobniji od Europljana da stvore umreženu vlast, transnacionalni prostor i globalnu svijest. Drugo (i vrlo nedavno) europsko prosvjetiteljstvo koje gleda na svijet kao na “međusobno povezanu cjelinu” (ili takozvani sustavni pristup) povijesna je karakteristika istočnjačkog uma i njihovih religijskih manifestacija konfucijanizma, taoizma i budizma. No, u svjetlu opće zapadnjačke kritike da su Azijci previše orijentirani na “grupno mišljenje” nasuprot otvorenoga individualističkog američkoga načina razmišljanja, Rifkin postavlja novi okvir za spajanje tih dviju naizgled proturječnih sila usporedbom s novim komunikacijskim tehnologijama. Ocrta nove tehnologije kao decentralizirane i demokratizirane, a istodobno globalno povezuje tako da učvršćuju kako krajnju individualizaciju

tako i krajnju integraciju, u čemu također uvelike odjekuje glavna ideja transmodernosti.

U razvijanju svog argumenta da smo na vrhuncu treće velike etape ljudske svijesti – etape u kojoj samosvjesno odabiremo ponovno sudjelovati u tijelu prirode – Rifkin citira rad poznatoga britanskog filozofa Owena Barfielda koji uspoređuje razvoj ljudske povijesti s etapama ljudskog života. Naime, uspoređuje prapovijesno doba lovaca i skupljača, kad je vladalo ljudsko praznovjerje i obožavanje majke prirode, s fazom djeteta koje je slijepo povezano s majkom. Druga faza čovjekova odvajanja od prirode (ili strahovima od prirode kao u srednjem vijeku ili njenom eksploatacijom kao u industrijsko doba) poistovjećena je s fazom adolescencije i odraslosti u kojoj individualna moć čovjeka dobiva središnje mjesto i u kojoj čovjekova kontrola nad prirodom postaje važna. I, konačno, sad prelazimo u treću fazu, kad odlučujemo da se svjesno i s novim spoznajama uključimo u harmonijski odnos s majkom prirodom i cijelim čovječanstvom. Posrijedi je *relacijska* svjesnost u kojoj sve više spoznajemo zajedničke rizike i ranjivosti, ekonomske, društvene i okolišne međuovisnosti da bi nam ponašanje postalo usmjereno na proces i da bismo pokazali volju za prihvaćanje proturječnih realnosti i multikulturalnih perspektiva. Na mnogo načina Barfieldov stav potvrđuje Riane Eisler i njezinu teoriju o evoluciji ljudskog razvoja od drevnih matrifokalnih vremena preko sustava patrijarhalne dominacije do nastajućeg modela partnerstva između muškaraca i žena; prirode i ljudi; uma, tijela i duše. Dakle, umjesto poricanja vlastite smrtnosti (tako karakterističnog za mladenački osjećaj nepobjedivosti), u sadašnje je doba riječ o etapi sazrijevanja u kojoj spoznajemo da ne možemo uistinu početi živjeti dok ne prihvatimo neizbježnost vlastite smrti. No, kako se mirimo s vlastitom smrću i biramo živjeti? Rifkin i za to daje lijep sažetak:

[Činimo to] samosvjesnom odlukom da ostavimo instinkt smrti, da ne težimo više vještini, nadzoru ili vladanju nad prirodom, uključujući i ljudsku prirodu, kao sredstvima obrane od smrti. Umjesto toga, prihvatimo smrt kao dio života i odaberimo opet sudjelovati u tijelu prirode. Iskoračimo od sebe prema drugom i ujedinitimo se u empatičnoj vezi s cjelovitošću odnosa koji zajedno čine Zemljinu nedjeljivu životnu zajednicu (2005: 374).

Drugim riječima, poziv je to da se odmaknemo od trenutačne *geopolitike* (i njene pretpostavke da je okoliš golemo bojno polje na kojemu se svi/e borimo za svoj opstanak) prema politici *biosfere* (premissa o Zemlji kao živomu organizmu sastavljenom od međuovisnih odnosa na kojima svi/e možemo preživjeti samo posluživajući veće zajednice kojih smo dio).

Kad se govori o geopolitici, konačno valja konzultirati subalternu i postkolonijalnu literaturu jer (ipak) transmodernost je termin koji potječe

iz španjolskoga govornog prostora i osobito ga se povezuje s vodećim zagovarateljem Enriqueom Dusselom i njegovom neomarksističkom filozofijom oslobođenja (1995). No, kao što sam napomenula u uvodu, izvan je opsega ovoga rada upuštati se u ozbiljnu raspravu o epistemološkim i političkim aspektima Dusselova načina remećenja eurocentrične kolonijalnosti. Ipak, moguće je prepoznati nekoliko istovjetnosti s prethodnom raspravom. Najprije, Dusselova potvrda da je postmodernost kritična prema različitim modernim eurocentrizmima – iako nedovoljno jer još predstavlja eurocentričnu kritiku uključene negacije koja još nije uspjela potvrditi one aspekte kulture što ih je europska modernost isključila, već je, paradoksalno, učvrstila proces “činjenja drugim” (*othering*) dodatnim razgraničenjem politika razlike i identiteta. Drugo, i posljedično, Dussel u transmodernosti vidi potencijalnost da nas pomakne onkraj tradicionalnih dihotomija; da artikulira kritični kozmopolitizam onkraj nacionalizma i kolonijalizma; da proizvede znanja onkraj fundamentalizama Trećeg svijeta i eurocentrizma; da proizvede radikalne postkapitalističke politike onkraj politika identiteta; da prevlada tradicionalne dihotomije između političke ekonomije i kulturalnih studija te da se odmakne od ekonomskog redukcionizma i kulturalizma (Grosfoguel i ost., 2007). U sličnom tonu, Ziauddin Sardar (2004) vidi pozitivnu potencijalnost transmodernoga svijeta da premosti ono što se trenutačno čini neprolaznim jazom između islama i Zapada zbog koncepta “tradicije” kao *idée fixe* zapadnjačkog društva. Pokazuje kako se transmoderna načela konsenzualne politike i modaliteti prilagodbe promjenama nalaze u samomu srcu islama. No, upozorava nas da je u razvoju transmodernog okvira za otvorenu raspravu važno razmišljati o muslimanskom svijetu onkraj ograničenja ultramodernističkih ili ultratradicionalističkih vlada (od kojih nijedna ne razumije transmodernost), i uključiti obične ljude – aktiviste i aktivistice, znanstvenice i znanstvenike, spisatelje i spisateljice, novinarke i novinare, itd. Učinimo li to, tvrdi Sardar (2004), otkrit ćemo da većina ljudi ima kritički, ali pozitivan stav o Zapadu; i da će žene biti jednako voljne kao i muškarci, ako ne i više, sudjelovati u raspravama i preobražajima što ih mogu potaknuti. Smatra da će pomakom Zapada prema transmodernosti uključenost javnosti otvoriti neograničene nove mogućnosti za pozitivnu promjenu i plodnu sintezu, koja bi homogenizirajuću globalizaciju nadomjestila skladnijim iskustvom zajedničkoga života što dodatno obogaćuje.

Feminini glasovi: poziv na etiku ljubavi

Prethodna je rasprava jasno pokazala da unatoč postojanju raznovrsnih oznaka i modela svi slično upozoravaju na iste intuitivne težnje za socijalnom uključivošću, različitošću, partnerstvom, svetošću i kvalitetom života, dubinskom igrom, održivošću, univerzalnim ljudskim pravima, pravima

prirode i mirom na Zemlji. Fenomen *sinkronih* "slučajnosti", univerzalnih, naizgled nepovezanih koincidencija (Jung, 1960; Jarowski, 1996) i tvrdnju Riane Eisler o nepostojanju globalne svijesti o tom svjetskom pokretu zbog nedostatka jedinstvenog naziva dodatno ilustrira činjenica da sam o mnogim tim idejama učila prije svega iz feminističkih tekstova usredotočenih na etiku ljubavi (bell hooks) i ono što je Gloria Steinem opisala kao *paradigmu cirkularnosti* (1993, 2004). U njezinim riječima umnogome odjekuju ideje što sam ih dosad razradila:

Razmišljamo li o sebi kao o krugovima, cilj nam je dovršenje – ne poraz drugih. Napredak leži u smjeru u kojemu nismo bili. (...) Napredak je poštovanje. Razmišljamo li o radnim konstrukcijama kao krugovima, cilj su izvrsnost i suradnja – ne natjecanje. Napredak postaje uzajamnom potporom i povezanošću. Razmišljamo li o prirodi kao o krugu, onda smo dio njene recipročnosti. Napredak znači međusobnu ovisnost. Poštujemo li prirodu i svaku živu stvar kao mikrokozmos prirode – onda poštujemo jedinstveno čudo nas samih. I tako smo napravile/i cijeli krug (Steinem, 1993: 189-190).

Spoznaja da ljudske moći dolaze iznutra prevedena je na političku arenu, proizvedeći društveno-politički pokret takozvanoga svetog aktivizma, koji ponovno utvrđuje individualni rast, duhovnost te akcije što se suprotstavljaju suvremenim globalnim diskursima o strahu, otuđenju i obesnaživanju (npr. Diamant, 2005; Fonda, 2004; Fox, 2000; Maathai, 2005; Tacey, 2004).

Na više su načina te ideje prisutne u mojem najnovijem radu u kojem iznosim poststrukturalistički koncept o otjelovljenju (Ateljević i Swain, 2006; Ateljević i Hall, 2007; Wilson i Ateljević, 2008). Tvrdim da nam poststrukturalistička perspektiva omogućuje uključivanje u suptilne norme i vrijednosti koje nam oblikuju živote, pri čemu na vidjelo mogu paralelno izaći i normalizirani diskurs o dehumaniziranim strukturama i moć djelovanja kroz otpor. No, u svojim dekonstrukcijama želim (željela sam) ostati pozitivnom i punom nade jer me inspirirao feministički rad o važnosti prihvaćanja etike ljubavi i o traganju za pozitivnim strukturama, promjenama i potencijalima koji nam pružaju nadu i modele za djelovanje i ponašanje u privatnim i poslovnim životima (Ateljević, 2005; 2006b; Ateljević, Pritchard i Morgan, 2007). Kao što prikladno pita Gloria Steinem:

A gdje je rutinsko istraživanje društvenih oblika drukčijih od hijerarhije, patrijarhata i natjecanja – ili čak razumijevanje da oni postoje? Gdje su sveučilišni kampusi kao pioniri snaga samopouzdanja i ljudskih mogućnosti? (Steinem, 1993: 129).

Ili, kao što je u svojoj glasovitoj knjizi o psihoanalizi moderne političke

ekonomije (1956. godine, izvorno izdanje) Erich From postavio ključno pitanje o tomu kako gotovo svu svoju energiju trošimo na učenje o tome kako postići uspjeh, ugled, novac i moć, dok je umjetnost življenja i voljenja “što jedino donosi dobit duši, ali je neprofitno u modernom smislu, luksuz na koji nemamo pravo trošiti puno energije?” (2006: 5–6).

Tim se idejama osobito bavila bell hooks (2000; 2002; 2003) u svojoj konceptualizaciji ljubavi što seže onkraj samo izuzetnoga individualnoga fenomena. Da bi promovirala ukupno kulturno prihvaćanje globalne vizije u kojoj svoje živote i svoju sudbinu shvaćamo kao blisko povezane sa životima i sudbinama svih ostalih osoba na planetu, ona zahtijeva i od muškaraca i od žena da ospore patrijarhalnu kulturu nepostojanja ljubavi, seksističke stereotype i dehumanizaciju te da se uključe u umjetnost voljenja samih sebe i svoje univerzalne ljudskosti. Prevela je te ideje osobito na najočiglednije područje utjecaja za potencijalnu društvenu promjenu – naše poučavanje, a čineći to, izradila je koncept takozvanih “demokratskih edukatorica i edukatora” te pedagogije nade (2003). Predstavljajući svoje ideje i promatrajući što funkcionira, zahtijeva od nas nastavnika/ica da se opresivnim strukturama usprotivimo tako da razotkrijemo njihovu dehumaniziranost i da prigrlimo vrijednosti koje motiviraju progresivnu društvenu promjenu – duh, borbu, služenje, ljubav, ideale o zajedničkom znanju i zajedničkom učenju. U tom će kontekstu (onoga što sada prepoznajem kao) transmodernih poziva za “pomakom na novu razinu svijesti, za postizanjem viših moralnih temelja... za oslobađanjem od strahova i pružanjem nade jedne/i drugima” (Wangari Maathai, dobitnica Nobelove nagrade za mir 2004. godine) feministički glasovi pronaći transnacionalnu/univerzalnu perspektivu. Drugim riječima, samo integriranjem duboko usađenih i destruktivnih dihotomija i hijerarhija o ženskom/muškom; tijelu/umu/duhu; izvanjskom/unutrašnjem; ljudskom rodu/prirodi; racionalnom/emocionalnom; subjektu/objektu možemo izgraditi istinski put naprijed, prema pravednijem svijetu.

Zaključne misli

U ovom sam radu koristila širok raspon literature koja nam daje signale i dokaze o novonastajućem značajnom paradigmatom pomaku u našoj ljudskoj evoluciji. Nagovješćujući to, različite autorice i autori upotrebljavaju mnoge pojmove kako bi uhvatili glavne sile iza potencijalnosti stvaranja hrabroga, novoga, transmodernoga svijeta – paradigma mislećih/živećih sustava (Eling); partnerski model brižne ekonomije (Eisler); relacijska globalna svijest o politici biosfere (Rifkin); etika ljubavi (bell hooks); cirkularna paradigma međusobne ovisnosti (Steinem); transmoderna filozofija političkog oslobođenja (Dussel). Pletora tih pojmova odražava tvrdnju Riane Eisler (2002) kako je razlog zbog

kojega ne čujemo više o tom pokretu to što nije centraliziran i koordiniran pod jednim, jedinstvenim nazivom.

No, prenoseći “dobru vijest”, ne poričem grubu stvarnost strukturalnih nejednakosti na svijetu i svoj povlašten položaj u njemu – da govorim, pišem i živim udobno. Ipak, nije uvijek bilo tako. Kao osoba koja je doživjela rat na Balkanu 1990-ih, a potom i emigraciju sa svim izazovima, tijekom kojih sam susrela i divnu ljudsku potporu i zalutalu diskriminaciju, svjedočim o snazi pozitivnog načina razmišljanja i ljudskog suosjećanja koja čovjeku pomaže da osnažuje i da bude osnažen/a. U svjetlu vlastitog iskustva, želim promicati vrijednosti mudrosti i suosjećanja te individualnu moć postizanja promjene, a čineći to, upozoriti na mogućnosti stvaranja jedinstva slavljenjem različitosti, za što vjerujem da je jedini put u održivu budućnost čovječanstva.

S engleskog prevela Anđelka Rudić

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ULLA VUORELA

ŽENE, RAZVOJ I SREDNJA KLASA¹

Imala sam priliku posjetiti 11. istočnoafrički sajam knjiga u Dar es Salaamu u kolovozu 2002. godine. Kad sam tanzansku kolegicu sociologinju pitala koliko će mi vremena trebati za obilazak, rekla mi je da se lako može provesti cijeli dan prelistavajući knjige. Uistinu, ondje se može provesti onoliko vremena koliko vam to dopuštaju obveze – to je bogata ponuda najnovije literature s područja društvenih znanosti, kritike globalizacije i diskursa razvoja, sa školskim udžbenicima, knjigama priča za djecu i domaće romane. Bez sumnje, najprivlačniji na sajmu je štand malog i novog izdavača E&D Limited, na kojem se Salim Ahmed Salim, koji je otvorio sajam, također najdulje zadržao. Dvije mlade gospođe, Elieshi Lema i Demere Kitunga, osnovale su izdavačku kuću E&D koja se specijalizirala za kritičke društvene znanosti, obrazovne knjige te fikciju. Široka distribucija knjiga obrazovnih i društveno-humanističkih sadržaja služi da bi omogućila tiskanje najdražih knjiga E. Leme i D. Kitunge; romana ženskih autorica, feministička istraživanja i dječje knjige, koje objavljuju na engleskom i svahiliju.

Najinspirativnija knjiga ove sezone je roman *Parched Earth* (Spržena zemlja) koji je napisala Elieshi Lema – nema sumnje da je namjena izdavačke kuće omogućiti *kanaliziranje* kreativne energije njenih osnivačica. *Spržena zemlja* je prvi roman tanzanske autorice napisan na engleskom jeziku. To je ljubavna priča iz ženskoga gledišta. Učiteljica, glavni lik knjige, razmišlja o tome je li ljubav na ravnopravnoj osnovi moguća. Nakon propaloga prvog braka upušta se u vezu s diplomatom. Ali do te se točke dolazi suprotstavljanjem zahtjevima koje nalaže tradicija i individualnog poriva za izgradnju vlastitog identiteta. Neki kritičari smatraju da knjiga Elieshi Leme predstavlja novu generaciju afričkog romana, generaciju koja nam govori o

¹ Rad je izvorno objavljen na finskom pod naslovom “Naiset, kehitys ja keskiluokka”. U: *Muutoksia*. Melin, Harri i Jouko Nikula (ur.). Tampere: Vastapaino, 2003.

političkoj, kulturnoj i povijesnoj svijesti, za koju smo mislili da je povlastica samo autora/ica s industrijaliziranog Zapada. Priča potječe iz unutarnjeg iskustva osobe i svjedoči o gledištu koje rod vidi kao interaktivnu, a ne nužnu sudbinu ili put prema različitim vrstama separatizama (Fawzia Mustafa). Kao takva, priča predstavlja novi oblik tanzanskog romana koje više ne opisuje ženu iz muškoga kuta gledanja.

Ali od kakvog je to značenja kad govorimo o rodu, razvoju i golemu teretu koji moraju nositi žene u razvijenim zemljama? Nije li siromaštvo gorući problem razvoja? Zar pokušaji govora o ljubavi nisu samo još jedna preokupacija individualističke i sebi okrenute srednje klase, i kao takvi luksuz? Citirat ću jednu drugu afričku spisateljicu, Amu Atu Aidoo, čiji je značajan roman *Changes* (Promjene) objavljen nekoliko godina prije. Roman te zrele spisateljice također je preveden na finski i objavila ga je Kääntöpiiri, izdavačka kuća koju su osnovala i vode žene. Knjiga *Promjene*, objavljena 1991., također govori o odnosima između muškaraca i žena, bilo to u ljubavnom, bilo u bračnom ili poslovnom životu. Glavni događaji donose nekoliko ironičnih, satiričnih ili čak zločestih primjedbi o društvu. Amma Ato Aidoo ne pušta institucije na miru; niti odolijeva iskušenju da komentira učene žene, bilo da pripadaju ganskom društvu bilo zapadnjačkim društvima. Dok piše ispriku namijenjenu svojim kritičarima, Ama A. Aidoo na početku knjige priznaje:

Prije mnogo godina, kad sam bila nešto starija nego sada, rekla sam u intervjuu za javnost da nikad neću moći pisati o ljubavnicima u Accri jer zasigurno postoje puno značajnije teme oko nas o kojima bismo mogli govoriti. Stoga sam pisanjem ove knjige bila primorana pojesti vlastite riječi. Ovo je priča o životima i ljubavima mlade, privilegirane žene i drugih izmišljenih ljudi iz Accre. Knjiga ne traži da je se shvati kao kakav komentar ili rasprava, koliko god ta rasprava bila aktualna (Aidoo, 2002: 7).

Neću shvatiti njezinu ispriku previše ozbiljno. Čak ne mislim da je uopće mislila da je se shvati doslovno – imajući na umu činjenicu da je prilikom izlaganja u Helsinkiju prije nekoliko godina govorila o “Politici intimnosti”. Jedna od tada rečenih stvari bila je kako treba otvoriti oči i shvatiti da se čak i naši najintimniji odnosi isprepleću s politikom. Pa kakvu onda važnost ljubavne priče imaju u našim težnjama za razvojem? Aidoo govori o važnosti obrazovanja iako ističe kako i najbolje obrazovanje, promatrajući njegov potencijal kao pravoga društvenog pokretača, može ostati neproduktivno. Svejedno, Aidoo stavlja velik naglasak na stvarno obrazovanje. Tijekom posjeta Finskoj rekla nam je kako afrička spisateljica ne treba nužno “vlastitu sobu” V. Woolf jer bi njoj važnije bilo vlastito računalo i program za pisanje.

Ta me ideja dovodi bliže mojoj temi, a to je razmišljanje o značenju srednje klase za razvoj kao sredstva koje ga omogućuje te o ulogama što ih žene srednje klase imaju u društvu. To se možda ne čini kao nova ideja koju treba razmotriti prisjetimo li se halabuke koju "veliki" izvršitelji razvoja dižu oko važnosti obrazovanja. Sjetimo se samo politike Svjetske banke, njena brata MMF-a i svih sudionika u bankarskom i financijskom svijetu; ili pak Konferencije o stanovništvu održane u Kairu ili o politikama raznih UN-ovih organizacija. Ne bi li trebala biti uzbuđena i sretna što svi oni stavljaju toliki naglasak na obrazovanje, osobito djevojčica i žena? Moj entuzijazam pak nestaje kada znam koliko se često obrazovanje koristi tek kao retoričko sredstvo; kada znam da je konačan cilj obrazovanja djevojčica svjetskim vođama tek sredstvo zadržavanja rasta stanovništva jer odgađanjem majčinstva djevojčica ono će trajati kraće. Svakako da pozdravljam napore da se djevojčicama omogući mirno sazrijevanje, ali žurim se dodati da djevojčice ne treba "držati" u školama samo da bi se odgodio njihov prvi porod.

Također, ne mogu se složiti ni s onima koji smatraju da je porast stanovništva glavni uzrok siromaštvu zemalja u razvoju ili čak globalnog siromaštva. Moj je interes u stvarnom obrazovanju, u obrazovanju koje je relevantno i znatno pridonosi povećanju broja osposobljenih žena; moj interes ide prema obrazovanju koje osnažuje žene da postanu aktivniji sudionici u razvoju i koje pridonosi cjelokupnom poboljšanim dobar pisac romana često uspijeva dati točniji i empatičniji opis i analizu društva od najboljih stručnjaka s područja društvenih znanosti s izoštranim oruđem za analizu, a koje može ostati polovično, suhoparno, katkad i bez smisla.

Mislim da je potrebno odlučno razlikovanje u shvaćanju obrazovanja djevojčica i žena kao sredstva upravljanja ženskim tijelom i shvaćanju istoga kao oruđa što omogućuje ženama da budu aktivni subjekti vlastitih života. Kada govorim o prednostima obrazovanja, govorim i o važnosti srednjih klasa. Također govorim o takvom obrazovanju koje osposobljava da se kritički pristupi mudrosti onih koji kroje politiku te politički korektnim, ali plitkim govorima što izbljede čim se supostave realnosti. Više od toga, govorim o obrazovanju koje pomaže udaljavanju od hegemonijskih istina i očitih govornih figura. Ili o obrazovanju koje oštri um da razlikuje stvarno i izmišljeno. I na taj je način razvoj vještine kritičkog čitanja važan dio obrazovanja građana. Mnogo je žena u zemljama u razvoju koje nam mogu poslužiti kao značajan uzor. Jedna od njih je Nawal Saadawi, koja je došla u Finsku i govorila o realnosti žena u zemljama u razvoju. Mnoge su slijedile; dopustite samo da vas podsjetim na Arundhati Roy kao profesionalku koja je ne samo pisala snažnu prozu nego i bila angažirana kao politička aktivistkinja.

Dok smanjenje siromaštva ostaje najveća preokupacija, postoji znatna promjena u načinu na koji se kreatori politike odnose prema siromaštvu. Ne

samo da je siromaštvo nešto što treba identificirati i izmjeriti, nego postoji promjena od etike ravnopravnosti i prava, na etiku individualnog natjecanja i “zaslužnog” preživljavanja. S obzirom na strategije uklanjanja siromaštva, to podrazumijeva prosijavanje onih koji zaslužuju podršku od onih koji je ne zaslužuju, tj. razlikovanje “tvrdokorno siromašnih” od onih koji se mogu brinuti za sebe te ih stoga ne treba uzimati u obzir za socijalnu pomoć. Olakšanje siromaštva je “ispravna” riječ kad se odmaknemo od strukturalnih promjena. Glavna odlika retorike Svjetske banke i opravdanja zbog razvojne suradnje mjere su orijentirane na “olakšanje siromaštva” kao pojačanje politikama koje su odredile da se razvojna pomoć najviše treba usmjeriti na “najsromašnije od siromašnih”. Različita mišljenja o tome što je siromaštvo imala su za posljedicu nastanak goleme količine literature orijentirane na razvijanje načina mjerenja siromaštva. U međuvremenu se golem jaz između bogatih i siromašnih, bilo da je riječ o jazu među državama bilo među pojedincima, još više produbio. Takvo stanje stvari već dulje vrijeme natjeralo me na razmišljanje od kolike će važnosti, dugoročno gledano, biti cilj pomaganja “najsromašnijima od siromašnih” ako smo potvrdili da je cilj razvoja “dokinuti siromaštvo”, a ne samo ga olakšati.

Određivanje najsiromašnijih može zvučati plemenito, ali sadrži opasnost pretvaranja pokušaja da se siromaštvo ukloni u *milosrđe* prema siromašnima i zaboravljanja napora da se postigne korjenito restrukturiranje nejednake ekonomske raspodjele što potiče stvaranje klase najsiromašnijih. Kad, u kriznim situacijama čovječanstva, razvojna suradnja ostane ili postane humanitarni rad, riječ je o kratkoročnim mjerama zaustavljanja umjesto stvaranja uvjeta za ekonomski razvoj koji bi bio ujednačenije raspodijeljen. To je pozadina koja me potiče da ovdje kao svoju tezu postavim da ako smo ozbiljni u dokidanju siromaštva, trebamo pomaknuti razmišljanje prema važnosti velike srednje klase u bilo kojoj državi. Moja je teza, ukratko, da je stvaranje velike srednje klase najbolji način dokidanja siromaštva. Što veće, to bolje!

Vidim li upitne poglede? Kako to mislim – srednje klase? Mislim li to na sve one ljude koje naša generacija izbjegava kao dosadne, konvencionalne, zastarjele ljude, koji žele živjeti poput buržuja? Mislim li na sve one ljude u koje se nikad nismo htjeli pretvoriti, na sve one kojima je životni cilj bio urediti kuću sa sofom i televizorom? Govorim li o srednjoj klasi kojoj je želja konzumirati više, zahvaljujući redovitoj plaći što se točno i redovito, poput kazaljki švicarskog sata, spušta na bankovni račun? A što je s održivim razvojem koji je u rukama te konzumentske klase? Nije li razvojna suradnja bila u pravu izbjegavati one koji imaju, koji se mogu brinuti za sebe i tražiti obrazovanje te najbolje liječnike poput blagoslovljenih potrošača? Nije li politički nekorektno čak i spomenuti srednje klase kada se govori o prorazvojnom razmišljanju?

Kao protuargument htjela bi skrenuti pozornost na životni standard u zemljama koje nemaju brojnu srednju klasu i gdje postoji golema nejednakost u prihodima i obrazovanju. U Pakistanu, na primjer, postoji mala i vrhunski obrazovana elitna klasa; međutim, postotak nepismenosti žena je oko 90 posto, a muškaraca 80 posto na razini cjelokupnog stanovništva. Što je s državama poput Kuvajta, Afganistana i mnogih azijskih zemalja? Neobičnost Japana jest ta da se većina ljudi smatra pripadnicima srednje klase, što možda objašnjava komentar Japanke koja potpisuje knjigu gostiju na umjetničkoj izložbi u Helsinkiju s jednostavno: "Hvala vam! Ja sam Japanka. Ja sam sretna."

Htjela bih se malo zadržati na razmišljanju o važnosti srednje klase kao pokretača promjene. Ako pogledamo povijest Finske i ljude koje poštujemo kao njene utemeljitelje, bilo industrijalce, bilo popularne prosvjetitelje ili predstavnike radničke klase, primijetit ćemo kako je ono što ih ujedinjuje činjenica da pripadaju srednjoj klasi.

A ako vam se čini da je riječ srednja klasa prejaka ili previše ispunjena negativnim konotacijama i kulturnim značenjima, možda možemo učiti od nigerijske teoretičarke Adetoun Ilumoka koja govori o važnosti onih koji su *relativno osnaženi* u usporedbi s ostalima. Kad je govorila o važnosti ljudskih prava u Nigeriji, veliko djelovanje i važnost daje relativno snažnima, tj. ljudima koji su u svome okruženju relativno dobrostojeći, bilo u smislu obrazovanja bilo ekonomske sigurnosti, i koji su stoga u boljoj poziciji da postanu utjecajni aktivisti. Čak i ako priča o "najsiromašnjijima među siromašnima" potiče na suosjećanje, kao politika nije puno više od humanitarnog rada ili kriznog upravljanja. Svakako da kao ljudi imamo obavezu spašavati druge od gladi, ublažavanja posljedica katastrofa i ostalog. Ipak, održavajući ih tik na površini, zar ne vidimo sve više i više kako se utapaju? Zabrinuta sam: što se više novca iz razvojne suradnje mora izdvojiti za kriznu pomoć, manje ga ima za samoodrživu izgradnju. Dok ne poričem da treba napraviti ono što se mora, vjerujem da nas krizna pomoć ne bi smjela odvratiti od razmišljanja o unutarnjim promjenama na ekonomskoj karti i mjestu koje zauzimaju zemlje u razvoju u globalnoj političkoj ekonomiji.

O značenju ljubavnih priča i konceptualnim feminističkim raspravama

Vraćam se značenju ljubavnih priča u kritičkom razvojnom razmišljanju. Ama Ata Aidoo ne obraća se samo feministkinjama nego i muškarcima. Nešto poduže citirat ću njezinu priču o Esi. Esi je statističarka u Gani; ona je udana i majka jednog djeteta. Jedno jutro otkrije nešto značajno. Pripremila se za radni dan koji je čeka, istuširala i odjenula, kad je njezin muž postao raspoložen za seks i htio voditi ljubav s njom, unatoč njezinu otporu.

Nije se mogla sjetiti kada je posljednji put bila tako nevoljko raspoložena za susret s vanjskim svijetom. I onda, u nekakvoj vrsti šoka, shvatila je da se unatoč dvama tuširanjima ujutro, nije osjećala čisto ni očišćeno. Čisto? Onda je shvatila da je ono što se dogodilo ujutro s Okom bilo zapravo silovanje u braku. "Silovanje u braku?" Počela se silovito smijati, a onda pomislila: što ako sada netko uđe u njezin ured, ta bi osoba mogla misliti da je poludjela. Ako bi netko pomislio da je izgubila razum, to zapravo ne bi bilo daleko od istine. Zar nije hysterija, na neki način, potres vlastitog uma? (...) Silovanje u braku? A onda je zamislila sebe ili drugu ženu sociologinju koja drži govor velikoj publici na konferenciji nazvanoj "Učestalost silovanja u braku u urbanom afričkom kontekstu."

Aidoo također opisuje što se dogodilo nakon što je održan govor.

"Zar to već nismo rekli? Bit ćemo pokopani u tim važnim feminističkim mislima."

"A poštovana kolegice, kako biste vi opisali silovanje u braku na akan jeziku? Na jeziku ibou? Yorubi? Na jeziku skupina Wolof ili Temne? Na kikiyu ili svahiliju? Shona? Zulu? Xhosa?"

Silovanje u braku? Ne. U njihovu društvu apsolutno ne postoji autohtona riječ koja bi se odnosila na silovanje u braku. Ne. U njihovu društvu muž ima pravo zahtijevati seks od svoje žene kao svoje pravo. Kad god mu to odgovara. Osim toga, svaka "normalna" osoba, osobito svaka normalna žena, smatrala bi drugu ženu sretnom, ili nadarenom, ili oboje, ako može potaknuti takvu ludost u svome mužu (Aidoo, 2002, 23–25).

Aidoo se obraća pitanjima načina upotrebe koncepata prelazeći preko kulturnih i razvojnih prepreka. Radeći to, daje nam, kao feministima i razvojnim aktivistima, nešto misliti. Unatoč razlikama u našem konceptualnom razmišljanju i imenovanju, još dijelimo neke zajedničke brige i iskustva. Također, čujem Aidoo kada govori da nas imenovanje nečega čini svjesnima tog istoga; iako sam čin imenovanja ne dovodi u pitanje njegovo postojanje jer je možda postojalo čak prije nego što smo ga mogli imenovati.²

² Kao paralelan čin imenovanju, dopustite mi da uvedem novi japanski termin *menzu raifu*. To je anglicirani japanski izraz koji je upotrebljavao predstavnik grupe koja se bavi osvještavanjem muškaraca kad je govorio o novim načinima života muškaraca, novim vrstama "muškog života". Menzi Raifu je japanski način pisanja i izgovaranja izraza "život muškaraca". To ne znači da muškarci već nisu živjeli svoje živote, ali uvedena je nova riječ koja označava promjenu u razmišljanju o životima muškaraca. Isto tako, obiteljsko nasilje u Japanu

Kada Elieshi Lema i Ama Ata Aidoo govore o ljubavi, obje govore o odnosima između muškaraca i žena. One govore o poziciji žena, o važnosti koje obrazovanje ima za žene. Aidoo također suosjećajno govori o važnosti međunarodnog dijaloga žena za žene. Osim toga, može se iščitati određena vrsta ironije u načinu na koji komentira lokalne specifičnosti u životima žena. Aidoo i Lema obje govore, iako ponešto drukčije, da žene dijele mnoge stvari, da mogu učiti jedne od drugih, ali ne samo to, one moraju naučiti slušati jedne druge. To postaje još jasnije kada pogledamo feministkinje i rasprave kakve smo imale o rodu i rodnim sustavima. Tu se javlja vrlo važno pitanje lokalnog i smještenog znanja, politike znanja i moći. Također, mogle bismo obratiti pozornost na značaj istraživača/ica i aktivista građanskog društva. Dijalog s njima donio je ne samo uspjeh nego i neka manja iznenađenja. Takva nas iznenađenja mogu prisiliti da razmislimo o vlastitim pozicijama i načinima na koje vidimo druge.

Aidoo nam govori o važnosti naših tijela kao tvoraca naših iskustava i znanja; mnogi su teoretičari obratili pozornost na prikrivenu tjelesnost dijela retorike razvoja. Naizgled nedužan razgovor o važnosti obrazovanja djevojčica i žena može sadržavati prikrivenu poruku o načinima kontrole ženskog tijela. Fawzia Mustafa nalazi povezanost između retoričkog pomaka u govoru UN-ova Fonda za stanovništvo UNFPA i upravljanja i ženskim tijelom u razvoju. Ona nas upozorava na činjenicu da govor kojim se koriste UN-ove organizacije sadrži više govora o ženskom tijelu nego što nam se to čini na prvi pogled. Kada UNFPA više ne govori o “rastu populacije” ili “obiteljskom planiranju”, nego umjesto toga govori o ženskom zdravlju i reproduktivnim pravima, to zapravo može prikrivati svađe oko ženskog prava na pobačaj i onoga što se UN-u čini prihvatljivim te “politički korektnim” prema upornim protivnicima pobačaja. To organizaciju čini naizgled naklonjenijom ženama i više feministički orijentiranom nego što je to u praksi. Isto tako, možemo se zapitati je li – i u kojoj mjeri – naglasak na prevenciji zaraze HIV-om/side više međunarodni pokušaj da se afričke žene spase od nasilja afričkih muškaraca nego da se Afrikancima omogući pristup jeftinim lijekovima, koji su već dostupni drugima (Mustafa 2000). Osobito bi bilo značajno liječenje koje bi relativno lako spasilo živote beba HIV pozitivnih trudnica.

Adetoun Ilumoka, nigerijska odvjetnica, govori o pravu žena na pobačaj. Uzima za primjer kako način govora o ljudskim pravima u siromašnim zemljama u razvoju nema nužno isto značenje kao u zapadnim industrijaliziranim državama. A. Ilumoka podsjeća nas na važnost promatranja diskursa o

se izgovara kao DV, što dolazi od *domestic violence*, tj. “obiteljsko nasilje”. Kad sam pitala zar prije nije bilo obiteljskog nasilja u Japanu, neki su mi ljudi rekli da je to “bio tako prirodan dio života da se nitko nije trudio nazvati ga nekim imenom.”

ljudskim pravima u kontekstu njegova povijesnog nastanka, u kontekstu gdje postoji institucija kojoj se netko može obratiti u vezi s ljudskim pravima. Tražiti svoja prava nema smisla u situaciji u kojoj ne postoji institucija kojoj se možete obratiti i gdje su žurniji problemi prava na bolji život, pitku vodu ili obrazovanje. Ilumoka vidi probleme žena većinom kao političke i strukturalne, a među njih ubraja i pravni imperijalizam. Po njoj, pravni imperijalizam odnosi se na sve djelovanje koje prisilno dovodi do zakonske promjene kao dijela ostatka ekonomske, političke i kulturne uporabe moći i dominacije. Pravni imperijalizam je praksa moći koja zahtijeva zakonske promjene koje nisu nužno u interesu pravnih institucija. Primjeri takvog imperijalizma pokušaji su da se ozakone prava multinacionalnih kompanija koje zahtijevaju zemljište kako bi dobile mjesta proizvodnje za druge države.

Mogu li obrazovane žene srednje klase podići svoj glas?

S obzirom na to da globalizacija i političke odluke na globalnim razinama, politika trgovanja i prava vlasništva uvelike utječu na živote žena u zemljama u razvoju, uloga političkog aktivizma i podizanja svijesti to je značajnija. Mnogi aktivisti/kinje koji/e dolaze iz zemalja u razvoju kritički su znanstvenici iako njihov rad zahtijeva puno reaktivnog aktivizma i konzultantskih istraživanja prema zahtjevima sponzora, s manje mogućnosti istraživanja prema vlastitim prioritetima. Međutim, mnoge su žene iskoristile prilike unutar konzultantskog posla za stvaranje kritičkih glasova među aktivistkinjama Trećeg svijeta. Teoretičari iz Trećeg svijeta, žene i muškarci, često su kritizirali pokušaje strukturalne prilagodbe i druge aspekte globalizacije; ipak to ne iznenađuje s obzirom na to da su glavne promjene u politici, poput neoliberalizma, zauzele mjesto pod uvjetima koje diktira korporacijski kapital i njegovi politički saveznici. U najvećoj političkoj promjeni manje reforme imaju malo utjecaja ako su, na primjer, avelike korporacije patentirale genetička prava na sjeme. Ako je ženama problem pravni imperijalizam i prisvajanje nematerijalnih i materijalnih vlasničkih prava, potrebno je da određen broj relativno moćnih ljudi poput Vandane Shive sudjeluje u kampanji protiv "patentiranja života". Rad unutar manjih projekata može biti značajan, ali nikad ne doseže takve proporcije da bi imao velikog utjecaja koje će na kraju dovesti do strukturalnih promjena. U tom se slučaju ne može podcijeniti važnost osviještene i oprezne srednje klase.

Što su onda postigle relativno osnažene žene zemalja u razvoju?

U Tanzaniji su se već početkom osamdesetih godina žene iz akademskih krugova organizirale u radne skupine s namjerom da unaprijede teoretsko

i praktično razumijevanje situacije u kojoj su se našle žene. Ta je grupa bila u mogućnosti registrirati se kao NVO u vrijeme kad je civilno društvo bilo prihvatljivo samo ako je bilo povezano s jednom i jedinom strankom ili kao dio raznih crkava i misionarskih društava. Čak je i aktivizam takve vrste pobudio određen otpor muškaraca u kampusu – čak toliko da neki ne bi dopustili svojim ženama da sudjeluju u radu grupe koja navodno dovodi do razvoda. Žene su se održale i nakon Ženskog istraživačkog i dokumentacijskog projekta kas su uslijedili brojni projekti i organizacije. Jedan od najznačajnijih je TGNP – *Tanzania Gender Networking Project* (Projekt tanzanske rodne mreže) koji ima vlastite prostore. TGNP izdaje dvojezičnu brošuru (na engleskom i svahiliju) i drži tjedne seminare otvorene za javnost na kojima se raspravlja o važnim društvenim i rodnim temama. Aktivnosti su namijenjene više ili manje obrazovanim ženama te se organiziraju kampanje poput javnog educiranja o građanskim pravima i pristupu sredstvima. TGNP je među prvim afričkim organizacijama koje su promovirale Inicijativu rodnog proračuna koja koristi “rodne leće” pri analizi državnih politika, javnih troškova i prihoda da bi utjecala na nepristranu raspodjelu sredstava. Dok ovo pišem, postoje stotine ženskih organizacija u Tanzaniji koje pokazuju od kolike je važnosti uloga “relativno osnaženih” u jačanju civilnog društva. Dok je politički dijapazon koji zahvaća širok, još je teže izmjeriti utjecaj kampanja koje uključuju participativna istraživanja i djelovanje.

U Pakistanu su žene srednje klase također osnovale istraživačke centre feminističkog učenja i nevladine organizacije poput Foruma ženskog djelovanja koji redovito prosvjeduje protiv opresivnih praksi što se u ime fundamentalizma provode nad ženama. One zahtijevaju promjene u obiteljskim zakonima i ukidanje poligamije kao opresivne prakse. Osim toga, provode kampanju za zaštitu ženskog tijela od obiteljskog nasilja. U Pakistanu je nasilje nad ženama jedan od gorućih problema i aktivistice su osnovale skloništa za zlostavljane žene te im daju pravne savjete. Takvo je djelovanje toliko subverzivno da neke pravne aktivistkinje i skloništa moraju imati naoružanu stražu kao danonoćnu zaštitu. Ayiesha Imam iz Nigerije dobila je priznanje za aktivizam protiv fundamentalističkog nasilja, zbog kojeg joj je čak ugrožen život. U drugim afričkim zemljama relativno osnažene žene organiziraju skloništa te pravno i psihološko savjetovanje za žene koje su bile žrtve nasilja ili opresivnih praksi. Žene osviještene o pitanju roda i ravnopravnosti potrebne su u medijima i kao odvjetnice, političarke i aktivistkinje za ljudska prava. Već ih je mnogo, ali mnogo ih još nedostaje. Problem u mnogim državama jest taj da je relativno osnaženih žena relativno malo i nisu sve posvećene pomaganju onima manje sretnima od sebe. Pozivajući srednje klase ili relativno osnažene na angažman, nužno znači pozivanje na političko djelovanje kao i sukobe.

O mogućnostima međukulturnog dijaloga

Na poslijetku, voljela bih postaviti pitanje što se nama na Zapadu događa kada slušamo teoretičare i aktiviste iz zemalja u razvoju? Što time dobivamo? Ne nužno ono što očekujemo. Bolje da se pripremimo na neka iznenađenja. Uzet ću primjer pozitivnog utjecaja informatičkih tehnologija (IT) kao pomoćnog sredstva ne samo u osiguravanju foruma za diskusiju ženama Trećeg svijeta nego i u omogućavanju prostora za međukulturne susrete i dijaloge. Internetski časopis *JENdA* i Nigerijski forum ženskih prava takva su mjesta. *JENdA* i *Feministička Afrika*, koje izdaje Afrički rodni institut na Sveučilištu Cape Town, izdanja su što donose mišljenja, dobra za čitanje i predaju članaka ako se usudite izložiti oštroj kritici. *JENdA* se nikome ne klanja, a mi, zapadne feministkinje, nemojmo se tapšati, već je bolje da se pripremimo na kritiku i raspravu o konceptima.

Oyeronke Oyewumi ne govori o razvojnoj suradnji, nego o (pod)razvojnoj suradnji – to je izraz koji sadrži međutekstualne tragove klasika Waltera Rodneya *How Europe Understands Development*. Oyewumi i Amadiume pioniri su u otvaranju nekih važnih rasprava vezanih uz Afriku i koncepte koje, s dobrim razlogom i katkad pomalo provokativno, zapadne feministkinje stavljaju pred težak ispit. Urednički tim internetskog časopisa *JENdA* opsežno je upozorio na probleme u slučajevima kad se eurocentrični koncepti nekritički primjenjuju u kontekstu Afrike. Čak i ključni koncepti poput *žena* ili pojam *roda* nemaju jednako uporabu u afričkom kontekstu. Iz zapadnoafričke perspektive, pojmovi muškarac i žena nisu univerzalne kategorije vezane uz anatomsku tijela, već se njihova upotreba prije veže uz rasu i klasu. Oyewumi je u nekoliko konteksta predložila da pojmovi žena, rod i sestrinstvo najbolje funkcioniraju u kontekstu zapadnjačke nuklearne obitelji – a zapadnjačka nuklearna obitelj nije univerzalno primjenjiv model za globalno teoretiziranje. Po njezinu mišljenju, tradicionalnoj obitelji plemena Youruba rod nije organizacijsko načelo jer uloge temeljene na srodstvu nisu vezane uz biološki rod, nego su mjesta autoriteta u obitelji i srodstvo definirani na temelju roditeljstva i relativne starosti članova rodbine (Oyewumi, 2002).

Uz to, Oyewumi ističe kako status majke ne definira prije svega odnos prema muškarcu, nego je to u osnovi odnos prema djetetu. Riječi koje označavaju supružnike ne razlikuju se između muža i žene i značajnija je razlika između onih koji su rođeni u kući/kućanstvu i onih koji su došli poslije putem braka. Starija osoba ima autoritet nad mlađom i osoba rođena u kući nad onom koja se pridružila poslije, neovisno o rodu. Kućanstvo podrazumijeva osobe koje žive zajedno i koje su u krvnom srodstvu, dok supružnici, kao ne-srodstvo, ostaju izvan povezanosti onih koji su u krvnom srodstvu. Komentirajući sestrinstvo kao izraz globalne solidarnosti među ženama, Oyewumi ističe da se u kontekstu plemena Yoruba solidarnost među sestrama ne može uzeti zdravo

za gotovo. Na poslijetku, Oyewumi ističe da se kategorije koje se odnose na brak i obitelj u načelu odnose na takve odnose relativne moći koji imaju malo veze s tijelima biološkog roda.

Mislim da Nkiru Ngwesi pokazuje bitnu stvar stavljajući naglasak na povijesnost pojave koju proučavamo nasuprot olakog prihvaćanja “uvezenih mudrosti”. Ona našu pozornost skreće na povijesnost nuklearne obitelji i traži od nas da je promatramo u kontekstu europske industrijalizacije. Iz toga gledišta, povijest nuklearne obitelji, proučavanje kućanstava i rodna podjela rada te podijeljenost na privatno i javno čini se kao posljedica određenoga povijesnog razvoja. Stoga se oni trebaju promatrati kao dio smještenoga, kontekstualiziranog znanja. Ona zapadne feministkinje podsjeća da ne promatraju Afriku kao kontinent bez povijesti ili nas upozorava da početak povijesti ne identificiramo kolonijalnim osvajanjem. Željela bih dodati da razvoj žena u Africi ne počinje s Ester Boserup, danskom ekonomisticom, čija je knjiga *Women's Role in Economic Development* bila najcitiranija u diskursu “žena i razvoja” 1970-ih i 1980-ih godina.

Također bih željela dodati da i europski koncepti imaju povijest i bilo bi važno smjestiti feministički zapadnjački diskurs u vlastiti povijesni kontekst. Ne postoji samo jedan ili dva (prvi i drugi val) feministička diskursa na Zapadu! Konačno, naučila sam da u međukulturnom dijalogu možemo lako napraviti pogrešku, kako povijesnu tako i u našoj mogućnosti razumijevanja konteksta, ali naše pogrešno tumačenje može uroditi plodom ako vodi ka daljnjem istraživanju te stoga boljem razumijevanju. Tako gledajući, za početak, generalizacija se može kretati u oba smjera, tako da Afrika nudi jedan, a zapadne feministkinje drugi diskurs, iako dijele prošlost mnogih konceptualnih debata i političkih sukobljavanja. Vrijednost smještenog i lokalnog znanja svima je značajna jer nam omogućuje bolje razumijevanje i bolje polazno mjesto za argumentaciju.

U kontekstu Finske, “diskurs razvoja” može se promatrati kao povijesna faza iz vremena napretka nordijske socijalne države i želje da se priključi razvojnoj suradnji kao dijelu globalnog djelovanja. Nordijske su nam poveznice omogućile da konstruiramo zapadnjački, nordijski identitet u razdoblju hladnog rata, do te mjere da je to možda naštetilo sadržaju i usmjerenju razvojne suradnje. Sredinom osamdesetih Finska je postala sila po zahtjevima neoliberalizma, što je bio početak preokreta i promjene ideologije Finske devedesetih godina.

S engleskog prevela Iva Bulić

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Laura Huttunen

KAKO DATI GLAS DIJASPORI? IZBJEGLICE, ISTRAŽIVAČI I KREATORI POLITIKA U BOSANSKOJ DIJASPORI

“Glas” je složeni fenomen. U znanstvenoj literaturi glas se obično shvaća simbolički, kao posjedovanje glasa unutar tekstova i tekstualne proizvodnje (npr. Clifford i Marcus, 1986; Spivak, 1988), odnosno kao posjedovanje glasa na javnoj sceni. Ta formulacija izjednačava “posjedovanje glasa” s posjedovanjem moći. No glas se može shvatiti i veoma konkretno, kao skup zvukova što ih proizvodi naše tijelo. U ovom ću članku glasu pristupiti s dva različita polazišta. Prvo, baviti ću se glasom svojih sugovornika, glasovima Bosanaca i Bosanaka iz dijaspore u različitim situacijama. Drugo, pozabavit ću se vlastitim glasom istraživačice – svojom *sposobnošću* da govorim, *pravom* da govorim u određenim slučajevima, kao i sposobnošću da *čujem* glasove svojih sugovornika.

Moja su razmatranja vezana uz određeno istraživačko iskustvo. Još 2001. godine počela sam istraživanje među bosanskim muslimanima koji žive u Finskoj, ali sudjeluju u dijasporskim i transnacionalnim praksama komunikacije s bivšom domovinom (vidi Huttunen, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2005 i drugdje). Budući da je otpočetak bilo jasno kako životi i sudbine mojih informanata nisu ograničeni samo na Finsku, moje je etnografsko polje otpočetak bilo višestrano i višeslojno, a nekoliko lokacija u Finskoj i BiH bili su konkretni “tereni”. Prema tome, ovaj je tekst sastavni dio etnografskog projekta razumijevanja života izbjeglica u sklopu transnacionalnoga društvenog polja.

Politika prisvajanja glasa u dijaspori

Devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća antropolozi su raspravljali o “glasu” u odnosu na etnografske tekstove. Rasprava se, doduše, vodila o politici glasa, ali onoj koja je dobrim dijelom ograničena na tekstualnu proizvodnju. (vidi Clifford i Marcus, 1986; Behar i Gordon, 1995; James et al. 1997) No politika glasa podrazumijeva i djelovanje u različitim situacijama izvan akademskog

okružja. Antropologinja Liisa Malkki glas određuje kao “spособnost da se uspostavi pripovjedna moć nad vlastitim okolnostima i budućnošću, kao i sposobnost da se pridobije slušateljstvo” (Malkki, 1997: 242) Ona raspravlja o “glasu” vezanom uz izbjegličku krizu i zbrinjavanje izbjeglica u Ruandi, Burundiju i drugdje. Njezina definicija glas određuje simbolički, ali i politički: posjedovati glas znači imati mogućnost da oblikujete svoju budućnost ili da barem sudjelujete u tome. Iz toga slijedi pitanje: Tko predstavlja relevantnu javnost za nečiji glas? Tko posjeduje moć da oblikuje budućnost ljudima koji žive u restriktivnim uvjetima?

U slučaju Bosanaca i Bosanki koji žive u dijaspori postoji nekoliko čimbenika koji demonstriraju moć nad njihovim mogućnostima da biraju, da iznova grade svoj život, da odlučuju gdje će i kako živjeti. Kada bi posjedovali glas u političkom smislu kako ga određuje Malkki, trebali bismo pitati: Tko bi ih trebao čuti? Gdje bi to oni trebali moći pridobiti javnost za sebe?

Ocrtavanje odnosa moći koji oblikuju život bosanske dijaspore proizvodi složenu kartu lokalnih i globalnih odnosa. Počnimo onim što je najočitiije, finska država i finske vlasti propisima reguliraju kako će živjeti u zemlji koja ih je udomačila. Neki se od tih propisa tiču svih stanovnika Finske, dočim se drugi tiču toga kako se imigranti integriraju u društvo zemlje domaćina. Osim toga, postoji određena regulativa koja se odnosi samo na Bosance u Finskoj, primjerice neki programi repatrijacije. No kako mnogi od njih održavaju intenzivne odnose s bivšom domovinom, politički aparat koji nastaje u Bosni i Hercegovini te promjene političke klime u njoj višestruko utječu na njihove postupke (O BiH danas vidi u Stefanson, 2006; Harvey, 2006; Jansen, 2007; o Finskoj i Bosni vidi u Huttunen, 2009, i drugdje).

Osim tih struktura moći vezanih uz mjesto stanovanja, postoje i druge koje nadilaze lokalnu pa i državnu razinu i utječu na okolnosti u kojima Bosanci/ke žive. Velike međunarodne organizacije koje se bave zbrinjavanjem izbjeglica i njihovim povratkom, poput UNHCR-a i Međunarodnoga Crvenog križa, znatno su utjecale na njihov život. Također i ona međunarodna tijela što su upravljala prijelazom iz ratnog u mirnodopsko razdoblje, kao i iz socijalističke u sadašnju neoliberalnu privredu, posve konkretno djeluju na životne izbore bosanske dijaspore (usp. Jansen, 2007; Huttunen, 2009). Također, bezbrojne nevladine organizacije koje su sudjelovale u naporima izgradnje poslijeratne BiH raspolagale su znatnim sredstvima namijenjenim tom području (Sampson, 2002; Helm, 2003). Svi ti akteri posjeduju stvarnu moć nad životima građana/ki BiH u dijaspori. Posjedovati glas, moći pridobiti pozornost javnosti na svim razinama bilo bi za svakoga vrijedno postignuće, a u mnogim slučajevima nezamisliv cilj za glavninu izbjegličke populacije bez pristupa službenim položajima moći.

Ta nas razmatranja sile da se pozabavimo glasom istraživača/ice tijekom rada s takvom skupinom. Treba li istraživač/ica govoriti u ime skupine koju

istražuje? Zamisao da se govori *za* nekoga uvijek je problematična (vidi npr. Spivak, 1988), čak i još više u tako složenoj situaciji. Suočenosť s golemim političkim, etičkim i društvenim problemima što su ih izazvala tragična ratna razaranja u BiH i stvaranje dijaspore navodi nas da budemo ponizni i ustručavamo se izricati konačne sudove. U daljnjem tekstu još ću se pozabaviti nekim aspektima dvojbene zamisli da se govori *za* nekoga.

Ali čak i kada bi istraživač/ica želio preuzeti ulogu aktivista i propagirati određena stajališta, zadatak je problematičan. I istraživač/ica je često bez glasa kad se suoči s politikom koja upravlja životom Bosanaca u dijaspori. Kojoj bi se javnosti oni trebali obratiti? Čak i kad su neki kreatori visoke politike voljni posegnuti za određenom sociološkom ili antropološkom literaturom koja bi im pomogla da oblikuju svoje ciljeve i djelovanje, kvantitativnom se znanju daje prednost nad etnografskim. U tom kontekstu znanstvena rasprava o moći istraživača, o kojoj se tako živo raspravljalo devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, čini se prilično dalekom.

Čini se kako su građani u poslijeratnoj BiH, kao i oni u dijaspori, općenito izgubili povjerenje u politiku (Helms, 2003). Oni se danas radije usredotočuju na "projekte obiteljskog blagostanja" (usp. Eastmond, 1998, 2006), to jest na to da osiguraju pristojan život svojoj obitelji i najmilijima. U takvim okolnostima njihovo je ponašanje razumljivo: Bosanci/ke mogu djelovati tamo gdje ih se čuje, gdje mogu barem donekle upravljati svojom budućnošću

Sposobnost da nekoga čujemo: rodne pretpostavke pitanja povratka

Govoriti *za* nekoga povlači za sobom to da oni za koje netko govori ne mogu to činiti sami za sebe (Spivak, 1988). Nadalje, to podrazumijeva da netko temeljito poznaje život onih za koje govori. Takva sigurnost može omesti nečiju sposobnost da čuje raznorodne glasove unutar skupine. Ovdje ću razmotriti disonantnost glasova i stavova unutar bosanske dijaspore naglasivši rodne pretpostavke različitih pogleda na povratak u BiH. Na povratak utječu različiti čimbenici s različitim strategijama i različitim ciljevima (vidi npr. Harvey, 2006; Jansen, 2007; Philpot, 2005; Stefansson, 2004 i 2006; Williams, 2006). Da bih shvatila kako sami Bosanci/ki gledaju na uvjetan povratak u BiH, o tome sam s njima razgovarala u njihovim novim domovima. Tijekom 2006. putovala sam Finskom kako bih razgovarala s obiteljima koje su odabrane za program repatrijacije onih Bosanaca koji su se trajno željeli vratiti u domovinu. Taj je program podrazumijevao obnovu razorenih obiteljskih kuća u BiH donacijama finske vlade. Međutim, te se obitelji nisu vratile u BiH, bez obzira na to što su im kuće bile obnovljene, unatoč tomu što su potpisale dokumente kojima su jamčili da će se vratiti kad se završi obnova.

Gotovo svi moji posjeti bosanskim kućanstvima slijedili su jednak obrazac. Ubrzo nakon pozdrava i kave muškarac u obitelji počeo bi raspravu o povratku. Uvjeravao bi me kako će se obitelj vratiti čim to bude moguće, kao prvo, čim se u BiH bude mogao naći posao. Glavni razlog njihova ostanka u Finskoj bila je nemogućnost da zarade za život u trenutačno prilično krhkom i nestabilnom bosanskom gospodarstvu (usp. Jansen, 2008). Potanko bi pričali o svom dobrom životu u predratnoj Bosni. Želju za povratkom u rodno mjesto u većini su slučajeva iskazivali kao zajedničku želju obitelji. Međutim, uskoro bi priča postala složenija. Obično bih ostala cijeli dan ili barem poslijepodne i kako bi vrijeme odmicalo, žene su sve više sudjelovale u razgovoru. Većina je žena tvrdila kako se zapravo ne žele vratiti u Bosnu, nego odlaziti ondje u posjet ili za blag dane. One smatraju da djecu očekuje bolja budućnost u Finskoj, s boljim školovanjem, zdravstvom i socijalnom sigurnošću, te da će tu imati bolje izgleda za život kad odrastu. Žene su također govorile o praktičnim pitanjima – kako je život u Finskoj u mnogočemu lakši za žene, osobito za žene iz ruralnih krajeva: iznimno je teško skrbiti za obitelj i obavljati svakodnevne poslove u osiromašenim ruralnim krajevima u BiH gdje su se mnogi ljudi zbog neimaštine i opće nesigurnosti vratili proizvodnji vlastite hrane. To je osobito teško ženama koje su dužne brinuti se o tome. Situaciju pogoršava i to što mnogi njihovi prijeratni prijatelji i rođaci žive u inozemstvu ili su mrtvi.

Taj obrazac rodno osjetljive rasprave o povratku podrazumijeva, dakako, puno složeniju stvarnost sazdanu od nada, želja i pregovaranja o životnim putanjama bosanskih obitelji. Različita mišljenja što ih muškarci i žene iskazuju blisko su vezana uz složene rodne odnose i rodne obrasce obiteljskog života u Bosni, u Finskoj te u dijaspori. To što obiteljske kuće u BiH u koje bi se obitelji trebale vratiti zapravo pripadaju muškarcima, zbog tamošnjih nasljednih i stambenih pravila (vidi npr. Bringa, 1995; Huttunen, u tisku), nedvojbeno utječe na različite želje za povratkom. To je u skladu s osporavanom rodnom politikom u poslijeratnoj BiH, politikom aktivistkinja koje javno raspravljaju o konzervativnim shvaćanjima položaja žena u obitelji i društvu (npr. Helms, 2003).

Trebalo je proći neko vrijeme prije nego što sam bila u stanju čuti rodno osjetljivu strukturu glasova. Moje prvotno razumijevanje slijedilo je jednostavan zaključak kako se Bosanci iz dijaspore žele vratiti, a poslije sam njihovu situaciju interpretirala kao složen niz pregovora o životnim sudbinama koje su tipične za mnoge geografske lokacije. Međutim, ovom prigodom želim upozoriti na složenost glasa kao političkog projekta: ne postoji samo “bosanski” glas, odnosno glas “Bosanca/ki iz dijaspore”, prije je riječ o tome da se vodi neprestana borba za prisvajanje glasa, za iskazivanje različitih interesa, briga i strepnji.

Utjelovljen glas

Sposobnost istraživača/čice da sluša glasove svojih sugovornika političke je i etičke, ali i empirijske i metodološke prirode: Koje bismo aspekte glasova trebali slušati? Što bismo još, osim riječi, iskazanog sadržaja, trebali prepoznati? I koji su najuspješniji trenuci za slušanje različitih glasova? Glas ne čine samo riječi, on izvire iz naših tijela, odjekuje u njima, sadrži naše osjećaje, način na koji doživljavamo svijet (usp. Janzen, 2004). S pomoću svojih utjelovljenih glasova ulazimo u veze, iskazujemo više nego što to mogu riječi, odnosno sve informacije upisane u jezik. Kako uhvatiti takve nijanse u svom svakodnevnom istraživačkom radu?

Razgovore sam vodila u Finskoj i dok sam putovala Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Često su me zapanjile promjene mišljenja sugovornika tijekom posjeta Bosni, osobito kad smo razgovarali o njihovu životu i prijeratnim iskustvima iz bivše Jugoslavije. To kako su ljudi govorili o svojoj prošlosti dok su stajali na ruševinama svojih nekadašnjih obiteljskih kuća razorenih u ratu bitno se razlikovalo od onoga kako su o tome govorili u mojem uredu u Finskoj. Razlikovao se i sadržaj i način iznošenja priče. U tijelo duboko upisana priroda njihove prošlosti prenesena je tonom glasa i gestama koje su uokvirile sadržaj pripovijedanja.

Tijekom putovanja na koja sam kretala s Bosancima bilo je mnogo trenutaka kada sam postala svjesna važnosti tjelesnog posjedovanja glasa. Osobito se dobro sjećam jedne večeri tijekom putovanja sa skupinom Bošnjaka iz Finske u Republiku Srpsku 2001. godine. U to vrijeme još nije bilo znatnijeg povratka muslimana na to područje. Skupina se pripremala za susret sa službenikom vlade Republike Srpske zaduženim za povratak izbjeglica. Ti su mladići osobno iskusili nasilje i među njima je bilo mnogo agresivnosti i ogorčenosti. Esad, vođa skupine, želio je ostale pripremiti za taj susret. Želio je da budu pribrani i da se pristojno ponašaju, da budu diplomatski kako bi stvorili temelje za uspješne pregovore. "Da, znam da postoji mnogo toga što biste htjeli reći njemu, njima", rekao je. "Mnogo bijesa i mržnje, znam. I znam da je teško, ali znajte i da sam ja morao puno toga progutati kako bih mogao pregovarati, kako bih se jednoga dana mogao vratiti... To moramo učiniti, progutati, i razgovarati." Odglumio je da guta, iznova i iznova, kao da mu je nešto zapelo u grlu. Na veoma konkretan način pokazao nam je kako boli gutati gnjev i istodobno upozorio na tjelesnost govora, odnosno šutnje u određenim okolnostima.

Još jedno snažno sredstvo davanja glasa emocijama jest glazba. Tijekom istog putovanja moji su suputnici su pjevali tužne bosanske pjesme za naših dugih vožnji kroz opustošene krajolike te su tako dali glas mnogim osjećajima koje je bilo teško izraziti govornim jezikom. To me iskustvo navelo da na još jedan način razmišljam o glasu: glasu u umjetničkom izrazu.

Glas koji evocira: komuniciranje preko razlike?

“Glas”, onako kako ga shvaća Malkki, odnosi se na prisvajanje moći nad vlastitim životom i životnim okolnostima. U umjetničkom izražavanju od glasa se obično traži nešto drugo. Umjesto da se bavi konkretnim (političkim) ciljevima, umjetnički izraz želi izraziti onaj dio ljudskog života koji je teško pretočiti u riječi ili oblikovati deklaracijama. Ovaj rad o promišljanju glasa želim završiti s dvije pjesme što ih je napisao Azem Kurtić, bosanski musliman¹ koji danas živi u Finskoj:

KRUŠKA (PÄÄRYNÄPUU)

Od svih želja najveća je
da se vratim gdje je otac moj živio
i gdje sam se ja rodio.
Da izgradim svoje selo
da ne stoji pusto, izgorjelo.

Kao nekad prije rata
u dvorištu iza kuće
ispod stare kruške da sjednem
da slobodno odmaram se,
i sazrele kruške jedem.

Kad bi se mogle moje želje
što prije ostvariti
da se vratim na ognjište,
nigdje nije živjet bolje
ko u rodnom kraju svome.

DA LI SAM JA (OLENKO MINÄ)

Ime mi dano a da me nisu pitali.
Od kuće otjeran bez objašnjenja zašto.
U logor odveden, zlostavljan, ponižavan.
Na kraju došljakom nazvan.

¹ Unatoč novoj političkoj korektnosti pri imenovanju građana Bosne i Hercegovine prema njihovom etničkom identitetu, ja slijedim svoje kazivače koji govore o sebi kao *Bosancima* i svojoj domovini kao *Bosni*.

Sad kad me pitaju – ko sam ja?
Razmišljam dugo, odgovora nemam.
Državljaninom moje zemlje više me ne smatraju.
U sadašnjoj zemlji ne uzimaju me za svoga.
Na čelu mi ne piše ništa.
Da li je sad već vrijeme, kad sam sazrio,
da mogu sam odrediti gdje pripadam?
Jedno znam:
Ja sam čovjek – SVIJETA.

Azem Kurtić²

Ove dvije pjesme ukazuju na dva zasebna aspekta života u prognanstvu, odnosno u dijaspori. Dok prva izražava bol gubitka doma i usmjerava dijasporu prema “podrijetlu”, druga odaje kozmopolitsku orijentaciju. Obje su u potrazi za glasom koji bi mogao izraziti dvosmislenost života, čuvstvene i čulne aspekte življenja, kao i bol gubitka doma te potragu za novim mjestom u svijetu.³ Taj poetski glas je prisan i osoban, i kao takav poziva čitatelje/ice da mu se pridruže bez obzira na etničke, nacionalne, iskustvene i vremenske razlike.

S engleskog preveo Miroslav Kirin

² Pjesme su izvorno napisane na finskom. Obje su neobjavljene, no neke od pjesama Azema Kurtića uvrštene su u antologiju Mäki (2000).

³ Za pognije čitanje ovih pjesma u etnografskom kontekstu, vidi Huttunen, 2007.

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ELIZABETA ŠELEVA

LJUBAV KAO BIOGRAFIJA I DOMOVINA:
SNIJEG U KAZABLANKI KICE BARDŽIEVE-KOLBE

Jer sam žudila za tim... da vanjski svijet potvrdi srodstvo izborom, pretke koje je osobno odabrala Dina Asprova, mlada književnica makedonskog porijekla, u Zapadnoj Europi.

Snijeg u Kazablanki, prvi roman Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe, općenito se bavi temom egzila, koju autorica uvodi u svojoj filozofskoj hermeneutici stanja izbjeglištva, u svojoj knjizi obiteljskih priznanja pod naslovom *Egejci*. Prema Györgyu Lukácsu, transcendentalno beskućništvo duše određuje ključno genealoško pravo suvremenog romana: protagonist u njemu istražuje u potrazi za svrhom izgradnje novog doma za sebe. Roman je, kao žanr, predodređen konstantom beskućništva, to jest beskućničkom potragom likova za vlastitom naracijom Doma, nakon što su doživjeli dramu egzila, prognanstva, nepripadanja, otuđenja u ovom i takvom svijetu, u kojem su bili predodređeni i zatim lišeni u postojanju. Unutar tog okvira egzil se zapravo ne doživljava samo kao povijesno utemeljena, konkretno uvjetovana trauma zasebnih pojedinaca i/ili kolektiva, nego se također poopćava na razinu sveobuhvatne metafore suvremenog života, u kojem egzil prije svega funkcionira kao univerzalna norma.

Ovaj roman na početku se uglavnom usmjeruje na fenomen dobrovoljnog egzila kao posljedicu individualne potrage Dine Asprove za njezinom duhovnom obitelji – koja je, kako ona vjeruje, na Zapadu, upravo u onoj Europi koja ju je duhovno njegovala i koju ona nakon toga ponovno stvara kao predmet žudnje za pripadanjem. Čini se da se takav stav prema zapadnjačkoj kulturi kao primjernoj savršeno uklapa u širu tipološku konstantu koju opisuje mađarska teoretičarka Karen Virag: “Za suvremene stanovnike Istočne Europe, Zapadna Europa označava željeno stanje postojanja, kao i dom kulture.” Dina ne shvaća aksiom porijekla kao odrednicu, barem u prvom dijelu romana. Upravo suprotno, svojim nesumnjivo bogatim mentalnim sposobnostima ona nastoji razviti drukčiju vrstu hermeneutike, izvan načela traganja za korijenima.

I ja sam takva orhideja. Crvena, rijetka. Ne trebam čvrste korijene u tlu. Naprotiv, pomisao na korijene još me više plaši... Domovina mi je potrebna kao što biljkama treba tlo, da rastu. Svako je tlo dobro za njih, dok god ima dovoljno hranjivih tvari. Tako su me naučili i odgojili.

U prvom dijelu romana poznato i domovina nisu čvrste, određene kategorije za Dinu, nego kategorije izbora – činjenica koja dovodi do specifične hermeneutike (nedostatka) domovine. U tom smislu Dina njeguje prilično neburžoasku odbojnost prema imovini, vlasništvu – za nju je prihvatljivo samo ono što je prolazno, privremeno – čak i kad se to odnosi na njezin dom: “Stanovi mi ništa ne znače. Ja sam stipendistica, zauvijek. Najbolje se osjećam kad živim u tuđim stanovima.”

Osim Dinina doslovnog, zemljopisnog i prostornog kretanja (najprije na Zapad, a poslije u Makedoniju), roman se dublje usmjerava na proces trajnog (duhovnog i mentalnog) zamjenjivanja, premještanja i kretanja sebstva i njegovih složenih preobrazbi, koje daleko nadmašuju bitan učinak na naš kulturni identitet. Naracija dijaspore, koja obilježava prozu Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe, povijesno je autentična – ugrađena u konkretno dijasporno postojanje i samu dijaspornu kulturu Balkana kao regije. Taj i takav (dijasporan) obrazac uvelike uvjetuje i imagološki model sebstva, čiju prizmu njegovi stanovnici koriste da bi doživjeli sebe – točnije, kao uvijek-već potencijalne ili virtualne (stvarne u budućnosti) izbjeglice!

Dina s pravom sebe opisuje kao apokrifnu Makedonku, a njezina visokoizražena samosvijest tijekom cijele naracije suočava se s prilično složenim, za nas ovdje nepobitno važnim problemima samoidentificiranja u novom tranzicijskom, postideološkom, postjugoslavenskom okružju. Bardžieva se bavi gorućim pitanjem stvarne krize identiteta i jedan je od rijetkih autora “stalno na oprezu”, ne samo u našoj književnosti nego i u širem istočnoeuropskom književnom kontekstu, gdje, čini se, takvih praksi nedostaje. Zapravo, u svojoj nedavno objavljenoj studiji “Istočnoeuropska književnost u postkomunizmu”, američki slavist Andrew Wachtel tvrdi: “Imajući na umu traumu koju je postkomunistička tranzicija izazvala kod književnika, neobično je koliko se malo književnih radova izravno suočava s biti nove stvarnosti istočnoeuropskih društava i kultura” (2006: 200).

Dinin povratak u domovinu, isprva s oklijevanjem, zbog uvjetovanosti vanjskim okolnostima, s druge strane, dovodi do prilično neočekivanih posljedica. Nakon što je izgradila svoj liminalni (granični) identitet, Dina na početku romana pati od refleksivne nostalgije za domom, koja, prema slavistici Svetlani Boym, odražava strah od doma (povratka domu). Ipak, susret s prijateljima, osobito saznavanje da David, simbol njezine prve, nezaboravljene ljubavi, živi u

Makedoniji, proizvest će imagološku rekonstrukciju njezine prvobitne kulture. Osim zajedničkom pričom o mladenačkoj ljubavi, Dina je s Davidom povezana simbolizmom prekoizbjeglica, obiteljskih i individualnih, stvarnih i virtualnih: ona je egejskog porijekla, dok je on Židov. Oboje pripadaju dvjema, po definiciji, dijaspornim kulturama, oboje imaju na svojoj koži tetovirano generičko iskustvo koje Julia Kristeva opisuje kao “strance samima sebi”. Prije putovanja u drugu zemlju Dina i David uvijek-već su doživjeli, imali, uključivali osnovni osjećaj da su stranci u vlastitoj zemlji. Kad se zaljubi u Dinu, David zapravo izražava sastavne premise njihove jedine moguće domovine, utemeljene u ljubavi: “Ti nemaš domovinu. Ja sam tvoja domovina. Mi smo beskućnici u našoj ljubavi. Ti si sada moja biografija.” Dina, nakon deset godina egzila, doživljava ponovno ljubav prema domovini i obnovu doma kao rezultat katarzične moći ljubavi. Ljubavi kao snage stvaranja doma. Ljudi kao dom. I, prije svega, povjerenja kao ontologije i filozofije ljubavi. To se prikazuje kao izvedivo (također transformira kao mitsko) povratkom u Kazablanku kao modernu Itaku.¹ Na taj način Dina nije (doživotna) migrantica, nego privremena migrantica.

2. Ovaj roman je od samog naslova slojevit i višeznačan. Zemlja Kazablanka je metafora Makedonije, ali i imagološka odrednica bilo koje male, granične zemlje, zemlje na razmeđi, zemlje izbjeglica – u kojoj se spaja nekoliko moćnih kulturoloških matrica.

Govorim o europskoj Kazablanki... To je ideja i simbol svih Kazablanki na svijetu. Osim toga, to je europski proizvod par excellence. U njoj su uvijek drugi vodili ratove. U njoj su ostajale samo izbjeglice i žrtve rata, kao i u svakoj stvarnoj Kazablanki... Prema tome, Kazablanka je sudbina svih malih zemalja na razmeđi. To je luka bez mora. Kazablanka na kopnu.

Život u takvoj zemlji uvijek je upitan. Zato njeni stanovnici razvijaju poseban mentalitet, koji Dina, nakon povratka, obično shvaća na potpuno drukčiji način, uz promijenjen vrijednosni stav. U osobnom smislu, nakon što je deset godina živjela međukulturalni dijalog između Istoka i Zapada, Dina doživljava preobrazbu, ne samo osobnog nego čak i više kolektivnog samoprikazivanja i vrednovanja. Ona uspostavlja protunaraciju za autentičan status i povlastice toga kulturnog prostora kao kreativno jednakog zapadnoeuropskom: “Cijeli svijet pokušava nam reći da smo ljudi, ostaci povijesne ruševine, ponekad slične Atlantidi... Ništa veliko ne može proizaći od nas.”

¹ Darko Suvin (2005), međutim, piše o nužnom egzilu, npr. Filokteta, čije tragično iseljavanje ne dopušta povratak u Itaku.

Taj kompleks provincije, kako otkriva Dina, motivira većinu intelektualaca da odu i osvoje Zapad. Za razliku od plačljiva Borisova tona – koji je uvjeren: “Ako želim napisati nešto dobro, moram otići... Trebam normalan svakodnevni život”, mudri profesor Gavril Ognenov izražava drukčiji, polemikom obojen stav prema (kvazi)imperativu odlaska, na koji ni sama Dina nije bila imuna: “Ne morate nikad otići na Zapad, a ipak ga možete osvojiti.” Ali, ako ostanete ovdje, morate biti dovoljno snažan. Na taj način autorica relativizira rašireno tumačenje na Balkanu bijega (iseljavanja u drugu zemlju) kao čina hrabrosti – korak ili izbor bijega iz/izvan može se prije protumačiti kao kukavičluk.

Umjesto klišeiziranih obrazaca kulturne inferiornosti, Dina dolazi do dosad zanemarenih oblika kulturne identifikacije, koji legitimiziraju našu samosvijest iz drukčijega kuta: “Makedonci su uvijek bili filmofili. Dokaz za to je Manaki, prvi redatelj na Balkanu. Dokaz te sklonosti virtualnoj biografiji prisutan je i kod njega. Opažati sve, neizravno, kroz slike.” Pozicioniranje kolektivne sklonosti opažanju kao vrline, razumijevanje svijeta na metarazini, također je karakteristično za Dinino polazište o svijetu kao njegovu dominantnom promatraču, koje je također vidljivo kod njezine najbolje prijateljice Nore, nastavnice sklone analitičkom promišljanju. S druge strane, izrazito ironično, Boris upozorava na današnju zloglasnu i uzajamno uništavajuću prirodu Makedonaca kao naroda, koji su u stalnom sukobu sa samima sobom: “Kao i naši kulturni spomenici, trebali bismo se štititi mi Makedonci. Bože, neka nas netko zaštiti od nas samih! Dosta mi je nas, sebe, svih vas!”

3. Obnova doma u Dini, međutim, nije rezultat samo drukčijih vrijednosno-intelektualnih tumačenja apstraktne prirode.

Mirisi, mirisi, u mojoj glavi, u mojem srcu, u mojem nisu. Sve je sadržano u mirisu. Samo trebam doći do tamo i pronaći ću istinski miris osobe ili situacije. Na taj način pronaći ću mjesto na kojem je nekad bio egejski bungalov... Tlo miriše na prošle živote. Voće u zimi. Miris dunja. Kao uspomena i molitva za mir duše moje bake Angeline.

Ta obnova doma, koja se odvija kroz i zahvaljujući mirisima (mirisima iz djetinjstva, u bungalovu bake Angeline, koji miriše na dunje), međutim, nije utemeljena samo na Proustovoj ostavštini nego i autentično proizlazi iz te tople regije, bogato natopljene mirisima i osobito podatne za osjetilne podražaje. Miris, putem iznimno senzualnih doživljaja koje izaziva, na nevjerojatan se način pretvara u ideološki, točnije domoljubni vokativ.

Za Dinu druga se obnova doma odvija ponovnim otkrivanjem vjere kao bitnog čina postojanja. Nije slučajno da tu vjeru u njoj potiče njoj suđeni David:

Rekao sam ti, sve je simbol. Sve je svjedok Stvoritelja! Svijet je stvoren kao savršeno djelo ljubavi... To su znakovi koje bi trebala slijediti u najsitnijim stvarima. Ti si također, u tim rijetkim trenucima bezvremenosti, osjetila tu svjetlost duše, da je sve negdje drugdje... da je najvažnija stvar za kojom naše duše žude negdje drugdje. Svijet je tajna Božje ljubavi, Dina! ... Istinska vjera je žudnja za Bogom!

Roman Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe od početka do kraja isprepleten je pitanjem vjere, vjere u viši poredak, otkrivanje “nezemaljskog sjaja svega na ovom svijetu: povratak nježnosti, strpljivosti, božanskog postojanja.” Dokazi za to postoje u “čitavom životu bake Angeline, nadahnutog vjerom,” kako tvrdi otac Gregorij, koji će ujediniti u ljubavi Dinu i Davida, kao i u završnim rečenicama romana:

Tajna ljubavi. Tajna vjere. Tajna života... Ne postoje tri tajne, draga Dina, to je jedna te ista tajna. One su samo jedno ime, Krist. Čujem zvuke krila u zraku. Glazba Mozartova anđela u Kazablanki. Davide, čuješ li? Da. Probudi se, Dina, u srcu si tajne. Glas anđela iz vrta, Agatha Rosenblat.

Dinin dom, koji na početku romana funkcionira samo kao uvjetovan ili relativan pojam, pretvara se u svoj temeljan oblik i prirodu na kraju romana. Taj Dom prerasta u generički pojam, u dom – šifru duše, uz Davida, u njezinoj i njegovoj Kazablanki. Jer, kako tvrdi Edward Said, u svjetovnom i uvjetovanom svijetu, suprotno tome – dom je uvijek privremen. Ljubav između Dine i Davida obnovljena je nakon deset godina. Ipak, sama ljubav je obnova, uskrsnuće. Liturgija, misa, koja nas približava najradosnijoj tajni naše vjere, Uskrsnuću, kao šifra, kao vječna obnova života u/kroz ljubav.

“Sjećanje je vezano za želju – piše indijski teoretičar Arjun Appadurai – arhiv bi se trebalo shvaćati kao mjesto namijenjeno za stvaranje očekivanih sjećanja umjesto za službene povijesne dokumente.”

Migranti, zbog svojega liminalnog (nepripadajućeg) statusa, njeguju veoma poseban stav prema svojim sjećanjima. S obzirom na traumatsku ostavštinu (gubitak) koji je prirodno povezan, Appadurai opisuje taj sindrom kao “precijenjena sjećanja.” To je status Dininih sjećanja, na području naracije dijaspore koju ona sama nastanjuje! Zapravo, to se može usporediti s egzistencijalnim iskustvom autorice romana² koja na vlastitoj koži osjeća dvojbu, upit: što je važnije – privatno ili javno – Njemica ili Makedonka?

² U privatnoj elektroničkoj poruci od 5. rujna 2006. godine, Bardžieva ističe: “Mislila sam da moje pisanje o Makedoniji nema smisla, za mene, podijeljenu između sada i onda, u ovoj novoj Njemačkoj, i dalje sam samo bezglasno prisutna, privatno tamo, ne više privatno, nego javno, ali i dalje (barem sam tako osjećala) odsutna.”

4. Iako je ovo njezin prvi roman, Bardžieva je nastojala i uspjela stvoriti sveobuhvatan roman ili roman koji je, po svojem žanru mnogolik, i sam neka vrsta šifre. On uključuje najmanje četiri modela žanra: pseudobiografiju, ljubavni roman, roman rasta i zrelosti, društveni roman (o gradu ili sredini), pseudoautobiografiju (jer autorica i pripovjedačica nisu ista osoba), filozofski roman s tezom.

Roman jasno obrađuje temu beskućništva kao postmodernistički topos, prevrednovanje i obnovu kulturnog identiteta spornih zemalja. Roman se udubljuje u tranzicijsku dramu i fragmentaciju tranzicijskog subjekta (građana nepostojeće zemlje). Nadalje, u velikom broju odlomaka, metajezična promišljanja razmatraju pitanja filozofije kreativnosti. Konačno, u ideji vjere kao šifre koja sadrži trojstvo života, kreativnosti i života, roman nudi mogućnost za ideološku obnovu našega suvremenoga sušnog svijeta.

Roman Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe obiluje aktualnim temama. Uz to, uključuje teme koje zrače svježinom, novinom i rijetkošću. Takvo čitanje nesumnjivo podupire našu duhovnu identifikaciju, čak i našu preobrazbu u naraštaj koji doživljava sebe na gubitnički način, kao sablast, opscenog i nevidljivog fantoma, ostatke nepostojećih struktura zemlje, ideologije, vrijednosnog polazišta. Razlog za to jest da ovo djelo također znači osvajanje narativnog područja iz kojeg i u kojem Makedonci mogu autentično i nenametljivo izraziti sebe. Kako se ističe u postkolonijalnoj teoriji Edwarda Saida, ako niste diskurzivno prisutni, kao da uopće niste prisutni. Mi kao Makedonci smatramo ovu knjigu dirljivom na mnoge načine: ona će nas dotaknuti, ispuniti nas ponosom i radošću, jednako kao što će nas bez sumnje i povrijediti svojom dubokom iskrenošću. To je prvi put da se u romanu obrađuju duboka tragedija i izazov beskućništva. Prije svega kao osobnog, ali i kolektivnog, etnokulturalnog i tranzicijskog beskućništva. Beskućništva kao norme! Na kraju, to se beskućništvo spaja i okuplja u utopiji ljubavi, u vjeri kao modusu koji razoružava sterilan cinizam suvremenoga dubokog lutajućeg i ne manje samodestruktivnog uma.

Prema tome, trojstvo ljubavi, snova i vjere – spojeno u glazbi (umjetnosti), u ovom romanu, kao književnosti krajnje iskrene samopotrage – na kraju ostavlja osjećaj da je *Snijeg u Kazablanki* obnova iskonske, danas pomalo zaboravljene bjeline alkemijskih početaka, za kojima, puni ožiljaka povijesti, žudimo. Bardžieva nam daje takav dar za mentalni poticaj, ali uz novu intonaciju, koji smo zaslužili mnogo prije. Njezin roman nudi ono moćno samopriznanje i samoizlječenje kroz šifru književnosti u kojoj se čuje jeka udaljenih, ali i dalje čujnih glasova božanskog. Jednako kao tiha, ali ipak velika pobjeda nad kaosom materijalnog.

5. Iako je na početku napisan u hermeneutičkom ključu egzila, roman *Snijeg u Kazablanki* na kraju postaje književnost nadilaženja egzila i/ili protuegzila. Kad bismo primijenili rječnik suvremene teorije, mogli bismo reći da “Kazablanka” prelazi s modusa egzila (kao modusa izraženog prisjećanja ili nostalgije za prošlošću) na nomadski modus (kao usmjeren projekt). Rečenica “Selim se – dakle postojim” prestaje biti (ako je ikad bila) jednadžba Dinina osobnog identiteta. Ona se više ne boji biti/postati ono što doista jest!

Premda u svojoj studiji Andrew Wachtel na žalost ne spominje nijednoga makedonskog književnika u postkomunizmu, smatram da roman Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe pripada skupini književnih djela što ih Wachtel opisuje kao novi internacionalizam, koji uključuje autore kao što su David Albahari, Drago Jančar, Andrej Makin, Milan Kundera (ipak, nedostaje indikativna Dubravka Ugrešić). Djela novog internacionalizma imaju nekoliko zajedničkih elemenata: refleksivno pripovijedanje u prvom licu, odlazak glavnog junaka/ junakinje na Zapad i njegov povratak, njegovo/njezino shvaćanje da su dvije kulture komplementarne (iako nisu identične) nakon sinteze obaju kultura na osobnoj razini.

Dina prelazi svoju putanju, koja počinje iz pozicije klasičnog stranca (“očaranog drugim”, “odvojenog od domovina i novog prostora”) i razvija se, kroz četverostrano načelo autobiografije do pozicije suvremenog stranca u njoj samoj (“Stranac živi u nama. On je skriveno lice identiteta. Prostor koji razara naš dom”, Kristeva, 2005: 235) Za Dinu je karakteristična njezina “migracijska perspektiva slabog subjekta”, njezina perspektiva je bifokalna, kontrapunktna, izoštrana do maksimuma. Ona je primjer tipičnoga balkanskog intelektualca koji sve ovo vrijeme (najmanje vlastitim izborom) nosi istočnjački teret traumatskih sjećanja. Ili, kako ističe Danilo Kiš, “kazna za vodeće balkanske intelektualce je stalno nositi sa sobom stari piano na jednom ramenu i mrtvog konja na drugom”.

6. Međutim, umjesto konvencionalne očekivane retorike optuživanja, karakteristične za prvu fazu imagološke dekolonizacije, pripovjedačica Kice Bardžieve-Kolbe uspijeva razviti, u odnosu na sadržaj i ideologiju, superiornu autentičnu protunaraciju, koja uspješno nadilazi ugrađene predrasude prema vlastitom (meta)kulturalnom prikazivanju i vrednovanju. Prema tome, proces njezina (metaforičnog, zapravo našeg) samoprikazivanja istodobno znači konstrukciju protunaracije, iz osobne pozicije, ne samo u smislu stajališta nego i pozicije vrednovanja. Ovaj je roman posebno značajan zbog svojeg eksplicitnog i produktivnog prevrednovanja početnih, za nas tipičnih, imagoloških pozicija – iz perspektive kulturnog predpozicioniranja junaka kao intelektualca s više od jednog doma!

P.S. Čitanje kao ljubavni odnos

Ako roman govori o svim aspektima ljubavi – moramo ga uvijek čitati na isti način i Ljubav ne smijemo izdati!

S engleskog prevela Tamara Slišković

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NATKA BADURINA

ŽENE BEZ GLASA: PRAVO NA POBUNU U HRVATSKOJ KNJIŽEVNOSTI 19. STOLJEĆA IZMEĐU LIBERALIZMA I NACIONALIZMA

1. Pravo na pobunu – čast i dostojanstvo

Želim ovdje govoriti o pravu na pobunu kao o političkom pojmu o kojem se u Europi tijekom devetnaestog stoljeća raspravlja pod dojmom Francuske revolucije. Unatoč emancipatornom oduševljenju koje je pratilo prvo postrevolucionarno razdoblje, početkom 19. stoljeća prema pobuni već prevladava zadržka: liberalizam se inspirira Kantovim legalizmom,¹ a novi nacionalni pokreti u srednjoj Europi, poput onog u Njemačkoj, zanose se poštovanjem drevnih zakona.² Premda prije svega obilježen kao srednjoeuropski tip oblikovanja *etničke* nacije (Stančić, 2002), hrvatski narodni preporod nije lišen ideja *građanskog* nacionalizma, a uz načelo prirodnog prava³ tu sigurno

¹ Vidi npr. Kantov slavni rad iz 1793. *O izreci: To bi u teoriji moglo biti ispravno ali ne vrijedi za praksu* (2006a), prema kojem je pravo na pobunu već samo po sebi kontradiktorno: ako je pravo, onda je dijelom pravnog sustava i prema tome nije pobuna, a ako jest pobuna, onda nastupa protiv pravnog uređenja, i stoga nije pravo. Tim slijedom, Kantova potraga za mirom završava upravo u poštovanju zakona: nema sreće bez poštovanja zakona, i nema zakona koji bi mogao propisati ili predvidjeti pobunu protiv sebe samoga.

² Na početku stoljeća stvara se nacionalistička ideja, potaknuta Herderovom teorijom o ukorijenjenosti nacionalnog identiteta u jeziku i kulturi pojedinog naroda. Ta politička misao govori o posebnom i jedinstvenom pravu zajednice, pravu povezanom sa starim zakonima i običajima koje valja apsolutno poštovati. Antimodernistička i konzervativna tema drevnih zakona česta je u romantičnoj literaturi, posebno onoj njemačkoj.

³ Pravo na koje su se pozivali ilirski pisci u početku je bilo pozitivno pravo utemeljeno u povijesno dalekoj neovisnosti hrvatske države. Vrlo mu se brzo, međutim, pridružuje i prirodno pravo koje pripada svakom pojedincu i svakoj naciji, bez obzira na povijest i "listine". Teorija prirodnog prava bila je temelj liberalizma. No unatoč oduševljenju Francuskom revolucijom, koja je takve ideale slobode provela u djelo, devetnaestostoljetni se liberalizam odlučno suprotstavlja svakoj misli na pobunu.

spada i njegova ustrajnost u poštovanju zakona. U takvom su kontekstu izjave o spremnosti na pobunu tek puki literarni klišej. S druge strane, herderovski je zamišljena nacija možda mogla misliti o pobuni, no samo u slučaju kad su zakoni koji obilježavaju zajednicu pogaženi i kad su time uzrokovane mnoge patnje u narodu. K tome, pobuna je mogla biti samo pobuna cijelog naroda protiv stranaca, jer u okviru prioriteta kolektiva nad individuum nije zamisliva pobuna unutar zajednice.

Godine 1848. perspektiva se dramatično mijenja. Usred europskih revolucija Hrvati traže legalan put za ostvarenje svojih nacionalnih ciljeva, ostajući vjerni kralju i pomažući mu u gušenju drugih pobuna unutar Monarhije, no na kraju bivaju kažnjeni jednako kao i pobunjenici. Pravedna/opravana pobuna postaje jedna od ključnih tema javne rasprave. Politički se pisci uglavnom slažu da se pobuna može opravdati nagomilanom patnjom nacije. To ujedno znači i da se nacija, ako ne trpi dovoljno pod tuđom vlašću, nema pravo pobuniti. No kako se mjeri težina tuđe vlasti? Kada to patnja postaje nepodnošljiva?

O tom nam pitanju može mnogo reći upotreba pojmova *dostojanstvo* i *čast* u tadašnjim političkim tekstovima. Oba pojma nalazimo, na primjer, u Mažuranićevu *Manifestu naroda hrvatsko-slavonskog* iz 1848: "(...) kao što god čovjek stalnog karaktera voli poginuti, neg svoju *čast* pogaziti dati, tako i cijeli narodi, koji svoje narodno *dostojanstvo* osjećaju, koji su stalnog karaktera, vole poginuti, negoli si narodnu svoju *čast* okaljati dati." (Mažuranić, 2004: 98, isticanja moja).

Pojmovi dostojanstva i časti ne pripadaju istoj skupini političkih ideja. Montesquieu i teoretičari prirodnog prava, iz čijeg očista Mažuranić govori, odbacili su aristokratski pojam časti i zamijenili ga pojmom dostojanstva smatrajući da ono ravnopravno pripada svakom ljudskom biću od rođenja i ne ovisi o društvenom statusu. Slično razlikovanje dostojanstva i časti preuzele su i današnje političke teorije. Nakon temeljnog rada Petera Burgera iz 1970., u novije je vrijeme talijanska teoretičarka Francesca Rigotti (2000) predložila da se na ta dva pojma primijeni antropološka distinkcija između "gustog" (*thick*) i "slabog", odnosno "tankog" (*thin*), u ponešto pojednostavljenu značenju.⁴ Čast bi se tako našla među gustim pojmovima, uz hrabrost, čistoću krvi i vezanost za podrijetlo, dok bi dostojanstvo pripadalo tankim pojmovima kao što su tolerancija, sloboda, pluralizam i demokracija.

⁴ O toj podjeli C. Geerza, koju su na političku filozofiju primijenili J. Rawls i B. Williams, a zatim ju je preuzeo i M. Walzer (*Thick and Thin*, 1994), zanimljivo piše N. Mišević u svom etičkom pogledu na nacionalizam (2006: 129–131). Semantički "gusti" pojmovi prema Walzeru bili bi oni čije je značenje usko vezano za život i tradiciju određene zajednice, a mogu ih potpuno razumjeti samo pripadnici te zajednice, dok su "slabi" pojmovi oni koji vrijede univerzalno.

Mažuranić, kao uostalom i mnogi drugi intelektualci njegova doba koji su raspravljali o prirodnom pravu, demokraciji, jednakosti i slobodi, neizbježno je morao poći od dostojanstva. No istovremeno, težeći što široj i što strastvenijoj podršci svojih čitatelja i slušatelja, u taj je govor o slobodi morao uvesti snažne tonove kakve je teško naći u liberalnom individualizmu. Trebala mu je retorika koja će “zagrijati srca”, pa je posegnuo za “gustim” pojmovima, onima koji u zajednici stvaraju osjećaj sudbinske vezanosti, međusobne pripadnosti i ekskluzivnosti.

Budući da me ovdje zanima ženski položaj u nacionalnom pokretu, važno je uvidjeti da pojam časti sa sobom nosi posebnu raspodjelu rodni uloga. Tradicionalno, čast pripada muškarcima, ali ovisi o ženama (usp. Busatta, 2006). Čast neke zajednice počiva na seksualnoj čistoći njenih žena, a kad je ona okaljana, čast se pod svaku cijenu mora vratiti zajednici, premda ne nužno i ženi. Neće dakle biti slučajno da se upravo u vrijeme kad politički pisci počinju spominjati pobunu, u hrvatskoj literaturi pojavljuje motiv silovanja kao nedvojbeno opravdane motivacije za osobnu (muškarčevu) osvetu ili kolektivni ustanak – one motivacije za kojom su prije tragal strog legalisti i ilirski pravnici. Čini se da je fantazma silovanja, o kojoj se počinje češće pisati poslije revolucionarne 1848., jedina mogla podići temperaturu inače miroljubive i tolerantne demokratske zajednice. Ona je pokazatelj ispunjene mjere patnje, nakon koje se zajednica smije pobuniti.

Tako je i na ovoj, sasvim specifičnoj legalističko-političkoj problematici prava na pobunu, vidljivo kako je pitanje uloge žene u društvu ključno za nacionalpatriotsku naraciju. K tome valja primijetiti i kako distinkcije između međusobno različitih ideologija ovdje počinju gubiti na jasnoći: čast i nasilje one koriste podjednako.

2. Silovanje i pobuna u Bibliji i u republikanskoj tradiciji

Povijest konceptualnog povezivanja silovanja i kolektivne pobune zadire vrlo daleko u prošlost. Na krajnje dramatičan način ta se tema pojavljuje u starozavjetnoj pripovijesti o Levitu iz Efraima (*Knjiga o Sucima*, 19). Danas postoje dva načelno različita pristupa toj pripovijesti: s jedne strane feministička čitanja upućuju na kontinuitet modela rodni odnosa sve do modernog doba, osobito s obzirom na obiteljsko nasilje i teškoću reintegracije silovane žene (Bohmbach, 1999), a s druge strane antropolozi upozoravaju na varijabilnost roda i seksualne prakse, odnosno na povijesno-kulturalne razlike između biblijskog i modernog doba (Stone, 1995). Oba su pristupa korisna promatramo li interpretacije i obrade toga biblijskog teksta u predromantično i romantično doba, na primjer kod Rousseaua (v. analizu njegova *Efraimskog levita* u Banti, 2005: 119–123). Obradu te biblijske epizode Rousseau je napisao

1762. godine (objavljena je posthumno, 1781.) uzevši od priče o biblijskom Levitu sve što je bilo intrigantno za suvremenike i promijenivši samo ono što je im je bilo krajnje neprihvatljivo. Pritom neskladan sentimentalizam kojim je Rousseau začinio svoj tekst nije poslužio humaniziranju pripovijesti, nego tome da njena mizogina poruka postane prihvatljiva u modernom društvu. Rousseauov *Efraimski levit* uklapa se u predrevolucionarno razmišljanje o načelima utemeljenja zajednice i dobro pokazuje nativistički smjer u kojem se razvijala Rousseauova misao, a koji je sve veću ulogu pridavao patrijarhalnom modelu zajednice oslonjene na krvno srodstvo i žensku čistoću. Važnost njegove inačice pripovijesti o Levitu jest da ona koncipira spolnu dimenziju nativističkog programa u kontekstu nasilja te utvrđuje nužnost podređivanja pojedinačnih interesa općim.

Primat kolektivnog interesa i ženska žrtva nisu, međutim, samo odraz Rousseauove nativističke devijacije, već su posve u skladu i s republikanskom retorikom. To znači da se Lukrecija i Virginija, klasične mitske žrtve silovanja ili prijetnje silovanjem (koje su svojom smrću sačuvale čast, ali i omogućile pobunu, rušenje tiranije i uspostavu rimske republike), sudbinski sreću s Levitovom inoćom. U umjetnosti predromantizma, zbog preobrazbi koje doživljava republikanska ideja u vremenu svoje revolucionarne realizacije, uzorne pripovijesti iz rimskog doba o silovanim ženama koje se žrtvuju za dobrobit zajednice nalaze potkrepu u Bibliji i kršćanskom poimanju ženske čistoće. I za liberalni i za nacionalistički svjetonazor te su pripovijesti jednako poučne: seksualno nasilje ugrožava zajednicu bez obzira na to koja su njena temeljna načela, a složna je osveta obnavlja, pri čemu žrtvovana žena ostaje ležati na pragu. Njezina reintegracija u zajednicu nije moguća, a njezin jedini častan izlaz je smrt.

Dolazim tako, okolnim putem, do teze Carole Pateman (2000), prema kojoj je uspostavljanje građanskog društva vezano za seksualnost i nasilje, a spolni je ugovor skriveni prethodnik društvenog ugovora koji se predstavlja kao ugovor među slobodnom i ravnopravnom braćom, ali podrazumijeva njihovu dominaciju nad ženama. "Spolna razlika je politička razlika: spolna razlika jest razlika između slobode i podčinjenosti. U prvobitnom ugovoru, pomoću kojeg su muškarci svoju prirodnu slobodu pretvorili u sigurnost građanske slobode, žene ne sudjeluju kao stranka. Žene su predmet ugovora" (Pateman, 2000: 21).

Teoretičari društvenog ugovora podrazumijevali su patrijarhalnost, no pripovijedanje o nasilju prepustili su književnom umijeću uvjeravanja. Scene silovanja u devetnaestostoljetnoj literaturi, osobito onoj historicističkoj s nacion alnoutemeljiteljskim projektom, mogu se tako čitati kao niz poučnih praprizora prvotnog podčinjavanja žena muškarcima. Književnost tu postaje ono mjesto javnog diskursa na kojem probija potisnuta dimenzija teorije ugovora – kao da u njoj na vidjelo izlazi podsvijest građanskog društva.

3. Silovanje i pobuna u hrvatskoj književnosti druge polovine 19. stoljeća

U hrvatskoj književnosti nema neposrednih obrada priče o Levitu. Preporoditeljima su nešto bliži bili republikanski uzori ženske čistoće, pa se tako u "Historičkom ogledalu ženah" (*Danica*, 1840: 154) našla Lukrecija kao dokaz da su i ratoborni Rimljani poštovali žene, dakako na uobičajen način: "Čistoću i samoubojstvo Lukrecie slavio je Rimljanin kao povod, koi učini, da je on republikansku svoju slobodu zadobio." I biblijski i klasični uzori, uostalom, u europskom su romantizmu mnogim obradama interiorizirani do te mjere da više na njih i nije bilo potrebno doslovno upućivati.⁵ Interkulturalnim utjecajem i u hrvatsku književnost ulaze silovane djevice, kao daleke sestre Levitove inoče.

3.1. Mirko Bogović, prvi o silovanju i pobuni

Kad se u novijoj hrvatskoj književnosti prvi put pojavljuje silovanje, to je odmah u vezi s masovnom pobunom, i to onom najslavnijom u modernoj hrvatskoj povijesti: Seljačkom bunom. Prvi je, 1859. godine, Seljačku bunu književno obradio Mirko Bogović u tragediji *Matija Gubec, kralj seljački*. Pet godina prije Ivan Kukuljević (1854) objavio je članak u kojem među ostalim govori i o buni (Kukuljević, 1854), no veći dio povijesne građe tiskan je poslije Bogovićeve drame (počeo ju je objavljivati F. Krones 1868; v. Rački, 1875. i Grafenauer, 1974). Kukuljevićevi *Događaji Medvedgrada* (1854) jedina su, dakle, opširnija historiografska studija koju je Bogović mogao imati na raspolaganju. S obzirom na to da se u njima uopće ne spominje Tahijevo nasilno ponašanje prema djevojkama te da je Kukuljevićev prikaz plemićko-kmetskih odnosa pod jakim utjecajem ranije, vlasteli sklone historiografije, mislim da doista možemo reći kako je Bogovićeve dramske struktura – spletena oko ugroženog djevičanstva seoskih kćeri Stane i Mare, otmica kojih je povod pravedne i čiste pobune potlačenih – pionirska, koliko god se ona današnjem čitatelju činila pukim klišejem. Čini se da je Bogović pripovijest organizirao tako logično, odnosno u takvom dosluhu s postojećim društvenim predodžbama o opravdanoj pobuni i rodnim ulogama njenih aktera, da su ga poslije morali slijediti i oni književnici, poput Šenoe, koji su se kleli u arhivsku građu kao svoj glavni izvor. Štoviše, kao da se Bogovićevoj narativnoj strukturi povinivala i sama građa objavljena nakon njega: Krones i Rački između 1868. i 1883. objavljuju veći dio arhivskih izvora u kojima se spominju seljačke optužbe protiv Tahija zbog otmica djevojaka, a sve kasnije interpretacije tih izvora, u kojima se raspravljalo i o ulozi silovanja kao povoda bune, nisu mogle jednostavno zaboraviti Bogovićeve dramu.

⁵ Kao primjere A. M. Banti (2005) navodi W. Scotta (*Ivanhoe*), F. Schillera (*Wilhelm Tell*), G. E. Lessinga (*Emilia Galotti*), H. Kleista (*Die Hermannschlacht*), V. Alfierija (*Bruto Primo, Virginia*), E. Suea (*Les Mystères du peuple*) i brojna slikarska djela.

Bogovićev Gubec je čovjek od prava (“Pravo nije kad se sila silom/uzbijati mora nemilice,/Pravo nije, ali – lijeka nije”, 1968: 372) koji pokušava umiriti seljake sve dok Tahijev nećak Plovdin ne otme Maru, prijateljicu Gupčeve kćeri Stane, koja se nakon silovanja baci u provaliju. Mara je, međutim, u drami neka vrsta suplementa, jer je Plovdin prvotno nakanio oteti Gupčevu kćer Stanu. Kao neskladno upotrijebljen literarni klišej djeluje činjenica da na početku drame svoju zanesenost Stanom Plovdin opisuje čistim petrarkističkim repertoarom, tek uz nešto dodatka figura o tjelesnoj strasti: “Došao sam tu k ujaku svomu/Da lov lovim i zvijeri da strijeljam,/A umjesto toga mene žarka/Strijela zgodi s očiju te krasne/Djevojčice (...)/Kada sam ju opazio danas,/U nju mi se oči zanijele,/ Za očima srce poletjelo” (Bogović, 1968: 336). Zašto je Plovdin oksimoronski petrarkistički silovatelj, a ne cinik koji je mogao, poput Rigoletta na primjer, pjevati o ženskoj varljivosti?

Stana i Mara utjelovljuju ono što bi se moglo zvati revolucionarnim puritanizmom: strog i začudo hijerarhijski raspored rodnih uloga što je pratio buntovni egalitarizam.⁶ Za pojavu stvarnog i simboličnog vraćanja žene u kuću u građansko doba povjesničari nalaze višestruka objašnjenja. S jedne je strane to bilo veliko pospremanje, uvođenje reda u kolektivne i individualne snage radi jačanja unutrašnje moći države i njena reproduktivnog temelja (Foucault, 2001: 26–27). Drugi pak autori tvrde, uostalom u dosluhu s prvom tezom, kako je liberalizam, da bi postigao popularnost, u pitanju rodnih odnosa morao posegnuti za kakvom raširenijom i lako prihvatljivom ideologijom, poput one moderne kršćanske (Banti, 2005). S tim u vezi Ivo Pederin (1996: 23) korisno podsjeća kako je moderna kršćanska ideja obitelji u diskontinuitetu s mnogoženstvom u starih kršćana i kako je ona tek naknadno – u građansko doba – proglašena tisuđjetnom.

Nasuprot feudalnom libertinizmu Tahija i Plovdina stoji tako utjelovljenje čiste republikanske zaručnice koja je u literaturi idealan objekt silovanja – štoviše, silovanje može biti potvrdom njezine vrijednosti i ljepote. Time su uspostavljeni temelji onog modela rodnih uloga koji je, kako je to u svom klasičnom djelu o silovanju pokazala S. Brownmiller (1976: 428), izrazito razoran za ženski identitet: uporno ponavljanje klišeja lijepih ženskih žrtava u visokoj i trivijalnoj literaturi dovodi kod čitatelja do inverznog zaključka prema kojem je upravo silovanje dokaz ženske vrijednosti. Iz toga kuta Plovdinova zaljubljenost koja pjeva o Staninoj božanskoj ljepoti ne izgleda samo kao nespretno i neprimjereno ponavljanje petrarkističkoga književnoga

⁶ To vrijedi i za Šenou: uspoređujući Šenoine liberalne nazore s njegovim prividno emancipiranim suvremenim djevojkama, I. Pederin pokazao je kako je “žena kod Šenoe dođuše ugaoni kamen kuće, ali u građanskom smislu nezrela i nesposobna da sama živi, posve onako kao u bračnom zakonodavstvu 19. st. i u teologiji apostola Pavla” (Pederin, 1996: 25).

klišeja nego se pokazuje i kao koristan indikator veze između istodobne ženske podčinjenosti i uzvišenosti. Pasivna ženska društvena uloga kompenzirana je njezinim simboličkim nabojem, što uostalom pokazuju i ženske alegorije nacije i domovine.⁷ To, paradoksalno, podsjeća na Kantorowiczov teorem o dva vladareva tijela. Čini se, naime, da i žene, poput kralja, imaju profano i sveto tijelo: njihovo stvarno, profano tijelo može biti mučenički žrtvovano i uskraćena mu je junačka smrt, dok ga ono sveto, naprotiv, nadživljava, a njegova simbolička moć djeluje kao jako kolektivno vezivo. U slučaju Bogovićeve Mare taj je *corpus mysticum* doveden doslovce na pozornicu po uzoru na scenske i likovne alegorije vile koja prati Petra Svačića: nakon smrti Mara je moćan duh, "genij u Marinoj slici", koji zaspalu Gupcu u tamnici šutke stavlja lovor-vijenac na glavu.

3.2. August Šenoa: Janina dvostruka nesreća

Prvo književno djelo koje nakon Bogovića govori o Seljačkoj buni Šenoin je roman iz 1877. u kojem republikanske tonove nadglasava ideja nacionalne kohezije. Šenoini su romani imali onu ulogu u stvaranju hrvatskog identiteta koju diskurzivne teorije nacije upravo pripisuju žanru romana (Brennan, 1997). No unatoč razlikama u odnosu na Bogovića, motiv silovanja kao pokretača pobune jednak je u oba autora. Šenoa je proučavao arhivske izvore, ali narativna struktura *Seljačke bune* ipak najviše sličij njevu dramskom književnom prethodniku.

Kao čista, lijepa i naivna, Šenoina je Jana od početka romana predestinirana žrtva silovanja. No u vezi s njome u Šenoinu je romanu efikasno izveden još jedan dio mita o silovanju: sumnja u žensku sukrivnju i u njezin užitak. Isključenost silovane žene iz društva, ono već u Bibliji naglašeno ležanje na pragu bez mogućnosti povratka u kuću, Šenoa prikazuje kroz metaforu Janina ludila. No u Janinu ludilu ima nečega posebno teatralnog: Jana preuzima identitet legendarnog lika Dore, demonske proždiračice muškaraca, ženskog vraga suprotstavljenog Jani kao anđelu. Zašto je silovana Jana morala na sebe preuzeti lik prijeteće seksualnosti i pretvoriti se u arhetip pohotne žene koja ugrožava muškarce? Ima li to veze s mitom o silovanju, koji uključuje ženski mazohizam, odnosno njezin navodni užitak? Susan Brownmiller (1976: 22) spominje biblijsku priču (Knjiga Postanka, 39) o osvetoljubivoj ženi koja lažno

⁷ Znakovita je sudbina Delacroixove *Slobode koja predvodi narod* iz 1830. (Banti 2005: 313–318): tadašnji su kritičari najviše prigovarali što je žena na slici previše konkretna, poput kakve ulične prodavačice, tamnputa, prljava i s dlakama pod pazuhom (konvencionalno slikarstvo, pogotovo ono alegorijsko, ne poznaje dlake na aktovima), pa stoga neprikladna da bude simbol.

optužuje muškarca za silovanje, smatrajući to muškom stranom priče, odnosno slikom muškog straha od ženske seksualnosti. Šenoina Jana kao da sama želi preduhitriti pomisao da se u figuri silovane žene zapravo krije ona koja uživa. Javno je da je ona bila žrtva silovanja, no s obzirom na mit o ženskom mazohizmu, netko bi je mogao optužiti za užitak, i tako je približiti Dori koja je u legendi (što je ponovno mizogina fantazma), umjesto da trpi muško nasilje, napadala i ubijala muškarce. Ta fantazma vodi izokretanju uloga u seksualnom zločinu, pri čemu je žena uvijek na strani krivca, a čin nasilja zapravo nije važan. I kad je žrtva, žena u takvoj fantaziji postaje ona koja je primila stranca i okaljala čistoću zajednice. Ako se iza svake njezine patnje krije mogućnost užitka, to znači da ona nije u stanju prijeći prag ne/podnošljivosti patnje koji je opravdanje za pobunu. Jedino što ona može jest biti mjerom tuđeg trpljenja, razlogom tuđega (muškog) bijesa koji je napunio svoju mjeru.

Ako se složimo s tim da je ženski je mazohizam neurotična manifestacija stvorena i poticana kulturom, a ne posljedica ženske biologije (Brownmiller, 1976: 395), postat će jasno da je u tome devetnaestostoljetna književnost imala veliku ulogu. Pritom je ona udovoljavala potrebama građanskog društva, kao što se vidi u pripremama za novo doba kod Richardsona ili Rousseaua. Ne može se, dakako, reći da takva literatura odgaja muškarce da siluju, ali svakako je pogubno to što ona odgaja žene da trpe silovanje: u njoj žene sanjaju mušku fantaziju.

3.3. Marija Jurić Zagorka: buntovno pregovaranje

Seljačkom se bunom pozabavila i jedna autorica. Na početku dvadesetog stoljeća Marija Jurić Zagorka – feministkinja, novinarka i spisateljica romana u nastavcima – odlučuje revidirati tu staru pripovijest sa svim patrijarhalnim i mizoginim naslagama što su se oko nje nataložile u drugoj polovini devetnaestog stoljeća. Piše *Evicu Gupčevu*,⁸ petočinsku dramu intrige s otvorenim socijalističkim i revolucionarnim idejama. No dok je tema seljačkog ustanka uvijek nosila potencijal subverzivnosti, pobunjeničva i republikanstva, pa čak i kod Šenoe, koji je odricao bilo kakvu svoju sklonost Pariškoj komuni, dovođenjem ženskog lika u središte radnje Zagorka je učinila dodatan pomak. To je početak njezine revizije hrvatske povijesti, cjelovito osmišljene u mnogo kasnijem djelu *Neznana junakinja* (1939), kojom se napokon trebalo dati priznanje ženama koje su svojim djelovanjem utjecale na nacionalnu povijest. No kako to “djeluje” Zagorkina Evica? I ima li to posljedice na ustaljenu shemu silovanje-pobuna?

⁸ Drama nije tiskana. Cenzorski primjerak rukopisa pohranjen je u Zavodu za povijest hrvatskoga kazališta.

Na prvi pogled, Zagorka preuzima sve otrcane klišeje. Evici prijeti silovanje: ona je “lijepa mlada djevojka, čisto i uredno odjevena” na koju su bacili oko i Tahe i njegov sluga Dimić. Ipak, Evičina povezanost s početkom pobune složenija je nego obično. Ona nije fitilj pobune samo svojim pasivnim položajem potencijalne žrtve nego je, u zapletu punom zagubljenih scenskih rekvizita i fatalnih obrata, ujedno i vrlo konkretna čuvarica ključeva crkve čija su zvona tajni znak za uzbunu: samo je ona, dakle, prema dogovoru s Gupcem, može razglasiti. Time, međutim, njezina uloga više nije pasivna, pa se čini da Zagorka zapravo preokreće preuzeti narativni obrazac prema kojem je djevojačka sudbina prijelomna za siže o pobuni: ako su žene već stoljećima glavni motiv pobune, možda su napokon u stanju i preuzeti ključeve pobune u svoje ruke. No što se događa kad ih Evica napokon upotrijebi i zavoni na bunu? Očekivali bismo katarzu, povoljan ishod događaja, nanovo ispisanu povijest – no ne događa se ništa od toga. To što je iskoristila ključeve koje je imala u rukama pokazuje se kao krivnja u očima njezine zajednice, a nju samu vladava osjećaj krivnje (“Što sam učinila!”).

Ipak, problem nije samo u radikalnoj i možda preuranjenoj Evičinoj emancipaciji. Evica je, naime, višestruko ucijenjena, pa njezin poziv seljacima na bunu i nije samostalna odluka, nego rezultat njezina pokušaja da nađe bilo kakav izlaz iz zamke. Umjesto iracionalne i strašću obuzete romantične junakinje ili borbene sufražetkinje s jasnim ciljem, Evica je samo inteligentno stvorenje koje pokušava djelovati unutar tijesno zadane mreže političkih spletki i društvenih uloga. Uostalom, kad se na kraju otkrije da su o početku bune odluku donijeli upravo plemići, a da su seljaci bili tek vješto izmanipulirani, pokazat će se da to vrijedi i za ostale likove. Svi oni podjednako prolaze samo kroz lažne izbore, djelujući iz vlastitog položaja gotovo predestinirano: unutar diskurzivne zadanosti moguće je samo s manje ili više uspjeha subvertirati zatečeni raspored. Taj je motiv moguće čitati i kao Zagorkin uvid u položaj subalternih skupina. One, naime, prema Gramscijevoj definiciji (Gramsci, 1971: 241), nemaju uvjete za stvaranje zajedničke svijesti koju bi suprotstavili vladajućima, već su nesigurni identiteti koji trebaju gospodarov pogled i gospodarovu definiciju da se odraze u njoj. Može se pretpostaviti da je taj uvid u spletenost društvenih uloga i nedostatak slobode Zagorki bio moguć upravo zahvaljujući njezinu iskustvu feminističke borbe na početku stoljeća.

Evica se, međutim, u drugom dijelu drame donekle uspijeva oduprijeti stereotipu ženske krivnje i tada više nije do kraja prilagodljivo tijelo, nego naoružana pokretačica nove bune – ovaj put bune kojoj nije potrebno silovanje kao povod niti opravdanje. No važno je uvidjeti kako njezina nova uloga nije apsolutno nadrastanje patrijarhata, nego ravnopravno mjesto kraj muškarca u radničkoj internacionali (socijalističke su poruke u drami direktne i bez straha od anakronizama). Zagorkina vizija društva zahtijeva dakle da se “neznanim

junakinjama” najprije prizna njihovo sudjelovanje u borbi unutar postojećih odnosa moći. Evica umire poslije Gupca, i na sceni izgovara posljednje proročanske riječi: “Žrtve će padati, krv će teći, na našim grobovima svanut će sloboda.” No ako smo shvatili Zagorkinu vještinu pregovaranja unutar zadanog, neće nas iznenaditi otkriće da su to iste riječi koje je nekoliko scena prije, odlazeći na stratište, izgovorio sam Gubec. Evičino političko djelovanje dakle, ono kojim bi se ona trebala aktivno razlikovati od drugih, zapravo je ostvareno kroz ulogu nimfe Eho.

4. Slučaj Verzegnis: animalni glasovi ženske pobune u 19. stoljeću

Iznijet ću za kraj još jednu priču, ali ovaj put priču iz stvarnog života. U Verzegnisu, planinskom selu u sjevernoj Italiji, 1878. godine zabilježen je slučaj kolektivne opsjednutosti četrdesetak žena različite dobi. Cijele su godine žene govorile nepoznatim jezikom i životinjskim glasovima (najviše kukurikanjem). Njihovo je ponašanje izazvalo anarhiju u cijelom kraju, o njima su pisale novine, a slučaj je došao i do talijanskog parlamenta. Ono što se s njima dalje zbilo vrlo je slično slučaju iz Salema, premda u drukčije povijesno doba. Na kraju 19. stoljeća, umjesto crkve i egzorcizma, konačno kroćenje žena preuzela je medicinska znanost s novom vladom mlade talijanske države i nacionalnim vojnim snagama. Sve su žene silom odvedene u ludnicu, gdje su provele ostatak života.

Danas je taj slučaj ponovno zanimljiv etnologima i antropolozima (Borsatti, 1989), no za našu kratku raspravu važno je uočiti kako je ovdje ženska pobuna svoj izraz našla u tijelu i kroz njega, kroz ženski glas kao takav. U isto je vrijeme, međutim, i medicinski pristup bio zaokupljen ženskim tijelima: dobronamjerni liječnik kojem je dana zadaća da riješi slučaj grčevito se borio protiv praznovjerja i egzorcizma, no sve što je u ime znanosti mogao učiniti bilo je mjerenje njihova obujma glave i razmaka između očiju. Dakako, pritom nije poslušao njihove glasove. Nesporazum između prosvjetiteljskih ideja i oslobođanja ženskoga glasa u tom je slučaju potpun.

5. Kraj: o ženama i miru

Foucault je u pariškim predavanjima *Il faut défendre la société* (1998) pokazao kako je romantična ideja identiteta povezana s neprekidnom prijetnjom rata. Kroz zapadnu se povijest od 17. stoljeća provlači skrivena nit: diskurs koji se bavi vječnom nepomirljivošću između pobjednika i poraženih, između privilegiranih i potlačenih. To je govor u prvom licu u ime uvrijeđenih, za obranu vlastitih prava i postavljanje granica vlastite strpljivosti.

Romantizam je ujedno, s nastupom građanskog društva, u svoje temelje

ugradio i spolnu diskriminaciju, pa i ona neizbježno prati diskurs rata. Zagorka dakako tu nije imala mnogo izbora: vrlo je dobro poznavala represivnu moć društva nad ženskim glasom. Ona je svoje neznane junakinje uključila u postojeću socijalnu, nacionalnu i romantičnu povijest, pa makar im morala u usta staviti jeku tuđih riječi o krvavim potocima.

Koji je onda put za mir i ima li on veze s pronalaženjem mjesta za ženski glas? Kantov prosvjetiteljski put miru pretrpio je mnoge kritike, od kojih mu ona upućena s postmodernističkih polazišta zamjera zadržavanje ideje čvrstog identiteta koji je razotkriven kao zabluda i prepreka miru, a feministička kritika činjenicu da se iza njegova pojma univerzalnog čovjeka skriva već unaprijed pribrojena i na njega svedena žena. Feminističke primjedbe kazivale su i da je subjekt zapravo fragmentaran i da ga se ne može tek tako okupiti oko njegovih misli.

Bez univerzalnih pojmova i bazičnih vrijednosti valjanih za sve ljude danas ipak ne bismo mogli: osim što nas brane od sveopćega tranzicijskog cinizma, njima se u prvom redu mogu izbjeći pretjerana lokalna ukorjenjivanja, unisoni glasovi nacionalizma i fetišizmi za žene često štetnih lokalnih tradicija. Ugodno je zamisliti društvo čija bi se politika zadovoljila "slabim" pojmovima i ne bi pribjegavala jarkim bojama da zagrije srca u mnoštvu – pogotovo zato što to podizanje temperature često završava nasiljem nad ženama.

Međutim, neke među feministkinjama razvijaju posve inovativnu teoriju u kojoj umjesto ka općenitom i apstraktnom subjektu zaokreću ka onom konkretnom, tjelesnom i relacijskom. Tako talijanska filozofkinja Adriana Cavarero (2003) razvija svoju misao o glasu – a ne o misli – kao primarnoj manifestaciji subjekta. Čim se pojavi, glas uspostavlja odnos s drugim umjesto da živi u intelektualnoj samoći kao što to čini metafizički subjekt. Za Adrianu Cavarero glas je sam po sebi pobunjenički jer izmiče zakonitostima jezika (glas nije nužno odmah govor), pa je idealan medij za pobunu. Štoviše, idealan je za žensku pobunu jer je zakon jezika kojem izmiče ujedno patrijarhalni zakon u kojem žene šute, bivaju žrtvovane u ime pobuna koje uspostavljaju nove patrijarhalne poretke ili posuđuju muževe riječi. No upravo što se te jeke tiče, poput one Gupčevih riječi koja odzvanja u Evičinim, Cavarero rehabilitira nimfu Eho kao onu koja se igra ritmičkim glasanjem bez smisla: Eho nosi užitak vraćanja na predjezik, i jeziku vraća glas, kao njegov dragocjen nesemantički dio. To znači da ni sam Gubec nije mogao izgovoriti svoje riječi onako kao što ih je izgovorila Evica te da je ona i samom svojom jekom već djelovala i povukla razliku. A najveća novost koju ravnopravnim Evičinim glasom Zagorka unosi u strukturu pripovijesti o seljačkoj buni jest u tome da kod nje za pravo na pobunu više nije potrebna ženska žrtva.

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IVA GRGIĆ MAROEVIĆ

GLAS DOBRE NADE
U ŠESNAESTOSTOLJETNOM DUBROVNIKU

Jesu li žene uopće imale renesansu? pitanje je što ga je postavila feministička povjesničarka Joan Kelly u utjecajnom (iako nerijetko i osporavanom) članku od prije više od trideset godina (Kelly, 1977). Pitanje kojim se bavila povijesno je i više nego opravdano, a ponudilo je i mnogo važnih odgovora. Međutim, u želji da upozori na neke zanimljive probleme vezane uz ono što je Kelly nazvala “novom” ženskom subordinacijom ili podčinjenošću, a ona se, prema analizi te povjesničarke, ima pripisati oštrijoj podjeli između privatnog i javnog života u renesansnom društvu, koja je nastupila nakon srednjeg vijeka, autorica je (razumljivo) zanemarila mogućnost cijeloga niza različitih odgovora vezanih uz brojne geografske i kulturne kontekste na koje se ta analiza mogla primijeniti – izvan Italije. Kao i brojni proučavatelji prije i poslije nje, Joan Kelly jednostavno nije uzela u obzir, govoreći o renesansi, pojam “mapiranja” u njegovu etimološkom smislu.

Razdoblje europske renesanse obilato su, u dvadesetom stoljeću, proučavali znanstvenici na međunarodnom planu, donekle i u njegovim orođenim facetama, ali poglavito što se tiče talijanskog, pa francuskog, španjolskog i engleskoga konteksta (Zemon Davies, Farge, 1991; Niccoli, 1991; Chedgzoy, Hansen, Trill, 1996; Bianchini, 1996; Elmer, Webb, Wood, 2000, itd). U međuvremenu su manje prominentne sredine, iako su, u međunarodnim razmjerima, bile sposobne ponuditi drukčije nijansirane primjere, ostajale osuđene na proučavanja isključivo u vlastitom jezičnom i kulturnom okolišu (v. npr. Pavlović, 1955; Foretić, 1980, i bilo koju od povijesti hrvatske književnosti), bez obzira na razlike njihovih znanstvenih impostacija.

Je li Dubrovnik, grad-država republikanskog uređenja (dakle ne posve usporediv s talijanskim renesansnim kneževinama čijim se dvorskim životom i deskriptivno i preskriptivno bavio Baldesar Castiglione u svojem *Dvoraninu*, koji još služi kao emblematsko djelo u nekoliko disciplina), imao renesansu u punom (ili uobičajenom) značenju te riječi? Iako su svjedočanstva njegove

dragocjene trojezičnosti, koja je uključivala hrvatski, talijanski i latinski, neoboriva, općeniti renesansni “karakter” dubrovačkog života ostaje pitanje na koje do neke mjere različito odgovaraju hrvatski, srpski i talijanski društveni i književni povjesničari – katkada će to ovisiti o njihovu očistu, a katkada o kulturnom segmentu ili aspektu kojim se bave.¹ A ako je Dubrovnik doista bio renesansni grad, u kojoj su mjeri dubrovačke žene bile isključene i/ili uključene u gospodarske, kulturne i političke manifestacije toga renesansnog života? Postoji li, nadalje, način da se deduciraju njihove preokupacije, da se njihovi glasovi doprate do našeg vremena, ako su uopće ikad našli način da se artikuliraju? Ako nisu, naime, kao što je to tako često bio slučaj tijekom povijesti, potonuli u potpuni zaborav, iz kojega ih je katkada gotovo nemoguće izvući, u najmanju ruku nemoguće bez barem trunca krivotvorenja, čak i u dobroj namjeri.

Na polju književnosti, svakako, a i na polju povijesti, ženski su glasovi šesnaestostoljetnog Dubrovnika već gotovo dva stoljeća predmet potrage iako, kao što se nadam pokazati u ovom prilogu, na žalost često u pokušaju trbuhozbornja, manipulacije, katkada (paradoksalno) neprikrivenog ušutkivanja. Duga je, tako, povijest onoga što bi se moglo nazvati “legendom o dubrovačkoj Pjesnikinji”. Nastala je ona, danas mi se čini očitim, iz potrebe hrvatske književne povijesti da povuče paralelu sa situacijom u Italiji, gdje su u šesnaestom stoljeću nebrojene pjesnikinje različita podrijetla, obrazovanja, klasne pripadnosti i društvenog položaja našle način (usprkos nesklonosti javne sfere da ih prihvati kao samosvjesne govornice i općenito visokom stupnju ovisnosti žena o patrijarhalnoj obitelji i strukturama što su je podržavale²) artikulirati svoj glas kad je riječ o ljubavi, prijateljstvu, društvenoj dužnosti, književnom stilu i odnosu prema cjelini života. Ono što im je omogućivalo da pišu te da za to budu (djelomično, naravno, i uvijek uz određenu cijenu) čak i hvaljene, bio je visokodefiniran pjesnički kanon temeljen na ponešto limitiranom stilskom repertoaru što je potjecao iz petrarkističke tradicije i prethodio mnogo kasnijem zahtjevu za “originalnošću”. Neke od talijanskih renesansnih pjesnikinja bile su kurtizane (Veronica Franco, Tullia d’Aragona),

¹ Suвременa hrvatska povjesničarka Zdenka Janeković-Römer, na primjer, o kraju petnaestog stoljeća u Dubrovniku još govori kao o “srednjem vijeku” (Janeković-Römer, 2007: 21 i passim; v. i Janeković-Römer, 1994). Srpska književna povjesničarka Svetlana Stipčević inzistira, s druge strane, na postojanju dubrovačke renesanse posve u europskim okvirima (Stipčević, 2004: 65).

² Na engleskom sam skovala termin “supporting services” u pokušaju da opišem situacije izvan patrijarhalne obitelji koje su pridonosile njezinu preživljavanju, uključujući paralelne “nezakonite” obitelji (kao “izvore” sinova, na primjer, ako ih “prva” ili “primarna” obitelj nije imala). Institucija talijanske kurtizane (nepoznata u Dubrovniku, a zapravo i u većini drugih sredina izvan Italije), na koju ću se uskoro pozvati, svakako bi pripadala u važnije od tih pomoćnih ili podržavajućih struktura.

neke od njih velike dame koje su sudjelovale u javnom književnom životu i prijateljevale sa značajnim ljudima od pera (Virginia Salvi, zvijezda rimske književne i mondene scene, koja je razmjenjivala pjesničke poslanice s Pietrom Bembom); neke su bile udovice koje su morale nastaviti državničke funkcije i/ili održati aristokratski *image* koji su im ostavili njihovi muževi (Vittoria Colonna, udovica markiza od Pescara, i Veronica Gambara, udovica poglavara Correggia).³ Jedna od tih pjesnikinja, Gaspara Stampa, čija se poetska zbirka danas općenito drži najuspjelijim izrazom ženskoga lirskog subjekta svojega, a možda i drugih vremena, bila je pak netipična kći obitelji srednje klase koja je, nizom posve jedinstvenih okolnosti (od kojih je rana očeva smrt svakako bila najvažnija, iako su značenje tog događaja u oslobađanju obitelji od strogih patrijarhalnih pravila talijanski književni povjesničari dosad svakako premalo naglašavali), izbjegla je brak i stekla (bez obzira na količinu "sreće") stanovit stupanj osobne slobode.⁴

Ono što sam nazvala "potrebom" hrvatske književne povijesti da nađe stanovitu paralelu (ako se već ne može dokraja usporediti) s talijanskom situacijom, moglo bi se učiniti maglovitim pojmom inozemnim proučavateljima i proučavateljicama, koje možda ne poznaju važnost talijanskog jezika i književnosti za dalmatinsku kulturu ranog novovjekovlja, kad su oni služili kako kao izravan utjecaj tako i kao nadahnuće, referentna točka i stalan podsjetnik na umjetničke i civilizacijske ciljeve kojima su prvi pokušaji ozbiljnih kulturnih postignuća u istočnojadranskim gradovima težili.⁵ Međutim, važnije je ovdje shvatiti da je upravo književna povijest dvadesetog stoljeća ustrajala na onoj vrsti paralela koje bi mogle potvrditi "korijene" onoga što je u međuvremenu postalo hrvatska nacionalna književnost kao internacionalna (europska te, specifičnije, mediteranska), ali nikako inferiorna u odnosu na druge kulture istoga razdoblja; naprotiv, "izvorna" kad je riječ o jezičnom mediju ili posebnim situacijskim temama ili, katkad, oboje. U nacionalnoj književnoj povijesti zamišljenoj na tako shvaćen način – suvišno je i spominjati ako se samo sjetimo mnogih alegorijskih figura iz drugih kultura koje su povezivale žensko s domovinom

³ "The women who enjoyed fame as poets before the twentieth century form a curious group" (Greer, 1995: xi). Ostala slavna talijanska imena su Barbara Torelli, Laura Battiferri, Chiara Matraini itd.

⁴ Dvadesetostoljetne talijanske antologije ženske poezije počinju s *Gaspara Stampa e altre poetesse del Cinquecento* poznatog povjesničara talijanske književnosti Francesca Flore (Flora, 1962). Usp. i Stampa, 1994.

⁵ Govoreći o dubrovačkoj renesansi, Svetlana Stipčević ističe kao ključne točke što je takvom karakteriziraju pomorsku trgovinu vezanu uz jadranski bazen, politički sustav sličan onome Mletačke Republike, vladavinu aristokratske oligarhije, elitistički karakter pjesničkog stvaralaštva, utjecaj Katoličke crkve, školovanje mladih plemića te njihovo humanističko obrazovanje, osobito na klasičnoj literaturi (Stipčević, 2004: 65).



(poslije nacionalnošću) kroz (nerijetko erotizirana) tijela instrumentalizirana u svrhu služenja apstraktnim pojmovima – rana ženska pjesnička figura postala je gotovo nužnost. Na pomnim arhivskim istraživanjima zasnovana knjiga hrvatske autorice (i same književnice) Zdenke Marković, prva koja je bila posvećena ženama koje su u različitoj mjeri bile književno aktivne u Dubrovniku šesnaestog, sedamnaestog i osamnaestog stoljeća (Marković, 1970) postala je tako nenadmašenom referencom, ali je, uz to što je nadahnula nova istraživanja, uglavnom znanstvenica, paradoksalno, u napadnoj suprotnosti s vlastitim skrupulama, pomogla ožviti legendu o Cvijeti Zuzorić (Fiore Zuzzeri Pescioni, Dubrovnik 1552. – Ancona

1604.) kao o prvoj hrvatskoj pjesnikinji. Dapače, kad je, devedesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća, Hrvatska postala nacionalnom državom, ne samo da je popis književnih djela posvećen toj inkarnaciji klasične *kalokagathie* dopunjen nizom novih naslova već se ona pojavila i na naslovnici jednotomne povijesti hrvatske književnosti Dubravka Jelčića.⁶ Značajnije je još, međutim, što je ta erotizirana ženstvenost dodatno nacionalno nagrađena Cvijetinim izborom kao jedne od samo pet žena u cijeloj hrvatskoj povijesti koje su zaslužile pojaviti se (na portretu nesigurne atribucije) na poštanskoj marki.⁷

Ipak, usprkos svjedočanstvima o njezinoj pjesničkoj izvrsnosti što su nam ih ostavili suvremenici i kasniji povjesničara grada Dubrovnika, ne postoji ni redak napisan rukom Cvijete Zuzorić koji bi stigao do našega vremena. Poetesom je doista postala, možemo reći (iako kroz glas što dolazi iz razlomljenih zrcala autora koji su pisali o njoj) u smislu koji Germaine Greer, među ostalim autorima i autoricama, pridaje toj riječi, suprotstavljajući je pojmu “ženskog pjesnika” ili “pjesnikinje”. Poetesa, prema Greer, ustraje u iskazivanju onih osobina koje se izravno povezuju s konvencionalnom ženstvenošću. To što ih Greer primarno identificira ne samo s nježnošću, skromnošću i hipersenzibilnošću već i s kućevnošću, pobožnošću te kćerinskim, sestrijskim i majčinskim čuvstvima, vjerojatno proizlazi iz njezine uporabe uglavnom engleskih primjera.⁸ U talijanskom i francuskom okruženju

⁶ V. Jelčić, 1997, te, isto, na naslovnici proširenog izdanja iz 2004. Cvijetin rođendan također figurira na popisu rođendana hrvatskih pisaca u *Leksikonu hrvatske književnosti* (Bogišić, Čale-Feldman, Duda, Matičević, 1998: 455).

⁷ Autor marke je likovni umjetnik Hrvoje Šercar.

(te u dubrovačkom onako kako ga je naknadno zamislila “službena”, ne isključivo akademska hrvatska književna povijest, koje se tako može mjeriti s talijanskim), određena količina erotске dražesti dobrodošla je među kritičarima, samo ako mirno prihvaća tiraniju (muškog) oka. U već slavnom romanu Luka Paljetka *Skroviti vrt* (apokrifnom dnevniku Cvijete Zuzorić), protagonistkinja samu sebe izričito definira kao prazan označitelj, govoreći kako je ona samo “proizvođač želja” – i ne iskazuje zbog takve definicije ni tračak nezadovoljstva.⁹ To je sudbina “nijeme” dubrovačke pjesničke legende (Grgić, 1996), lijepoga tijela čija se slika unedogled reproducira i manipulira na način koji služi glavnoj naraciji, uključujući uporabu označiteljskih postupaka koja navodi na pomisao o književnoj povijesti kao sklonoj pornografskim reprezentacijama.

Uznemirivanje dominantne naracije na snazi u šesnaestom stoljeću te, dodatno (s očista koje nastojim objasniti i važnije) kasnijih pokušaja rekonstrukcije, reinterpretacije, reevalucije, reprezentacije i uprizorenja dubrovačke renesanse, zamjenom navedene s izrazito osobnom naracijom, svakako je ono što razlikuje slučaj druge pjesnikinje istoga stoljeća i istog mjesta (Dubrovnika, jadranskog bazena i dvosmjernih migrantskih odnosa među njegovim obalama), Nade Bunić (Speranze di Bona). Potpuna odsutnost bilo kakvog slikovnog portreta Speranze di Bona, nadalje, čini njezin slučaj ne samo različitim već odista i suprotnim prethodnome. Pokušat ću pokazati da se on može tumačiti i kao slučaj prikrivenog optimizma u okviru bilo kojeg pokušaja da se pronađe kontinuitet među ženskim pjesničkim izričajima hrvatske i/ili mediteranske književnosti do današnjih dana, izjavama koje se mogu držati bavljenjem feminističkim temama *ante litteram*.

Zahvaljujući zbirci pjesama pod naslovom *Difesa de le rime et prose de la signora Speranza et Vittoria di Bona in difesa di suo honore, & contro quelli, che ricerca farli infamia con sue rime* (Obrana poezije i proze gospođe Nade Viktorije Bunić u obranu njezine čast i protiv onih koji su je pokušali oklevetati svojim stihovima) koja je pronađena 2004. godine u Biblioteca comunale u Sieni, pjesništvo Nade Bunić (Speranze di Bona) danas se čini djelom najkoherentnije buntovne pjesnikinje ne samo svojega ambijenta već možda i cijeloga europskoga šesnaestog stoljeća, uključujući Italiju.¹⁰ Zbirka, kojoj prethodi dug predgovor u

⁸ “The excesses of poetesshood include astonishingly equable though at the same time sentimental poems on all kinds of death, including lingering descriptions of the deaths of infants and small children in which there is never a hint of the agony of child loss which in truth drove some women mad” (Greer 1995: xv).

⁹ Usp. Paljetak, 2004. O Paljetkovu romanu i Grgić, 2005. Recentna književna djela posvećena Cvijeti Zuzorić uključuju i drame (npr. Tortora, 2002) i kratke priče lirskoga karaktera (Stojan, 1995; Mojaš, 1994).

¹⁰ U biblioteci koja je nekoć pripadala poznatoj Accademiji degli Intronati zbirku je pronašao muzikolog Ennio Stipčević, pod signaturom 111QIV. O tome vidi i Grgić i Maroević,

prozi (a pod njim stoji godina 1569., kojom se, u pomanjkanju podataka o mjestu i trenutku objavljivanja, do daljnega služimo kao vremenskim orijentirrom), otkriva sasvim novu sliku pjesnikinje donedavno poznate samo po čuvenju. Naime, pjesnici i povjesničari dosad su je spominjali isključivo u paru s njezinom mlađom sestrom Julijom, koju su držali značajnijom pjesnikinjom¹¹.

Primjedbu kako je Nada Bunić bila koherentno buntovna i pjesnikinja, a ne poetesa, ne valja uzimati u odviše pojednostavljenu smislu. Naime, na više je načina ona pokušavala biti poetesa, primjerice kad je u početku opjevala svoju ljubljenu domovinu, grad Dubrovnik, slaveći njegove ljepote i njegovu slavu što se može usporediti sa slavom antičke Atene (Bona, 1569: 23–24). Poetesa je nastojala biti kad je komemorirala posjete slavnihi osoba (kao što je knez od Molfette; Bona, 1569: 34, i kneginja Isabella Capuga Gonzaga; Bona, 1569: 35) gradu Manfredoniji (poznatom i po antičkom imenu Siponto, kako ga zove i Speranza), u talijanskoj regiji Apuliji, kamo se njezin otac, kao nemali broj dubrovačkih trgovaca, preselio u potrazi za novim poslovima.¹² Nada Bunić bila je poetesa (u značenju koje smo naznačile) kad se zadržavala u okvirima petrarkističkoga stilskog repertoara pri opisu ljepote i oplakivanju smrti svojih sestara (Bona, 1569: 23–25, 36–37); poetesa kad je, u jedinjoj ljubavnoj pjesmi uključenoj u zbirku, preuzela muški glas, glas književnog lika, Ariostova Orlanda Furiosa (Bona, 1569: 39–40).

Inzistirajući, u predgovoru zbirci poezije, na svojoj kreposnosti, na svojoj poslušnosti prema ocu i majci, na pobožnosti, poričući da je ikad uživala ne samo u ljubavnom zanosu nego i u pjesničkom stvaranju, gotovo kao da je željela insinuirati da bi radije ostala šutjeti, jer bila je i te kako svjesna da samim činom pisanja jasno krši kodeks ženskog ponašanja koji uključuje šutnju u javnosti te da je pisana riječ “materijalna potvrda ženske artikuliranosti” (Whyne-Davies, 1998: xxvi). Očito svjesna da se od nje očekuje da mirno podnosi ono što je još dva stoljeća poslije nazvano “ropstvom djevojaštva” u gradu Dubrovniku (prema francuskom posjetitelju Dubrovniku, gospodinu La Maireu, usp. Marković,

2006, te Grgić, 2009. Dosad se najbuntovnijim ženskim pjesničkim činom šesnaestog stoljeća mogla smatrati duga pjesma talijanske kurtizane Veronice Franco, u kojoj ona, u dugom nizu tercina, prijeti svojem nevjernom ljubavniku osvetom u obliku kastracije (usp. Flora, 1962: 78–80). Nije zato čudno što je poznata suvremena talijanska feministička spisateljica Dacia Maraini upravo Veronicu Franco predstavila kao egzemplarnu figuru, protagonistkinju drame čija je glavna tema odnos ženske poslušnosti i ženske pobune kako u javnoj tako i u privatnoj sferi istoga stoljeća (Maraini, 1991).

¹¹ Najcitiranije je svjedočanstvo Francesca Marije Appedinija (Appendini, 1803). Uza Cvijetu Zuzorić i Maru Gundulić, sestre Bunić navodno su bile članicama legendarne književne Accademie degli Concordi.

¹² Drugi su se dubrovački trgovci, poput oca Cvijete Zuzorić, istim poslom doselili u Anconu, u regiju Marche.

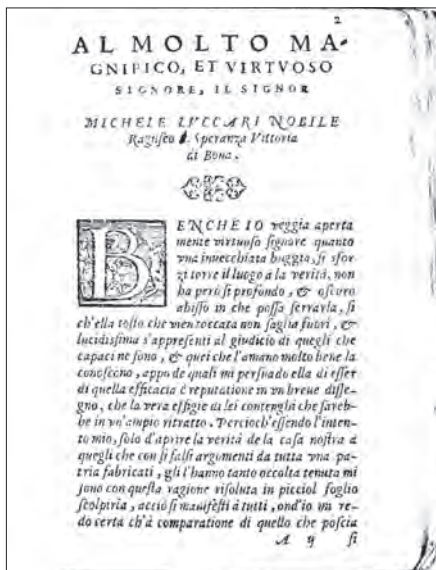
1970), naglašavala je izdvojenost iz javne sfere u kojoj su živjele ona i njezine sestre. I same pjesme čije je autorstvo priznala, bile su, po njezinim riječima, namijenjene da ostanu postojati samo u rukopisnoj formi i da ih privatno čita njezina vlastita obitelj, kao neku vrstu obiteljske kronike. Općenito, odlučila se za “ženstven” ton koji bi implicirao da nikad nije težila otkrivati ono o čemu je Germaine Greer govorila kao o životno važnim istinama koje se tiču bivanja ženom (“gut truths on womanhood”, Greer, 1995: xv).

Međutim, Nada Bunić očito je, i u svojem predgovoru, i u nekima od svojih kasnijih pjesama, nizom okolnosti, a možda i unutarnjim porivom, bila primorana oduprijeti se idealu “poetese” te iskazati i negativne osjećaje, kao što su bijes, protest te, pri kraju ove priče, (gotovo) potpuni očaj. Prisiljena, sa svojih pet sestara, trpjeti prijezir namijenjen onim ženama koje su, nakon određene životne dobi, ostajale neudane, ali su odbile ili se financijski nisu kvalificirale za samostan (bijaše to način na koji je Dubrovačka Republika rješavala problem “prekobrojnih” žena), našla se dodatno izložena podsmijehu, zajedno sa sestrom Julijom, kao žena pismena na talijanskom jeziku te žena od pera koja je samu sebe shvaćala ozbiljno. Usprkos već spomenutoj trojezičnosti u Dubrovniku, od žena se nije očekivalo da se diskurzivno kreću izvan svoga materinog jezika (kao što se nije očekivalo ni da se fizički slobodno i bez pratnje kreću izvan svojega doma) te da izlaze u učeni svijet stranih jezika, koji su se ondje upotrebljavali u kulturne više nego u pragmatične svrhe.¹³ Budući da se smatralo kako učenost ogrubljuje žensku prirodu te ženske dražesti umanjuje sve to granica odbojnosti,¹⁴ ne čudi što su poruga i kleveta dosegnule vrhunac, kako zaključujemo iz predgovora, kad se Nada Bunić uključila u otvorenu političku debatu (pisanu, kao što je karakteristično za epohu, u obliku soneta) o europskim dinastijama koje su sposobne vladati mediteranskim krajevima, debatu koju je vodila s već spomenutom slavnom talijanskom pjesnikinjom Virginijom Salvi (Bona, 1569: 29–31; v. i Grgić, 2009).¹⁵

¹³ “Ženi je dovoljan jedan jezik”, bila je isprika koju je slijepi pjesnik Milton nudio svojim prijateljima na njihovo pitanje zašto svoje kćeri ne želi naučiti latinski i grčki iako je od njih tražio da mu napamet čitaju klasike bez razumijevanja pročitano (usp. Brownmiller, 1984: 111).

¹⁴ “The verbal capabilities of women have been hindered in every age by legal restrictions on higher learning, which go back as far as ancient Greece, by prohibitions on devotional public speech in church, which effectively banned female contributions to thought and doctrine in the world’s major religions, by the infliction of humiliating physical punishment for the use of strong, rebellious language, by wicked ridicule in poems and plays for alleged verbosity, and by imposing in the name of femininity a self-conscious emphasis not on content but on modulation, elocution and pleasing facial expression” (Brownmiller, 1984: 115).

¹⁵ Činjenici što je Virginia Salvi rođena u Sieni vjerojatno dugujemo i jedini primjerak Bonina djela koji dosad poznajemo. Usp. i bilj. 10.



Nema načina da sa sigurnošću kaŕemo kakva bi bila osobna sudbina Nade Bunić, kao i sudbina njezine poezije, u drukćijem geografskom i političkom okruženju ili u drukćijim osobnim okolnostima. Da joj je otac bio plemić, a ne trgovac, dominantna muška hijerarhija u gradu-drŕavi kao što bijaše Dubrovnik možda bi još pomnije nadzirala njezino ponašanje, a objavljivanje bi možda bilo još manje moguće.¹⁶ Da je imala razumijevanju sklonog muŕa, s druge strane (takvi rijetki primjerci ipak su postojali, sudimo li po primjeru Mare Gundulić i Nikole Vitova Gućetića), mogla se uz njega i pod njegovom zaštitom baviti nekom

vrstom pjesničke i/ili intelektualne djelatnosti. Također, da je šest sestara Bunić imalo brata (koji bi, s obzirom na položaj obitelji, stekao barem neki stupanj humanističkog obrazovanja), on ih je mogao uzeti u obranu u razgovoru sa sugrađanima, a možda i pismeno, pa čak i tiskom. No u postojećoj se situaciji Speranza/Nada (vjerojatno uza skromnu financijsku podršku svojega oca) odlučila obratiti dubrovačkoj javnosti knjigom stihova na talijanskom, u kojoj nije skupila samo svoje vlastite pjesme nego je (kako su nalagale konvencije toga doba) u nj uključila brojne pjesničke odgovore što ih je primala od učenih ljudi koji su joj redom iskazivali poštovanje. Odlučila je jednom se za svagda obračunati s klevetama što su se ticale manjka kreposti. Kako bi to mogla učiniti, bila joj je potrebna društveno prominentna osoba kojoj će knjigu posvetiti, te je odabrala dubrovačkog plemića Michelea Luccarija, koji je očigledno bio upoznat s nevoljama obitelji Bunić.¹⁷

Pripovijedajući povijest svojih muka Micheleu Luccariju, kao što sam već pokušala pokazati, Nada Bunić progovorila je glasom za koji je znala da se od nje kao ŕene oćekuje, manirom u kojoj se skromnost ne iskazuje

¹⁶ "To publish their works also laid women open to charges of immoral behaviour in that, by allowing all men to see/hear their words, they came to be regarded as unchaste" (Wynne-Davies, 1998: xxvi).

¹⁷ Enkomijastićki soneti što ih je posvetila njemu i njegovoj supruzi Madaleni Luccari, kojima se otvara poetski dio knjige, također su dio konvencionalnog postupka *captatio benevolentiae*, nuŕnog za ostvarnje cilja.

samo na razini teme, nabranjem vlastitih vrлина i vrлина svojih sestara, već i na retoričkoj razini. Ono što se, naime, opetovano naglašava jest kratkoća, sažetost, *brevitas* teksta koji autorica piše – u inat činjenici što je tekst narastao do duljine od gotovo pedeset stranica. Iako bi se taj ton mogao tumačiti kao želja za ugađanjem standardnom muškom čitateljstvu,¹⁸ mišljenja sam da je inzistiranje na toj deklariranoj sažetosti bila njezina unaprijed (svjesna ili ne) obrana protiv optužbe za brbljavost, koja se ženama tako često upućivala.¹⁹ Ipak, tu obranu, koja prividno poštuje definiciju ženskog identiteta kakvu joj je pružao patrijarhalni diskurs, autorica je provodila u isto vrijeme dok je podriivala sustav njegovih pravila; bio je to znak njezina prikrivenog otpora, strategija kojom je propitivala dominantnu, “veliku” naraciju u koju se morala uklapati.

Trenuci, međutim, u kojima se Nada Bunić otvoreno transformira iz poetese u pjesnikinju²⁰ oni su u kojima je svoj rodni grad Dubrovnik nazvala “nezahvalnim”, “okrutnim” i “spartanskom republikom”. Ne valja pritom misliti da je kao drugu domovinu trajno prigrlila grad Manfredoniju (Siponto) iako joj je taj grad, barem na neko vrijeme, pružio mogućnost da bude literarno aktivna i prepoznata kao takva. U pjesničkom dijelu knjige paralelni tretman obaju gradova može se detektirati na razdaljini od mnogo stranica – kao što je Dubrovnik bio Atena da bi poslije postao Sparta, tako je Manfredonia u početku bila “kreplosna” i “slavno kraljevstvo”, a poslije postala “zlobna” i “zavidna” (Bona, 1569: 22, 23, 52, 54). Pod izlikom da štiti tradicionalne obiteljske vrednote, pothvat Nade Bunić bio je istinski pothvat nomadskog subjekta, sudeći po tome što nije samo prekoračivala granice jezika nego je i odbijala nostalgiju kako za rodni Dubrovnik tako i za adoptivnu Manfredoniju, svjesno prihvaćajući položaj apatrida, dok je nostalgiju gajila, možda, tek, za utopijsku domovinu pisanja.²¹

Upravo tu posljednju domovinu (svakako ne otac-čbinu) Nada Bunić

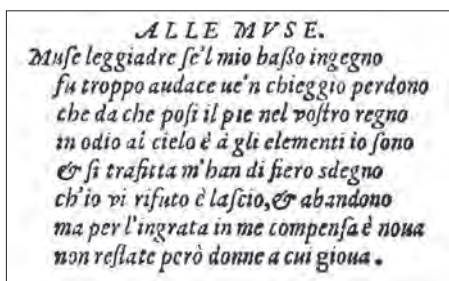
¹⁸ “But the ... danger to the traits that men find pleasing had been woman’s own compelling fear” (Brownmiller, 1984: 111).

¹⁹ “Loquaciousness in the female sex has been remarked upon, not surprisingly (...) by Aristotle, Aristophanes, Juvenal, the Babylonian Talmud, Swift, Ben Johnson, Shakespeare and Milton. Her silence was counted a virtue by Sophocles, Plutarch, saint Paul and Samuel Johnson. Babblers, tattlers, gossips, chatterboxes, nags and scolds: the descriptions apply to one sex only and suggest a severe defect of character. It is said that women gush (...) run on about insignificant matters, and when entrusted with something important, (...) can’t keep a secret. The din is infernal. What’s a man to do? A popular pub in London, The Silent Woman, named for the Ben Johnson farce, has as its tavern sign a headless female torso, the final resort” (Brownmiller, 1984: 111).

²⁰ Ili “ženu pjesnika” kako to jedino omogućuje reći engleski jezik (“woman poet”). Talijanski jezik, osim danas već proskribirane riječi “poetessa”, nudi još elegantnu mogućnost opozicije “la poeta/il poeta”.

²¹ Iako je pojam nomadskog subjekta Rosi Braidotti teorijski postavila kao karakteristiku (post)moderniteta, a ne tak kao puko egzistencijalno stanje, po mojem se mišljenju Nada

(Speranza di Bona) evocira u pjesmi u kojoj se obraća Muzama. U njoj najavljuje da će napustiti poeziju (“kraljevstvo Muza”), jer joj je ona donijela samo muke i nevolje, “možda jer njezina nadarenost nije bila ravna njezinoj hrabrosti” (Bona, 1569: 61–63)²². Još nam nije poznato koliko je potencijalnih pjesnikinja u Dubrovniku ili Italiji pročitale ovaj tekst u šesnaestom stoljeću ili poslije, jer je Nada Bunić dugo bila osuđena na zaborav, a glas joj bijaše oduzet (doduše, na bitno drukčiji način nego što se to dogodilo i odviše poznatoj Cvijeti Zuzorić). No, sudeći prema pjesmi posvećenoj Muzama, njezini stihovi nisu samo izraz duboke zabrinutosti koja se javlja kroz glas žene koju su već vlastiti suvremenici brutalno ušutkali, nisu samo priopćenje njezine tuge, njezina očaja. Kad Nada



Bunić kaže da njezina sudbina ne bi smjela obeshrabriti druge, ako im možda bude dano da imaju više talenta ili sreće, vidimo da je to obraćanje mišljeno, kad je riječ o ženama što pjesnikuju, kao nešto više – kao signal, znak, glas, zalog Dobre Nade.

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MELITA RICHTER MALABOTTA

GLASOVI IZ GRANIČNOG PODRUČJA: ŽIVOTI ŽENA IZVAN SJENE POVIJESTI

Granica o kojoj je riječ u naslovu ovog teksta odnosi se na granično područje između Italije i Slovenije u blizini Trsta, područje koje povjesničari smatraju “prostorom pomične granice”. Na tom je području proveden međukulturalni projekt pod nazivom *Od granica do mostova* (Da frontiere a ponti – Ko se iz meje ustvari most),¹ u kojem je sudjelovalo šest talijanskih i slovenskih viših škola tršćanske regije sa slovenskom gimnazijom iz Pirana u Sloveniji. Pokušat ću objasniti neke od najvažnijih tema o kojima se raspravljalo u intervjuima što su ih prikupile studentice koje su razgovarale sa svojim bakama nastojeći osvijetliti svjedočenja kroz njihovu bogatu žensku životnu priču u okviru protekloga, 20. stoljeća, “strašnog stoljeća” u kojem su se dogodila dva svjetska rata. Njihovi životi u djetinjstvu, mladenaštvu i zrelosti protekli su na bespućima toga mračnog razdoblja. Njihov je pogled izoštren, njihova su sjećanja živa – svi ti elementi pridonose širenju povijesnih, književnih i socioloških spoznaja o životnim iskustvima žena koje žive ili su živjele – kao marginalni i marginalizirani subjekti – na graničnim područjima između Italije i Jugoslavije, tj. današnje Slovenije.

Te žene nikad prije nisu pozvane da govore o vlastitoj percepciji političke i društvene dinamike koja je označila vrijeme i prostor na kojem žive ili su živjele i urezala ožiljke na njihove i sudbine cijelih zajednica. Njihove priče obuhvaćaju duga i različita razdoblja prošlog stoljeća, sjećanja su ugrađena u multikulturalni kontekst na jednoj ili drugoj strani *pomične granice*, koja je najprije bila austrougarska, zatim granica između Kraljevine Italije i Kraljevine

¹ Projekt je promovirala organizacija ACCRI – Associazione di Cooperazione Cristiana Internazionale. Trieste; CVCS Centro Volontari Cooperazione alla Sviluppo; Associazione Senza Confini Brez Meja. Cijeli projekt i intervjui s 41 ženom, povijesni okvir i sociološke analize objavljeni su u knjizi, Zingirian i Lemma, 2008.

Jugoslavije, fašističke Italije, pa socijalističke Jugoslavije, a danas je granica između Republike Italije i Republike Slovenije...

Istraživanje se usmjerava na povezivanje osobnih priča i povijesti žena koje žive na određenom graničnom i multietničkom području i opće povijesti žena. U svoj analitički okvir istraživanje uključuje jedan od ključnih aspekata feminističke pedagogije: kako su personalizirane povijesti povezane s općim ženskim iskustvima i kako priče o životu ženskih predaka (u ovom slučaju baka) mogu postati u isto vrijeme osnova za osnaživanje studentica koje su vodile intervjuje i žena čiji je glas bio utišan i čije su povijesti muški povjesničari zanemarili. Kako navode Andrea Petö i Berteke Waaldijk: "Povijest žena bila je nevidljiva jer je službena povijest opisivala samo javnu sferu, dok su se povijesti žena odvijale u privatnoj sferi, kojoj su žene pripadale. Ženske priče nisu bile vidljive, ženske priče nikad nisu ispričane" (2006: 19). Ovo istraživanje pokazuje kako povijest oblikuje sebstvo i njenu izravnu vezu s našim pričama o nama samima.

Glasovi autobiografskih sjećanja uvijek su dokument složenog skupa povijesnih okolnosti koje su ih omogućile. U eseju "I remember, therefore I write: the Voices of Contemporary Italian Canadian Women Writers" [Sjećam se, zato pišem: glasovi suvremenih talijansko-kanadskih spisateljica] španjolska teoretičarka Silvia Caporale Bizzini naglašava da "pripovijedati svoju priču znači da govorni subjekt postaje dio javnog svijeta kroz čin pripovijedanja". Silvia Caporale Bizzini (2009) navodi djelo Hanne Arendt *The Human Condition* (1998 [1958]) u kojem ona povezuje "govor" i (političko) javno "djelovanje": "Arendt tvrdi da je naša ljudskost, definirana našom sposobnošću pripovijedanja priča i uspostavljanjem biografije, riječi i govora kao čina izražavanja identiteta, izvor i odgovor na pitanje *tko sam ja*" (Bizzini, 2009: 1), to jest *Tko smo mi?* (kurziv dodan). Odgovor na ta pitanja ne bi bio moguć bez prijenosa sjećanja iz privatne sfere u javni diskurs, bez povezivanja obiteljskih memoara i povijesti te tradicije i ženske povijesti, bez povezivanja našeg autobiografskog pamćenja s utvrđenim psihičkim prikazom nas samih. Samo tada, kako ističu Ruth Lister (2003) i John Kihlstrom (2002), to znači da je subjekt pretvoren u *aktivnog činitelja* u procesu pre/definiranja njegove/njezine individualnosti.

Istraživanje *Od granica do mostova* daje brojne mogućnosti raspravljanja u interdisciplinarnom kontekstu i/ili međukulturalnoj učionici o pojmu identiteta i zajednica bez pretenzije stvaranja monolitnog diskursa. Ono uključuje višestruku osobnu percepciju ženskog vremena i povijesti te prevrednovanje sjećanja, pripovijedanja i njihova učinka na percepciju stvarnosti.

Na početku ću navesti neke opće podatke o intervjuiranim ženama. Istraživanje je počelo 2007., a završeno je 2008. godine. Temeljilo se na metodi usmene povijesti s pomoću intervjuja, sociološke analize dobivenih rezultata i

utvrđivanja povijesnih okvira. Proveden je 41 intervju.² Najstarije žene rođene su 1914., 1918. i 1919. godine; većina žena rođena je u 1920-ima i 1930-ima. Samo su dvije žene rođene u ranim 1940-ima, 1942. i 1943. godine.

Navodeći svoja mjesta rođenja, ispitanice često spominju zemljopisno-kulturne entitete koji su se vidljivo promijenili tijekom njihovih života, što ih je natjeralo da iznova promišljaju vlastite identitete i osnažuju ih opirući se prisilnim promjenama. Njihovo se državljanstvo stalno mijenjalo usprkos činjenici da većina njih nikad nije napustila svoje mjesto rođenja. To je povijest graničnih područja, povijest mitski određene Mitteleurope, Balkana; to je naša povijest; povijest pomicanja teritorija i izmjena identiteta. U prilogu koji slijedi ukratko ću objasniti neke od tema koje su prevladavale u iskazima ispitanica i oblikovale životna iskustva žena kroz susret, suživot, izolaciju, sukobe i razdoblja mira proživljene s različitim etničkim, društvenim, kulturnim, jezičnim, vjerskim skupinama i ideološkim opredjeljenjima.

Glavni pojmovi u pričama baka

Obitelj

Iz prikupljene građe može se zaključiti da su obitelji baka bile mnogobrojne i proširene. Obitelji su bile dio zajednice, sa snažnim primarnim vezama solidarnosti, uzajamne pomoći, sudjelovanja u obiteljskoj ekonomiji i podjeli rada. Može se uočiti da intervjuirane žene nisu imale mnogo prostora za slobodne i promišljene odluke. Ograničenja s kojima su se suočavale nisu proizlazila samo iz društvene i gospodarske sfere – većina njih živjela je u obiteljima koje su se smatrale ili siromašnima ili su živjele skromno, uz osnovni ili srednji stupanj obrazovanja – nego su na njih utjecali i ratovi, fašizam, okrutne stvarnosti ranog socijalizma, kojima nisu nedostajali instrumenti prisile. Pokatkad su, u slučaju starijih žena, oba rata, i Prvi i Drugi svjetski rat, trajno označili njihove i živote njihovih obitelji. Njihovi su se roditelji uglavnom bavili poljoprivredom. Osim što su radile na poljima, žene su obavljale i kućanske poslove. Upitane o tome koje su poslove obavljale u različitim fazama svojih života, mnoge od njih odgovoraju – sve. Ta jednostavna riječ govori nam mnogo o teretu ženskog rada u tipičnoj seoskoj patrijarhalnoj obitelji.

² U ovom prilogu citati žena iz intervjuja navedeni su u izvornom slovenskom jeziku ili njegovu dijalektalnom obliku na kojem su vođena kako bi se što je moguće više sačuvala autentičnost iskaza.

Majka

Uloga majke kao izvora emocionalnog svemira i prenositeljice kulturnih, vjerskih i jezičnih sadržaja stekla je posebno veliku važnost u kontekstu života manjine, slovenske manjine, u određenom povijesnom trenutku, fašističkoj Italiji, kad je upotreba slovenskog jezika u javnoj sferi, institucijama i školama bila zabranjena. Dva rječita svjedočenja opisuju tu situaciju.³ U tom su kontekstu obiteljski život i uloga majke kao prenositelja kulturnog identiteta postali odlučujući:

Učila nas je tako, da je najprej prebrala ona na glas nekaj strani, mi pa smo morali ponavljati za njo. Tako smo se postopoma naučili knjižne slovenščine. (...) Mati pa nas ni učila le slovenščine. Ko smo bili majhni, nam je vedno pravila, da moramo biti radodarni in dati malo svojega tistemu, ki nima ničesar. (1)

Spominjam se, da me je moja mati naučila brati v slovenščini in medtem ko je kuhala, mi je razlagala kako se izgovarjajo črke ž, š, č, h... (34)

Škola

Istraživanje je pokazalo da je škola, veoma važna sredina za razvoj pojedinca, bila mjesto paralelno i nerijetko suprotstavljeno obitelji, sfera u kojoj su javna i politička domena ostavljale neizbrisive tragove na živote učenika i učenica. Cilj školskog sustava bio je oblikovati učenika na ideološkom obrascu i nacionalističkom i monokulturalnom modelu identiteta kako bi se isključile različitosti, prije svega etničke i kulturno-jezične. Škola je prema tome bila ne samo mjesto za prijenos znanja nego i sustav isključivanja i odbacivanje identiteta te izvor poniženja. Škola se često doživljavala s nelagodom i strahom.

Grdi spomini... Fašisti so bili grozni: tolkli so nas po glavi, nas kaznovali... Učitelj Manes iz Sicilije pa nam je vzbujal velik strah. Italijanska šola je bila zelo stroga, vsak dan smo morali zapeti fašistično himno in vsi smo morali govoriti italijansko, nismo smeli spregovoriti niti besedice v slovenščini, drugače so nas udarili. (27)

Meni je bilo zelo težko obiskovati šolo. Otroci smo govorili po slovensko, a nam niso dovolili. V šoli je bilo samo trpljenje. (29)

U sličnim svjedočenjima prepoznajemo situacije jasnoga kulturnog i jezičnog razaranja uzrokovanog političkim kontekstom koji djeluje na teritoriju. Nastojanja slovenskih obitelji u zaleđu Trsta (Carso) da osiguraju da njihova djeca dobiju poduku na slovenskom jeziku uključivala su dodatan napor, često

³ Broj iza odlomka odnosi se na redni broj intervjua u knjizi Zingirian i Lemma, 2008.

materijalne prirode, i pokazuje da je postajala paralelna poduka te da su bili uspostavljeni odnosi između slovenske manjine i susjedne Jugoslavije.

Ko so prišli partizani, nas je prišel učit gospod Lojze Kokorovec. V Saležu smo imeli šolo v eni sobi: sami vaščani so hoteli, da se učimo v slovenskem jeziku. (...) Naši starši so ji dali moko in druge reči, da nas je lahko učila: ni hotela denarja. Tako smo si pomagali na vse načine, da bi imeli pouk. (29)

Jezik i kultura manjine također su sačuvani u slovenskoj crkvi i župnim crkvama.

V popoldanskih urah smo obiskovali v župniji slovenski katekizem, kjer smo molili v slovenščini Župniku je bilo ime Ivan Drašček. (34)

Druga sjećanja izvlače na površinu nesigurne društvene okolnosti u kojem su se odvijali nastava, učenje i svakodnevni život učenika.

Edini bolj grd spomin, zame predvsem, ko sem šla v šolo, nisem nikdar imela s sabo malice. Moja mama, ki je pripravila klobase, jih je potem spravila za moške, ki so hodili na delo. Zame ni bilo nikoli nič. (32)

Obrazovanje i rodni odnosi

Da bi se protumačila važnost poduke, postoje značajne razlike koje proizlaze iz mreže složenih čimbenika. Navest ću samo one koji proizlaze iz općega konteksta odgovora intervjuiranih žena:

- stupanj obrazovanja roditelja
- ekonomski i materijalni resursi dostupni za obrazovanje djece
- stajalište o važnosti obrazovanja iz perspektive zajedničke sudbine, određeno i definirano s obzirom na spol djeteta
- patrijarhalne vrijednosti koje su preporučivale da muška djeca uče, dok bi ženska djeca trebala obavljati kućanske poslove i pripremati se za brak
- ekstremne potrebe obitelji za radom djece i tinejdžera da bi se osigurala materijalna potpora obitelji.

Po dokončanem petem razredu osnovne škole so dekleta ostajala doma, medtem ko so se fantje vpisovali v šole strokovnega izobraževanja. (5)

Kako sem nekega dne prišla domov in vprašala očeta, če se bom lahko šolala naprej, takrat sem imela štirinajst let, in odgovoril mi je, da se bo naprej šolal samo Mundi, ker je fant. In jaz sem ga vprašala: "In jaz?" Rekel je, da njegovo delo, bil je kamnosek, ni bilo dovolj za vzdrževanje družine in da bom morala it služiti v Trst. (27)

Posljednja dva navoda pokazuju da u nekim slučajevima obitelj sprečava obrazovanje unatoč kćerinomj inteligenciji i njezinim dokazanim sposobnostima.

Nadanja i želje

O čemu ste sanjali dok ste bili mladi? Koje su bile vaše želje?

Mnoge se žene ne sjećaju svijeta snova niti ga povezuju s vlastitim djetinjstvom i tinejdžerskim godinama, a mnoge odgovaraju u cjelini da *nisu imale nikakve posebne želje*. Polako, korak po korak, djelići tih maštanja izlaze na površinu, gdje su se snovi smatrali luksuzom i gdje su – ako su i postojale neke želje – bili prekinuti jer *nije bilo moguće previše sanjati*. Pokoja igračka, dar od svetog Nikole, dar pod božićnim drvcem, bicikl...

Malo je nadanja i želja za vlastitu budućnost, kao da je postojala svijest o sudbini predodređenoj za žene. Premalo snova da bi se ta budućnost izmijenila, premalo snova da bi se promijenio svijet.

Ipak, smatramo značajnim one snove u kojima je postojala nada za daljnje obrazovanje.

Madonna! Jest sn tjla ratt žnidrca, al pej kšna parukjera, ja... N vase so nn dale an stroj z cjlo vas, kamr se je hdilo šivt. Tiste ki so imjle ano mamo al papà so se hdile uečt, moje prjatlce so šle. Ma jest nejsn mogla. Nanka tiste pošibilita nejsn imjla in sn mogla djlt dma. (11)

Da, želela sem si postati učiteljica in učiti otroke, ampak ni bilo možnosti za študij. Takrat so študirali samo premožni ljudje. (12)

V srednji šoli sem gojila željo, da bi obiskala univerzo, kar mi je bilo onemogočeno, ker ni bilo dovolj sredstev. (26)

Jesu li se vaši snovi ostvarili?

Sanje sem imela, a se niso uresničile zaradi revščine, ker nismo imeli denarja... Moje velike sanje so bile... vzorci, risanje modnih vzorcev, obleke... To so bile moje sanje, a žal se niso uresničile... in ni bilo možnosti, da bi se to učila, ker je treba študirat, jaz pa sem morala v službo in nisem mogla nadaljevati. Drugačni časi, pač. (6)

Samo je jedna od intervjuiranih žena protumačila pitanje u političkom smislu:

Ja, vsi smo imeli želje. Najbolj močna je bila ta, da bi spadali pod Jugoslavijo, ne pod Italijo. (15)

Međuetnički odnosi

Na pitanje *Biste li se udali za muškarca druge nacionalnosti ili druge jezične skupine?* pripadnice obje etničke skupine uglavnom odgovaraju “očitom” zatvorenosti vlastite zajednice, javnom zatvorenosti prema drugom.

Primjer su dva kratka odgovora:

Mešani zakoni v družini? Ne. (11)

Poročili smo se s Slovenci, ni bilo mešanih zakonov. Od kadar pomnim je bilo tako. (15)

Mnoge žene govore o brakovima roditelja, djedova i baka koji su uvijek pripadali istoj etničkoj skupini. Samo nekoliko žena uzima u obzir univerzalnost “ljubavi” i malo njih spremno je udati se za muškarca iz druge etničke skupine, nacionalnosti ili kulture. Čak se i vjera smatra temeljnim elementom braka i izbora partnera.

Te nam činjenice govore mnogo o identitetu teritorija na kojem nije jedino postojanje pomične granice samo po sebi utjecalo na cijele naraštaje žena i njihovih obitelji, nego je i povijesno razdoblje, obilježeno fašizmom ili, u drugim slučajevima, socijalizmom u Jugoslaviji, utjecalo – i osnažilo je – na percepciju važnosti pripadanja homogenoj nacionalnoj skupini ili vjerskoj zajednici koja bi učvrstila sigurne, “čiste” identitete i spriječila miješane. Kao da su povijesna razdoblja natjerala ljude da potraže zaštitu unutar skupine, biološkoga zajedničkog nazivnika, umjesto da se usmjere na građanstvo dinamičnog i vidljivo pokretljivog društva. Evo odgovora koji upućuje na navedenu tvrdnju:

Ne, moja mama me je učila tako: ne vojaka, ne drugih jezikov, ker se vsak poroči v svoji hiši. Vsak ima druge navade in potem ne gre prav.
(3)

O braku

Intervju je uključivao i niz pitanja o braku, običajima u braku, društvenim uvjetima u kojima su mladi parovi živjeli i kako su se supružnici odnosili jedan prema drugome. Potrebno je uvijek uzeti u obzir povijesne okolnosti kao glavne odrednice i ne zaboraviti da su se mnoge od intervjuiranih žena udale u 1930-im i 1940-im godinama prošlog stoljeća, u razdoblju fašizma, tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata ili u poslijeratnom razdoblju. Ta su razdoblja obilježena nesigurnošću i neizvjesnošću, čak i kad su se buduće perspektive bračnih parova značajno razlikovale.

Ipak, priče o vjenčanjima bogate su i detaljne:

Praznik je bil zelo lep, čeprav nismo utegnili pripraviti ničesar krasnega za praznik, ker takrat se je končala vojna. Nam je vse zgledalo prelepo, vse, praznik, poroka v cerkvi, hrana, z mnogimi tortami, pršuti, itd. Vse smo pripravili doma, tudi pijačo, vodo in vino, vse doma. Prav gotovo je bilo vse pristno. V cerkev smo šli z avtobusom in na praznik k meni na dom prav tako. (7)

Sve se žene sjećaju svoje vjenčаницe, mnoge od njih su je i sačuvale. Prisjećaju se nekih posebnih situacija: neke od njih sašile su ih same, prisjećaju se oblika, koliko su divljenja izazvale i kako je to izgledalo u odnosu na položaje žena u to vrijeme:

Takrat sem bila noseča, v petem mesecu in bi bilo grdo videti, če bi imela belo obleko, danes pa se oblečejo, kar hočejo. Jaz sem imela sivo obleko, kratek "tajerček" in klobuček na glavi. (3)

Sjećanja na brak čuvaju se i s pomoću fotografija. Gotove sve žene imaju slike sa svojih vjenčanja; fotografija je značajan protagonist subjektivnog sjećanja.

Dom

Opis kuće vraća nas u vrijeme obilježeno patrijarhalnim praksama koje su predviđale "preseljenje" žena iz obiteljskog doma u mladoženjin dom nakon braka. Većina njih poštovala je to nepisano pravilo i selila se u mužev dom, katkad na kratko vrijeme, dovoljno da pronađu vlastitu kuću, a katkad "zauvijek". Međutim, u nekoliko slučajeva muž se preselio u ženinu kuću. To nije bilo uobičajeno i smatralo se prijestupom:

On se je poročil "k meni", prišel je živet k meni, "prstopauc" so mu rekli takrat. Je prišel sem, ker jaz nisem hotela v Mačkolje (Caresana). (3)

Zajedničko obilježje kuća bilo je da su bile otvorene prema vanjskom dvorištu, gotovo uvijek imale su povrtnjak koji je omogućivao preživljavanje obitelji.

Pitanje *Jeste li imali vlastitu sobu?* trebalo je otkriti koliko su privatnog prostora te žene mogle imati tijekom svojeg života, posebno na početku svojih bračnih života.

Ne, tak prostor je bila samo moja postelja. (18)

Općenito nisu imale intiman prostor nedostupan drugima. Skromni uvjeti života ili siromaštvo nisu dopuštali osobne ili personalizirane prostore. Potrebu za dijeljenjem nametnulo je siromaštvo, ali i tradicija ruralne patrijarhalne prakse. U svakom slučaju, to nije ni na koji način bilo povezano s odbacivanjem sreće ili mladenačkih maštarija, o čemu svjedoči sljedeći odgovor:

Ne, ne, ne, ne, "magari"! "Magari", da bi jo imela! Jaz sem spala z nono in bratom. Eno sobo smo občasno dajali v najem železničarjem, ki so prihajali iz južne Italije. Ko teh ni bilo, sem si jo jaz uredila za svojo, jo okrasila z rožami, posebno maja meseca se spominjam, da sem dala noter toliko majnic, da ni bilo mogoče dihati. Uživala sem tako. Občasno je ta postala moja soba, drugače sem spala vedno z materjo in bratom. (3)

Čak i kad su se kuća ili stan smatrali lijepima, velikima ili udobnima, nijedna od intervjuiranih žena nije imala vlastitu sobu, kutak ili bilo kakav osobni prostor. Sve su se prostorije uvijek dijelile.

Ovdje nije potrebno posebno isticati važnost pitanja o posjedovanju vlastitog prostora, vlastite sobe za formiranje ženskog sebstva i autonomije. Virginia Woolf (2003) u svojoj pripovjednoj prozi *Vlastita soba*, izricanjem potrebe za posjedovanjem vlastitoga ženskog prostora, predočuje koliko je taj koncept utjecao na razvoj tradicije engleske ženske političke, literarne i druge misli.

Vrijednosti

U ovom skupu odgovora prisutna su razmišljanja o vrijednostima obrazovanja žena i vremenu u kojem se te vrijednosti razvijaju:

Moje vrednote so bile: spoštovati starše, skrbeti za družino, delo, zadovoljiti se s skromnim, preprostim, biti prijazni in strpni do drugih. (2)

Se naučiti gospodinjiti, znati kaj je za moške primerno obnašanje in kaj za ženske, znati potrpeti, ne hodit preveč okoli. (20)

Morala je biti skrbno dekle za hišo in čistočo, ker le tako je bila pripravljena za poroko. Te vrednote so se spremenile, saj danes dekleta študirajo, saj brez šol ni dobre zaposlitve. (23)

Vremena i uloga spola

Sljedeće pitanje uvodi razlike između "tada" i "sada", trenutke odrednice koje su žene često spominjale. Trenutke koji najavljuju promjene.

Položaj žena bio je bolji ili gori?

Takrat je bilo prav gotovo slabše, ker so imele manj pravic. Danes pa ženske imajo več svobode, a takrat niso ravnali slabo z njimi, vsaj pri nas ne. (7)

Razlike med moškimi in ženskami so bile velike. Moški so ukazovali, ženske so ubogale in delale. (12)

Neke žene smatraju da je trenutačna obiteljska situacija negativna jer se obitelji raspadaju, brakovi se razvode i postoji “previše slobode”. Ponajprije, postoji negativno vrednovanje žena zaposlenih izvan kuće, previše slobodnog vremena i “gledanja previše televizije”. Sve te izjave ukorijenjene su u patrijarhalnom kontekstu i vezane za vrijednosti koje su žene razvile u svojim formativnim godinama. Neke intervjuirane žene prisjećaju se vremena u kojima je postojao određen stupanj društvene ravnopravnosti koji je mogao proizlaziti iz nestašice i siromaštva, kad, posebno u selima, nije bilo značajnih društvenih razlika, pa je zato i položaj žena bio “ravnopravniji”.

One koje su živjele u socijalizmu govore o drugoj vrsti ravnopravnosti. Osobito se prisjećaju jednakih odnosa između muškaraca i žena. Na pitanje o položaju žena u socijalizmu općenito odgovaraju: *Jednak položaju muškaraca.*

Mnoge žene smatraju da je rodno određena podjela rada prirodna:

Deklica/ženska ne more opravljati težkih opravil kot nek fant/mož. Na primer pri nas so moški kopali na njivah. Ženske pa so pasle živino in hodile po les. (7)

Na kratko i jednostavno pitanje *Jeste li se ikad osjećali diskriminirani kao žena?* mnoge od ispitanica odgovaraju negativno. Prema tome, te žene dijele osjećaj da njihov ženski subjektivitet nikad nije bio omalovažavan i da se uvijek poštovao, neovisno o društvenim uvjetima u kojima su živjele. Samo jedan odgovor baca sjenu na tu opću zajedničku percepciju:

Ne, starši in mož so vedno lepo ravnali z mano. Nisem se počutila diskriminirana kot ženska, ampak kot Slovenka. Zdaj pa sploh ne, morda se počutim diskriminirana kot starka na avtobusu. (14)

Obrazovanje i ženski uzori

Htjeli smo istražiti percepciju drugih žena koje su bile prisutne u životima ispitanica i koliko su one mogle poslužiti kao uzori za mlade žene. Jedno je pitanje nastojalo ustanoviti stupanj obrazovanja ženskih članova bakine obitelji: *Jesu li neke žene u obitelji bile obrazovanije od vas?* Odgovori su bili isti: u obiteljima naših baka nije bilo žena koje su se uspjele obrazovati i steći diplomu:

Ne, v moji družini ni bilo izobraženih žensk. (23)

Na pitanje *Jesu li u privatnoj ili javnoj sferi postojale neke važne žene koje su vas nadahnule?* odgovori su uvijek bili isti: *Nije bilo takvih žena.* Nije bilo žena koje su ih mogle nadahnuti ili biti uzor. Općenito, intervjuirane su žene izjavile: *Nikad! Nikad me nitko nije nadahnuo.* Zatim, postupno, na površinu dolaze neki primjeri – majka i učiteljica.

Samo je jedna ispitanica navele neke žene iz javne sfere – i to izvan nacionalnoga konteksta!

V mojem življenju sem občudovala mnogo žensk, toda nobene si nisem postavila kot vzor. Nikoli si nisem postavila nemogočih ciljev. Med vsemi me je prevzel lik političarke Margaret Thatcher, t.i. železne lady ter lik dobrote, mati Tereza. (26)

Na pitanje jesu li se osjećale kao protagonistice svojih života, sve osim jedne odgovaraju “nikad”, “nikad nisam bila protagonist”, “ne, nisam bila ambiciozna”.

Mračna vremena i subjektivna sjećanja

U većini priča kojih se žene prisjećaju većina prostora posvećena je Drugom svjetskom ratu. Da bismo ih prikazali na odgovarajući način, trebala bi nam zasebna analiza. Međutim, navest ću neke zaključke koji proizlaze iz prikupljenih ženskih priča.

Nema sumnje da je iskustvo rata bitan trenutak u životu pojedinca, obilježen strahom i neizvjesnom budućnošću. Slovenkama su mračna vremena fašizma i rata dan-danas jasno prisutna u umu, najprije kao potiskivanje jezika i identiteta, zatim kao ukidanje građanskih prava te prisilna talijanizacija i denacionalizacija slavenske manjine. Neke smatraju da su pretrpjele strašno poniženje i nepravdu te osjećaju ljutnju koju i danas teško kontroliraju.

One nude detaljnu i široku sliku svojih iskustava iz razdoblja fašizma, vezanih za neke događaje u institucijama, prije svega školama ili općenito javnim i obiteljskim sferama.

V šoli so nas učili samo “taljansko robu”. Vse kar je zadevalo Italijo smo znali na pamet, nismo pa vedeli, če pa sploh razen Italije obstaja še kakšna druga država. O Jugoslaviji nam niso nikoli povedali ničesar. Nismo vedeli, kaj se dogaja okoli nas.

Italijanska fašistična oblast je prepovedala rabo slovenskega jezika v javnosti in tudi doma smo morali biti zelo previdni, ko smo govorili slovensko. Slovenščino je tako mene in mojega brata na skrito učila mama, ki je doma imela nekaj slovenskih knjig. Te pa smo vsak dan kopalni v luknje na vrtu, ker je bilo branje slovenskih knjig prepovedano. (1)

Te bezbrojne anegdote koje upotpunjavaju opću sliku o životu slovenskog stanovništva u doba fašizma odražavaju okolnosti koje su duboko obilježile iskustva žena koje su tada bile veoma mlade.

Mnoge se prisjećaju točnih datuma tih događaja koji su uključivali njih, cijelu obitelj i zajednicu. Priča tada postaje puna sitnih pojedinosti.

Djevojke, čak i ako su bile veoma mlade, sačuvale su sjećanja na ratne događaje koje su proživjele one ili njima bliske osobe; sjećaju se policijskog sata, bombardiranja, deportacija, spaljenih sela, leševa i smaknuća. Strah i teror opteretio je njihov um nevjerojatnom okrutnošću. I ta strašna sjećanja ne blijede, kako priznaje jedna od žena: *Nikoli ne bom pozabila, tudi če pravijo, da otroci pozabijo, a ni tako!*

Vrednovanje povijesnih razdoblja i njihovih sudionika

Mnoga svjedočenja, osim što bilježe događaje koji su utjecali na individualna i kolektivna iskustva, vrednuju sudionike, režime i ideologije.

Žene govore o teškim gubicima i patnjama koje su izazvala prisilna raseljavanje što su obilježila obiteljski život između dva rata; njihova sjećanja izražavaju emocionalno vrednovanje povijesnih okolnosti i fašizma. Neka su vrednovanja vrlo oštra, ali bez natruha mržnje:

Ne čutim sovraštva, ker je bila vojna in vsaka vojna povzroča sovraštvo, braniti smo se morali, in to je bilo zelo težko. (33)

Pokoja pokušava naći spas u (djetinjastoj) percepciji da je to bilo “normalno”.

Sjećanja vezana za predmete i fotografije

Jedan skup pitanja pomogao nam je shvatiti kako su ostaci prošlosti i dalje prisutni u životima naših sugovornica, što je ostalo od tog svijeta koji je mnogima bio mračan i zao te istodobno uključivao neke sretne događaje u ispunjenom obiteljskom životu, dok je za druge sadržavao svijetle i tamne trenutke u stalnom vraćanju i isprepletanju. Pokušali smo shvatiti koja je materijalna kultura važna za njihov identitet i općenito koje su predmete željele zadržati tijekom svojih života. Mnogi su predmeti nestali, “prohujali s vihorom” vremena, drugi su se pomno čuvali. Što su naše sugovornice sačuvale?

Nič, nimam ničesar. Nisem nikoli pisala dnevnika. (3)

Shranila sem (poročno) krilo in nekaj slik. (11)

Jaz sem shranila vsak predmet, ki me je na nekaj spominjal. Vsako stvar bi mi zdaj in tudi takrat bilo težko vreči proč. (32)

Kraljica sjećanja je *fotografija*. Gotovo sve intervjuirane žene sačuvale su barem jednu, većina ih ima mnogo. Za fotografije se vežu priče, sjećanja, davni i nedavni događaji. One poklanjaju posebnu pozornost fotografijama kao dragocjenom blagu. To je blago sjećanja.

Slike so pomembne, so del mene, shranila sem jih v posebni škatli, skriti, samo jaz vem kje se nahaja. (22)

Imam shranjeno in obešeno sliko od moje mame in tati, ko sta se poročila. Potem imam še eno sliko in je na enem lesenem okvirju, da je ne bi dala za noben denar. (33)

Na pitanje *Kojih je pet fotografija najvažnijih u vašem životu?* većina odabire pojedinačne slike članova obitelji, roditelja, supruga, djece i unuka.

Samo je jedna žena odabrala svoju sliku, i to nije bila grupna slika. Kao da je postojao prešutan pristanak da vlastiti život i samoprikazivanje nisu važni. Kao da nije bilo važno sačuvati vlastitu sliku na toj povijesnoj pozornici.

Zaključak

Glasovi koje smo nastojali izvući iz sjene povijesnog zaborava, čak i ako su istrgnuti iz mnogo šireg istraživačkog okvira, jasno pokazuju da se intervjuirane žene ne smatraju protagonistima svojih života ili Povijesti s velikim P. Nisu pokazale veliko zanimanje ili ambicije za aktivan i vidljiv javni život, njihovo vrijeme tiho prolazi. Međutim, te su žene učinile mnogo. Pokazale su sposobnost da opisuju i razmišljaju o vlastitom životnom iskustvu drukčije od lažnog poopćavanja velike nacionalne naracije; one govore drukčijim glasom (Gilligan, 1993) i time su stvorile interakciju između privatnih sjećanja i javnog dijaloga. Drugim riječima, činom pripovijedanja svoje priče one ulaze u politička postignuća i otkrivaju se kao činitelji vlastitog vremena (Arendt, 1998: 184). One su nam podarile nove višeslojne spoznaje i prije svega nas navele da promislimo o svojoj zajedničkoj i zasjenjenoj ženskoj povijesti.

Na kraju bih htjela dodati neka razmišljanja o studenticama koje su provele intervjue i postale oštrim promatračima i vodičima na vijugavim stazama pamćenja svojih ženskih predaka.

Medtem ko je pripovedovala, sem jo opazovala. Opazovala sem njen obraz, ki se je razžalostil, ko je pripovedovala o vojni in pomanjkanju, a je tudi ožarel, ko mi je pripovedovala o poroki, o mladostnih letih. (18)

Mnoge od njih izjavljaju da im je drago što su mogle sudjelovati u projektu koji im je omogućio da razgovaraju nasamo sa svojim bakama. Tako su naučile ono što nisu znale, spojile su krhotine obiteljskih života o kojima ništa nisu znale; razmišljale su o sebi i životima svojih majki i baka te o tome kako bi životi žena mogli postati dio nacionalne povijesti. Osnažile su odnose između naraštaja, odnose pune privrženosti i osviještenosti između unuka i baka.

Na babico sem bila že prej zelo navezana, saj z njo preživim veliko časa, mislim pa, da naju je ta priložnost še zblížala in sem zelo srečna, da sem

se udeležila tega projekta. Poleg tega sem bila zelo zadovoljna zanjo, saj je bila končno enkrat ona v ospredju in ne sinovi ali vnuki. Na koncu se mi je nasmehnila in navihano rekla, da se je počutila kot junakinja v kakem romanu. (36)

Ovaj posljednji odlomak potpuno razjašnjava cilj projekta Od granica do mostova, u kojem se pokušalo osnažiti subjektivitet žena, izvući ih iz sjena povijesti, povijesti koja ih nikad ništa nije pitala dok ih je istodobno izložila strašnim ograničenjima i poniženjima. Željeli smo osnažiti i pojačati njihove glasove, vratiti dostojanstvo ženskim povijesnim subjektima, poslušati ih i predstaviti novom naraštaju današnjih djevojaka i mladića.

Na kraju, u skladu s feminističkom pedagogijom i tvrdnjama koje iznose Petö i Waaldijk, smatramo da je "razmišljanje o životima ženskih predaka, koji mogu biti u biološkom ili metaforičnom srodstvu sa studenticama, odličan alat za poučavanje, koji raznolikoj skupini daje mogućnost raspravljanja o ključnim pitanjima pisanja ženske povijesti: razlici između javnih i privatnih života, historiografskim pitanjima, kao i razlici u iskustvima koja se može definirati u nacionalnom, vjerskom, etničkom i klasnom smislu" (2006: 12). Istodobno vjerujemo da je to istraživanje pokušalo destabilizirati jednostran model poučavanja (jednostran pristup) jer su se, kroz prisjećanja autobiografskih naracija svojih ženskih predaka, studentice uključile u raspravu u učionici ne samo kao učenice nego i kao "autorice" i "učiteljice".

S engleskog prevela Tamara Slišković

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CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI

POVRATAK U BEOGRAD 1978. GODINE. ISTRAŽIVANJE FEMINISTIČKOG SJEĆANJA

Od 27. do 29. listopada 1978. godine u Studentskom kulturnom centru (SKC) u Beogradu održana je međunarodna konferencija “Drug-ca žena. Žensko pitanje – novi pristup?”. Na skupu je bilo otprilike osamdeset sudionica i sudionika. Kao prvi autonomni događaj drugoga feminističkoga vala u Jugoistočnoj i Istočnoj Europi, taj se događaj i trideset godina poslije smatra prekretnicom u feminističkoj povijesti ovih krajeva. Pokazuju to memorijalne manifestacije i publikacije, kao što je festival Pitchwise 2006. godine u Sarajevu i obilježavanje tridesetogodišnjice konferencije u listopadu 2008. godine u beogradskom Studentskom kulturnom centru.

Zamisao organizatorica (Žarane Papić, Nade Ler-Sofronić, Dunje Blažević, Rade Iveković, Jasmine Tešanović) bila je, u osnovi, da razotkriju žensku nejednakost u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, i to unatoč službenom diskursu koji je tvrdio da je jednakost postignuta putem pravnog sustava i sudjelovanja žena na tržištu rada. Pozivajući inozemne gošće, organizatorice su se nadale da će prikupiti informacije iz prve ruke o položaju žena i razvoju feminističkih ideja u drugim zemljama, osobito u Zapadnoj Europi, gdje su feministički pokreti (posebice u Francuskoj i Italiji) bili na vrhuncu.¹ Na međunarodni skup pozvano je oko trideset inozemnih sudionica, a otprilike polovina ih je uspjela doći u Beograd.²

¹ U ranijoj inačici ovoga rada navela sam da je glavni cilj organizatorica bio “usporediti položaj žena u Jugoslaviji sa situacijom u Zapadnoj Europi”. Rada Iveković komentirala je tu rečenicu ovako: “Nisam sigurna da nam je namjera bila usporediti položaj žena u Jugoslaviji s onim u Zapadnoj Europi, kao što ste vi naveli. Mislim prije da nam je opća pretpostavka bila postojeća i nepodnošljiva nejednakost kako žena u Jugoslaviji tako i drugdje. Rekla bih da nam je cilj bio usporediti položaj žena i muškaraca, i pronaći istovjetnosti u ostalim državama. Vjerojatno uopće nismo razmišljale o različitim povijestima koje smo imale mi i žene iz Italije ili drugih europskih zemalja. Tek smo na konferenciji, vrlo začuđene, otkrile procijep” (elektronička korespondencija s autoricom).

² Poziv je upućen vrlo važnim osobama kao što su Juliet Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham, Simone de Beauvoir, Luce Irigaray. Na mom provizornom popisu inozemnih gošća koje su

Na popisu pozvanih jugoslavenskih sudionica i sudionika bilo je dvadeset žena, uglavnom iz Beograda i Zagreba, ali i iz Ljubljane, Sarajeva i ostalih jugoslavenskih gradova. Temom seksizma i života žena bavile su se kao sociologinje, filozofkinje, historičarke, liječnice, spisateljice, novinarke, umjetnice i povjesničarke umjetnosti. Bilo je također nekoliko muškaraca. Tom popisu valja dodati kako redovnu publiku u SKC Beograd³ tako i lokalne novinarke i novinare te brojne žene iz inozemstva koje su došle iako nisu bile pozvane kao govornice. Brojka od osamdeset sudionica i sudionika možda je, stoga, i preniska procjena.

U ovom tekstu neću se baviti političkom i teorijskom pozadinom konferencije, niti konferencijom kao povijesnim događajem.⁴ Umjesto toga, razmišljam o postupku prikupljanja i tumačenja izvora te o pričama koje je moguće napisati skupljanjem ženskih glasova iz prošlosti i iz sadašnjosti. Rad se osvrće na metodološka pitanja prikazom glavnih izazova na koje sam nailazila tijekom istraživanja. Tvrdim u tekstu da je skupljanje ženskih glasova posredovan, fragmentaran, nelinearan postupak tumačenja (premda je moguć samo određen spektar tumačenja). Historijske izvore – usmene i pisane – oblikovale su osobite vremenske i prostorne koordinate u kojima su nastali. Singularnost višestrukih izvora i dijaloški proces intervjuiranja propituju djelomičnu perspektivu i pretpostavke istraživača/ice.

bile prisutne sljedeća su imena: Jill Lewis, Helen Roberts, Diana Leonard, Parveen Adams, Anne Marie Boetti, Chiara Saraceno, Manuela Fraire, Dacia Maraini, Adela Cambria, Letizia Paolozzi, Luciana Viviani, Giuliana Sgrena, Carla Ravaoli, Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, Anabella Miscuglio, Francesca Ponza, Christine Delphy, Françoise Pasquier, Aline Dallier, Naty Garcia, Xavière Gauthier, Catherine Millet, Jacqueline, Ivette, Julie (iz skupine "édition des femmes", nisu navodile prezimena), Elise Bon, Catherine Nadaud, Nil Yalter, Françoise Collin, Ewa Morawska, Judith Kele, Alice Schwarzer.

³ Na mom su provizornom popisu jugoslavenskih sudionica i sudionika, sastavljenom uz pomoć izravnih i neizravnih izvora: Žarana Papić, Dunja Blažević, Nada Ler-Sofronić, Nadežda Čaćinović, Slavenka Drakulić, Lydia Sklevicky, Rada Iveković, Anđelka Milić, Vesna Kesić, Ruža First-Dilić, Gordana Cerjan-Letica, Dragan Klaić, Borka Pavičević, Mira Oklobdžija, Slobodan Drakulić, Jasmina Tešanović, Lepa Mladenović, Ljiljana Gajović, Vera Smiljanić, Nada Sponza-Mimica, Bojana Pejić, Sonja Drljević, Sofija Trivunac, Božidarka Frajt, Đurđa Milanović, Jelena Zuppa, Vesna Dramušić, Rada Đuričin, Miloš Nemanjić, Živana Olbina, Vesna Pešić, Milica Posavec, Vuk Stambolović, Karel Turza, Ljuba Stojić, Biljana Tomić, Goranka Matić, Ruža Petrović, Katalin Ladik, Zoran Vidaković, Vesna Dražilović, Seka Stanivuk, Mira Zelenika, Ruža Gavrilović.

⁴ Za detaljniju raspravu o toj temi i za dodatne referencije pogledati autoričin magistarski rad *Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the conference "Drugarica Žena. Žensko Pitanje – Novi Pristup?"* [sic] ["Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach?"] thirty years after. Dostupno na: <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2008-1031-202100/UUindex.html>.

Moja je zamisao na početku bila da slijedim način na koji su se slike o ženama u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji mijenjale kroz vrijeme, iz zapadnjačke perspektive. Nisam bila zadovoljna ni aktualnim reprezentacijama “Balkana” u zapadnim medijima, niti većinom znanstvenih feminističkih tekstova na Zapadu što su se bavili rodnim odnosima i feminizmom u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji. Smatrala sam relevantnima analize autorica i autora koji su se bavili konceptom *balkanizma* – ili specifičnim deklinacijama orijentalizma u kontekstu Balkana (Todorova, 1997).

Stoga sam počela oslanjajući se na koncept “dominantnog zapadnjačkog pogleda” (Mohanty, 2002), nastojeći dekonstruirati “međunarodni” pogled na Balkan analizom njegovih rodno i etnički određenih reprezentacija. Obratila sam, također, pozornost na specifične inačice *balkanizma* zamjetne u Italiji te na inačice “graničnog” orijentalizma smještenog u talijansko-jugoslavenskom graničnom području (Mihelj, 2009; Sluga, 2002). Štoviše, dok sam otkrivala vrijedne i propitujuće tekstove feminističkih znanstvenica/ka i aktivista/kinja u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji tijekom 1990-ih, imala sam osjećaj da ih u “kanonu” europskih ženskih studija praktično nije bilo ili ako jest, da nisu dobivali zaslužnu pozornost unatoč svojoj vrijednosti i radikalnom potencijalu.⁵ Počela sam se pitati je li prije raspada Jugoslavije bilo drukčije, osobito iz perspektive talijanskog feminizma.

Kakva je bila transnacionalna feministička komunikacija prije “humanitarnog obrata” 1990-ih, koji nas je naveo da “Balkan” promatramo kao mjesto nasilja, viktimizirane ženskosti i nasilne muškosti (Žarkov, 2007)? Koje su feminističke prakse postojale prije “NGO-izacije” feminizma, osobito u nekadašnjoj Jugoslaviji? S tim pitanjima u glavi, počela sam istraživati transnacionalnu komunikaciju koja se događala 1978. godine. Štoviše, u feminističkom pisanju 1990-ih godina taj se događaj reprezentira kao “utemeljiteljski trenutak” za feminizam u regiji, bez ikakvoga dodatnog opisa ili specifikacije⁶ – što se ondje zapravo dogodilo? To su bila istraživačka pitanja što sam ih imala na umu počinjući rad na magisteriju.

⁵ Za izuzetak vidjeti Griffin i Braidotti, 2002.

⁶ Osim toga, skup iz 1978. godine mlade su feministkinje prikazivale kao nešto što je pripadalo “intelektualnim” pramajkama feminizma ili “teorijskoj” etapi jugoslavenskoga feminizma koju je 1980-ih godina nadjačao novi aktivistički naraštaj. Nisam imala dovoljno elemenata da bih se upustila u tu debatu, ali pokušala sam izbjeći podjelu tako oštroga reza. U svom sam magisteriju tvrdila da je skup iz 1978. godine i sastavni dio genealogije *grassroot* skupina iz 1980-ih i 1990-ih godina, i da je postojao generacijski kontinuitet, zajedno s diskontinuitetima, čak i ako tu hipotezu valja dodatno dokazati.

Sjećanja

Kad sam počela intervjuirati sudionice iz Beograda, Sarajeva i Zagreba, rezultati su promijenili moje početne premise. Kao što Luisa Passerini piše u svojoj studiji o radničkoj popularnoj kulturi u fašizmu, “Usmeni izvori odbijaju odgovoriti na određenu vrstu pitanja: naizgled govornjivi, na koncu su se pokazali kao uzdržljivi i enigmatični, i poput sfinge nas prisiljavaju da preformuliramo probleme i preispitamo svoje trenutačne navike mišljenja” (Passerini, 1998: 58). Ustanovila sam da trideset godina poslije naracije nekadašnjih sudionica nisu mogle prenijeti sve detalje koje sam tražila (tko je točno bio ondje, o čemu se raspravljalo, itd.). Osim toga, ustanovila sam da pitanje zapadnjačkog pogleda uopće nije bitno. Na pitanje o prisutnosti inozemnih žena 1978. godine, moje su sugovornice odgovarale da je to bilo normalno, zbog otvorenosti granica i protoka ideja u njihovoj zemlji u ono doba. (“Sedamdeset i osme nije bilo tako, slobodno smo putovale, imale smo prilično dobar standard života s obzirom na okolnosti i uopće nismo bile iznenađene ili šokirane što vidimo strankinje ovdje. (...) Nije nam to bio neki šok. *Bile smo dio Europe u tom trenutku, znate, na određenoj razini...*”⁷)

U iskazima mojih sugovornica skup iz 1978. godine postao je, dakle, prekretnicom ili čvorištem koje je poslužilo za strukturiranje naracije u smislu *prije* i *poslije* pojave društvenih mijena na prostoru (nekadašnje) Jugoslavije:⁸ *prije* i *poslije* jugoslavenske federacije i socijalizma, što koincidira manje ili više s *prije* i *poslije* rata. Štoviše, sjećanje na subjektivna iskustva bilo je organizirano oko *prije* i *poslije* feminističkog inauguralnog događaja: nakon tog skupa više ništa nije bilo isto, u smislu vidljivosti u javnoj sferi i organizaciji feminističkih grupa. Bila su to dva najčešća konceptualna okvira u usmenim iskazima.

Također, naraštaj žena i muškaraca koji su sudjelovali na konferenciji bio je poslije dio oporbene političke scene 1990-ih, tako da se konferenciju retrospektivno povezivalo s antinacionalističkim i antiratnim stavom što su ga brojne sudionice i sudionici konferencije prigrlili kasnije u životu. Skup iz 1978. godine bio je, dakle, kako metafora promjena što su se dogodile posljednjih godina tako i osnivačka gesta svih feminističkih pokreta što su slijedili. Konceptualizacija u smislu *prije* i *poslije* nametnula mi se; sjećanja mi nisu rekla “što se dogodilo”, nego nešto drugo, a tomu ću se još vratiti.

⁷ Sofija Trivunac, intervju (Beograd, 11. veljače 2008. godine).

⁸ “Promjene što su se potom mogle dogoditi u osobnoj subjektivnoj svijesti naratorice ili naratora ili u njihovom društveno-ekonomskom položaju, mogu utjecati, ako ne na zbiljsko prepričavanje prijašnjih događaja, onda barem na vrednovanje i ‘obojenost’ priče” (Portelli, 1998: 69).

Arhivi

Usporedo s intervjuima pretraživala sam arhivski materijal u SKC-u i Centru za ženske studije u Beogradu da bih vidjela mogu li steći sustavniji uvid u debate iz 1978. godine. U arhivu SKC-a i arhivu Žarane Papić pronašla sam originalne transkripte rasprava. Moja prijateljica Slavica pronašla je originalnu kazetu iz 1978. godine. Savršeno, pomislila sam. No, podcijenila sam probleme prevođenja. Svi su transkripti bili na izvornom jeziku, a intervencije inozemnih gošća često su bile prebačene u drugi spis i tako ostavljene izvan konteksta, opet zbog prevođenja. Moje je poznavanje jezika u to vrijeme bilo loše pa sam te dokumente odvojila na stranu. Kazeta je, srećom, bila na talijanskomu jeziku, ali zabilježene su bile samo Talijanke koje su govorile o svojem iskustvu u feminističkom pokretu.

Moj prvi dodir s onim “što se doista dogodilo” nisu dakle bile ni kazete ni transkripti, već izvještaji talijanskih i francuskih feministkinja. Otkrila sam da je konferencija izazvala izuzetan odjek u Zapadnoj Europi. A prvi je put i inozemni feministički tisak pokazao kritički, “nepacificirani” dio konferencije. Dok je u naracijama lokalnih sudionica bilo i zabavnih viđenja njihovih susreta sa strankinjama,⁹ francuski i talijanski tisak skup je opisivao vrlo kritičnim, a pokatkad i vrlo skeptičnim tonovima. Jugoslavenske su organizatorice često opisivane kao previše samouvjerene i vezane uz službene (socijalističke) diskurse i politike, još vrlo udaljene od razvijanja *autonmnoga* ženskoga pokreta. Tako mi je, na određen način, tisak rekao *što se dogodilo* premda sa svim nesporazumima i otuđenostima inozemnih gošća koje uglavnom nisu bile svjesne disidentskoga karaktera konferencije i lokalne dinamike moći. Razloge recipročnog nerazumijevanja valja tražiti i u razlikama u “feminističkom jeziku” različitih grupa, što detaljnije analiziram u istraživanju.

Povratak sjećanjima, još jednom

Znajući da je bilo vrlo polemičnih tonova, počela sam intervjuirati inozemne sudionice. No, naracije međunarodnih sudionica više nego što su iznosile detalje o samomu događaju izražavale su opće dojmove o Jugoslaviji 1978. godine. Iskazi mojih sugovornica otvorili su usporedbe između feminističkih debata u Zapadnoj Europi, Istočnoj Europi i Jugoslaviji, s obzirom na njihovu kulturnu i političku *pozicioniranost*. Primjerice, Maria Rosa Cutrufelli smatrala je kako je u usporedbi s Italijom “to bilo kao povratak na rasprave od prije osam godina”, dok je Ewa Morawska doživjela “silno anticipiranje” u usporedbi s poljskim kontekstom, gdje bi sličan događaj bio nezamisliv. Osim toga, skup

⁹ Za narativiziran iskaz vidjeti: Slavenka Drakulić, “Što smo naučile od feministkinja sa Zapada”, *Transitions* 1 (1998).

je imao različito značenje za međunarodne gošće, upravo zato što su bile gošće i stoga nisu sudjelovale u organizaciji velikoga događaja u vlastitoj zemlji.

Kako, dakle, obaviti *prijevod*¹⁰ između glasova iz prošlosti i glasova o prošlosti iz sadašnjosti, arhivskih izvora i sjećanja sudionica s različitim lokacija? Valjalo ga je napraviti ne samo između glasova žena u Jugoslaviji i glasova žena u Zapadnoj Europi nego i između različitih trenutaka u vremenu, 1978. i 2008. godine, te promjena što su utjecale na politički kontekst kako u Jugoslaviji tako i u Italiji, Francuskoj, Poljskoj. Temporalne se promjene nisu dogodile samo na geopolitičkoj razini već i na osobnoj razini za moje sugovornice. Kako spojiti tolike heterogene izvore, dati im smisao, a pritom shvatiti što se dogodilo na skupu?

Primjeri

Navest ću primjer, temeljen na jednoj od najznačajnijih epizoda što su se odigrale na skupu. Na kraju drugoga dana, prema izvještaju Christine Delphy, inozemne gošće – osobito Talijanke – natjerale su Jugoslavenke da budu eksplicitnije u svojim političkim pozicioniranjima. U jednom je trenutku rasprava uzavrela i s jugoslavenske je strane došao odgovor: “Nećete nam vi davati lekcije!”¹¹ Carla Ravaioli opisala je debatu ovako:

“Niste došle ovamo držati nam lekcije, što vi znate o našoj stvarnosti?” bila je oštra jugoslavenska reakcija. “Ako nastavite pričati o ekonomskom razvoju i samoupravljanju, to vas nigdje neće dovesti”, odgovorile su feministkinje. I pitale su se kako to da su uopće bile pozvane.¹²

¹⁰ Pozivam se ovdje na širi koncepta kulturalnoga *prijevoda* ili *prevođenja između kultura* koji je razvila Rada Iveković (2005): “otvorena, odnosna i uzajamna gesta slobode koja u pitanje dovodi ‘prevoditeljicu/prevoditelja’ i sam ‘original’”, koji autorica suprotstavlja ideji ‘dijaloga između kultura’. Gestu prijevoda može se opisati kao “vitalni oblik otpora (kroz *diferencijalni* kritički izraz razlika) protiv hegemonističkih linija nametanja (*pravoga*) značenja.”

¹¹ Les Italiennes, beaucoup plus directes que les autres, demandent carrément aux Yougoslaves “qu’est-ce qu’elles comptent faire à propos de ceci ou cela” et “quand vont-elles créer un mouvement?” La dynamique oppositionnelle s’accélère. (...) Les Yougoslaves se sentent poussées dans leur retranchements, sommées de se justifier, mieux, de nous “imiter”, bref, traitées en attardées. Il apparaît tout au moins que c’est ainsi qu’elles comprennent les questions qui leur sont adressées quand l’une d’elles éclate: “Nous n’avons pas des leçons à recevoir”. (Christine Delphy, “...de Yougoslavie”, *Questions Féministes* n. 5 – Feb 1979).

¹² “Non venite qui a darci lezioni. Che ne sapete voi della nostra realtà?” era la dura reazione jugoslava. “Se continuate a discutere di sviluppo economico e autogestione, non approderete a nulla”, ribattevano le femministe. E si domandavano perché mai erano state invitate” (Carla Ravaioli, “Ufficiale ma non troppo”, *Il Messaggero di Roma* 5/11/1978).

Da bih doznala što je uistinu tada rečeno, barem približno, morala sam usporediti inozemni tisak i originalne transkripte te dati svoje tumačenje. Usklađivanje se, međutim, dogodilo zahvaljujući slučajnosti, jer mi je Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, jedna od talijanskih sugovornica, pročitala svoje bilješke iz 1978. godine. Sačuvala je svoj blok s bilješkama i izvadila ga za mene. Jedino je u njezinim bilješkama intervencija, koja je potaknula polemički odgovor, eksplicitna:

Maria Rosa: Red je zatim na Francuskinjama iz *édition des femmes*, koje kažu: “Utemeljiti izdavačku kuću značilo je raspravljati o cirkulaciji novca”. Govore o ekonomskom kapitalizmu i o simboličkom kapitalizmu, “koji prisvajaju osjećaje i postoje i u socijalističkim zemljama”. Potom jedna žena kaže, polemički: “Drugarice misle da mi to ne možemo zaključiti same?” Postati autonomnim subjektima, očigledno.¹³

U originalnim transkriptima ne spominje se intervenciju Francuskinja, ali umjesto toga navedena su imena i potpuni odgovor, što mi je omogućilo da otkrijem kako ga je dala Rada Iveković:

Jacqueline (Francuska):

Rada Iveković¹⁴: “Sigurno, to je svakako zanimljivo, ali ja se samo pitam zašto kolegica misli kao što ~~one~~? se čini da mnoge misle, da nas one mogu naučiti, naime zašto one misle da mi same do nekih stvari ne bismo same mogle doći.”

Dakle, nije bilo nijednoga pojedinačnoga, originalnoga izvora koji bi bio koristan u rekonstrukciji te epizode, već mnoštvo izvora s vlastitim specifičnostima. Dok intervjui nisu mogli pomoći, osobni arhivski izvor jedne od sugovornica omogućio mi je da dekodiram i uskladim ostali arhivski materijal te napravim približnu – i uvijek posredovanu – činjeničnu rekonstrukciju. Novinski članci pomogli su da tu komunikaciju stavim u opći kontekst, ali su u određenoj mjeri dramatzirali cijeli događaj. Maria Rosa zabilježila je obje intervencije, ali bez imena i sa svojim tumačenjem (“*Postati autonomnim subjektima, očigledno*”). Transkripti su bili od pomoći za bilježenje

¹³ “Poi ecco parlato le francesi dell’*Edition des femmes*, che tirano fuori il discorso: creare la casa editrice ha significato porre in discussione la circolazione dei soldi, parlano di capitalismo economico e di capitalismo simbolico, che è quello che si appropria dei sentimenti e che esiste anche nei paesi socialisti. E c’è una che dice, polemicamente: le compagne pensano che noi non possiamo arrivarci da sole? Evidentemente, ad essere soggetti autonomi” (Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, intervju, Rim, 19. ožujka 2008. godine).

¹⁴ Originalni transkript, Arhiv SKC; jedna je riječ nečitka..

izgovorenih riječi i utvrđivanje imena, no sami ne bi ništa kazivali, osobito zato što im nedostaje Jacquelinein glas. Dakle, transnacionalni je skup u Beogradu proizveo cijeli niz transnacionalnih izvora, posredovanih nizom prijevoda. Bilješke Marije Rose bile su rezultat različitih prijevoda s jednoga jezika na drugi, iz jednoga medija u drugi; ja sam ponovno uspostavila lanac prijevoda, dio kojega sam i sama postala.¹⁵

Mitovi, činjenice i sjećanja

Ako nam arhivski materijal može pomoći da rekonstruiramo neke činjenice, intervjui su doista često nešto sasvim drugo. Kao što piše Alessandro Portelli: “Usmeni nam izvori ne govore samo što su ljudi radili nego i što su željeli raditi, što su vjerovali da rade i što danas misle da su radili” (Portelli, 1998: 67). Uzmimo drugu epizodu, koja se zbila tijekom skupa 1978. godine i koju je inozemni tisak opetovano spominjao. Sociolog iz Beograda – vrlo gorljiv i bradat¹⁶ – morao je prekinuti svoj govor nakon prosvjeda inozemnih gošća koje su bile naviknute na isključivo ženske grupe. Christine Delphy zapisala je da su sve strankinje, a posebice Talijanke, podigle glas protiv sociologa, koji je bio prisiljen zašutjeti, na veliku neugodu jugoslavenskih organizatorica. Riječ je o dokumentiranomu događaju. Međutim, bez intervjuja ne bismo znale/i da su neke lokalne žene bile i sretno i zanesene onim što se dogodilo. Jedna mi je sugovornica rekla:

Za mene je treća prekretnica bila Christina Delphy, kad je Delphy muškarcu rekla: “Možete izaći, sada prestanite.” Bilo je nekoliko sudionika koji su htjeli biti pametniji od nas. Ovaj je bio mladi ljevičarski sociolog. Htio nam je govoriti, nije prestajao, i Christine mu je samo rekla: “Znate, sad možete prestati” ili “Ma možete i izaći”, nešto poput toga. Bio je to golem skandal! (*smijeh*). *Politika* je pisala: “Feministkinje su izbacile muškarce s konferencije!”¹⁷

U iskazu Lepe Mladenović upravo je Christine Delphy – heroína njezine naracije – istjerala sociologa. Njezina naracija ne odgovara u potpunosti stvarnosti, no upravo nam nepodudaranje ili udaljenost “između činjenice i sjećanja” osvještava ono što Portelli naziva “aktivno funkcioniranje kolektivnog sjećanja” (Portelli, 2007). Kao što je pokazao u svom radu, “raznovrsnost usmene

¹⁵ Jacqueline i Rada u Beogradu (govor) / prevoditelj(ica) u Beogradu (govor) / bilješke Marije Rose u Beogradu (tekst) / Maria Rosa mi čita svoje bilješke trideset godina poslije, u Rimu (govor) / ja ih zapisujem (tekst). Jezici: francuski i hrvatski/engleski/talijanski/talijanski/engleski.

¹⁶ Riječ je o Slobodanu Drakuliću.

¹⁷ Lepa Mladenović, intervju (Beograd, 4.2.2008.).

povijesti očigledna je u činjenici da su ‘netočne’ izjave još uvijek psihički ‘istinite’ i da ta istina može biti jednako važna kao i činjenično pouzdane priče” (Portelli, 1998: 68).

Sjećanje, dakle, postaje značajnom povijesnom činjenicom, samo po sebi, a često ga se izražava anegdotama ili mitovima. Christine Delphy – koja je u svom članku za prosvjed prozivala talijansku grupu – postala je otjelovljenje ponovnog prisvajanja muškog prostora u naraciji Lepe Mladenović. Nil Yalter u svom mi je zadivljenom prikazu jugoslavenskih organizatorica rekla da su u Beograd uspjele dovesti “čak i Australke” iako ih prema onom što sam doznala ondje nije bilo. Zajednički intenzitet određenih mikrodogadaja nije zaboravljen, poput večeri provedenih u beogradskim restoranima.

Nailazimo ovdje na spajanje osobnog i kolektivnog, diskurzivnoga konteksta i političke subjektivnosti sudionica i sudionika. Tu dimenziju otvorenoga kraja usmene povijesti valja uzeti u obzir kad se nastoji otkriti “što se doista dogodilo”. Dok nam arhiv donekle može reći što se dogodilo, uz raznolika posredovanja i tumačenja, intervjuirana osoba treba prostor da bi se pozicionirala u sadašnjosti u odnosu na prošlost. (Ako takav prostor nedostaje, postoji rizik da će se intervjuirana osoba osjećati kao “spomenik”, kao što je rekla žena koja je usred našeg intervjua odgovorila na telefonski poziv).

Zaključak

Na početku sam iznijela hipotezu da se zapadnjački pogled u nekadašnju Jugoslaviju tijekom vremena mijenjao na načine koji su preobrazili mogućnosti proizvodnje znanja, čak i unutar transnacionalnih ženskih studija. No, pokušavajući to dokazati, shvatila sam da je i moj pogled bio izvanjski i situiran. Sadašnji i prošli glasovi govore puno više. Najvažnije je to što kazuju *svoje priče po svojim uvjetima*,¹⁸ unatoč i nasuprot pretpostavkama istraživačice.¹⁹ Štoviše, praksa usmene povijesti otvorila je “konfrontaciju različitih parcijalnosti” – uključujući moju parcijalnost naratorice.²⁰

¹⁸ Vidjeti Anderson i Jack (1991).

¹⁹ “Osjećale smo, a da nismo to mogle artikulirati jer nismo za to bile pripremljene, da su feministkinje sa Zapada željele da se povinujemo njihovim uvjetima, njihovim analizama, njihovomu političkom jeziku, i da njihovo iskustvo priznamo kao svoje. ‘Normalizirale su nas, imale smo osjećaj. Bilo je to sasvim neočekivano. U to doba ni mi ni one nismo znale ništa o subjektivnom pozicioniranju ili o perspektivi... I one su, kao i mi, vjerovale u ‘objektivnu’ jednodimenzionalnu povijest. Nitko ništa nije znao ni o usmenoj povijesti. Unosite u ovu debatu instrumente koji su se javili kasnije u teoriji ili u teoriji dostupnoj u feminističkim radovima” (Rada Iveković, elektronička korespondencija s autoricom).

²⁰ Alessandro Portelli piše: “U usmenoj povijesti ne postoji unificiran subjekt; njuse pripovijeda iz brojnih stajališta, a nepristranost koju tradicionalno zastupaju historičarke/historičari,

Nadam se da sam na kraju ovoga dugotrajnog putovanja, sastavljenoga od neprekidnih prevođenja (prostor/vrijeme/jezici/izvori/glasovi), uspjela prikazati zajedničku silinu transnacionalnoga feminističkog *susreta*²¹ iz 1978. godine, ne narušivši singularnost osobnih sjećanja. Nadam se da sam u svojem magistarskom radu dokazala da su Jugoslavenke koje su organizirale skup zauzimale kritičku, disidentsku poziciju, i da su bile radikalne *pod svojim uvjetima*, unatoč zbunjenom pogledu strankinja. Također, tvrdila sam da je to kritičko pozicioniranje imalo utemeljiteljsko obilježje za feminističke pokrete u desetljećima što su slijedila. Nastojala sam pokazati da su pojave u Jugoslaviji bile dio širih, globalnih promjena nakon 1989. godine, promjena što su utjecale i na prakse i teorije feminizma u Istočnoj i Zapadnoj Europi.

Na koncu, čin rekonstruiranja prošlih i sadašnjih *glasova* nosi odgovornost za njihovo preoblikovanje u tekst, s pomoću rekonstruiranja posredovanih pisanih izvora ili prijevoda usmenih izvora u pisane stranice. Pokušala sam ne izgubiti naglasak, ritam i glasnoću sadržanu u tim glasovima. Međutim, “čisti” glasovi ne postoje, kao što piše Joan Scott, “zadovoljiti se bilo kojim identitetom – čak i ako je posrijedi onaj što smo ga same/i pomogle/i stvoriti – znači odustati od kritike” (Scott, 2006: 395). Rekonstruirati feminističku povijest prikazanu *susretom* iz 1978. godine nije dostatno. Taj je *susret* toliko značajan upravo zato što je i dalje mjesto sjećanja i subjektivnog uloga, točka polaska u reaktiviranje feminističke kritike sadašnjosti.

S engleskog prevela Anđelka Rudić

nadomješta pristranost naratorice/naratora. ‘Pristranost’ ovdje označava kako ‘nedovršenost’ tako i ‘zauzimanje strana’: usmenu se povijest nikada ne može kazivati bez zauzimanja strana, jer ‘strane’ postoje unutar kazivanja. Usto, bez obzira na osobne povijesti i vjerovanja, historičarke/historičari i ‘izvori’ gotovo nikada nisu na istoj ‘strani’. Konfrontacija njihovih različitih parcijalnosti – konfrontacija kao ‘konflikt’ i konfrontacija kao ‘traženje jedinstva’ – jedna je od stvari koje usmenu povijest čine zanimljivom” (1998: 73).

²¹ Sarah Ahmed piše: “Susreti između otjelovljenih subjekata uvijek oklijevaju između domene partikularnoga – licem u lice takovoga susreta – i općega – umetanja susreta u šire odnose moći i antagonizma. Partikularni susret, stoga, uvijek nosi *tragove* tih širih odnosa” (2000: 8).

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IVA BULIĆ

BUBNJARICE: PRISVOJITI PROŠLOST, PRIGRLITI BUDUĆNOST

Bubnjarice? Na prvi pogled, činilo se da žene nisu i ne sviraju bubnjeve. Potaknuta komentarima i uvriježenim mišljenjem da je bubanj muški instrument, odlučila sam pisati o “ženskom bubnjanju”. Dio ovog članka donosi izbor iz dostupne etnomuzikološke literature o različitim bubnjarskim tradicijskim praksama, bubnjaricama i ženama sviračicama uopće. Drugi dio čini prikaz istraživanja koje sam napravila s bubnjarima i bubnjaricama na zagrebačkom području. Osnovni je cilj istraživanja bio ponuditi analizu rodnih odnosa unutar dijela hrvatske glazbene scene. Budući da “priroda društvenih rodnih struktura utječe na ženske



izvedbene forme koje zauzvrat odražavaju i simboliziraju te rodne strukture” (Koskoff, 1995), teorijsko-metodološki okvir ovog rada, istraživanja i analize građe temelje se na rodnoj perspektivi u etnomuzikologiji i feminističkoj teoriji, metodologiji i epistemologiji. Izbor ove teme i metodologije odraz je vlastitog aktivističkog, feminističkog i bubnjarskog angažmana, kao i pokušaj uštkavanja predrasuda da žene ne mogu dobro svirati bubnjeve te da je to instrument koji su u povijesti svirali isključivo muškarci.

Kontekst ženskog sviranja i zabrane

Poznavajući u određenoj mjeri etnomuzikološku literaturu ili glazbene izvedbe pojedinih kultura, primijetit ćemo jedno: muškarci većinom sviraju, žene pjevaju i plešu. Činjenica je da su sviračice nekoć bile iznimka u uvriježenoj

praksi, kao što su to većinom i danas na glazbenoj sceni. No, problem jest taj što u hrvatskoj etnografiji i etnomuzikologiji 20. stoljeća nema zapisa o tim iznimkama te se, ionako krhak i jedva vidljiv, kontinuitet svirača na taj način ozbiljno zatire i ugrožava. Stariji etnografski izvori, pak, koji spominju sviračice, govore o narodnim poimanjima svirača: “narod misli, da se za djevojke i žene ne pristoji u sviralu svirati” (Kuhač, 1887/41: 12 prema Ceribašić, 2004). Sviračice se često opisivalo kao “bestidnice” ili “muškarače”. Običaj da žena svira i da se pojavljuje u javnosti na pozornici s instrumentom u rukama u narodu je smatran sramotom. Ceribašić ističe da je pojava sviračice doživljavana kao jednokratna šaljiva zamjena za odsutnog svirača ili svirača koji se nećka svirati (...) ili se pak ozbiljnost njezine pozicije očitovala u sviranju dječjih, priručnih i zamjenskih glazbala. Pojava ženske sviračice bila je “tek privremeno stanje i kratkotrajni izlazak iz utvrđenog poretka” (Ceribašić, 2004: 159). U mnogim kulturama i različitim razdobljima sviranje je ženama bilo u potpunosti zabranjeno. Razlozi postojanja takvih zabrana diljem svijeta zasigurno se tradicijski (ne)objašnjavaju istim razlozima jer je riječ o specifičnostima svake kulture zasebno, ali sama zabrana pokazuje da je riječ o društvima koja dijele zajednički patrijarhalni odnos prema ženama u kontekstu sviranja. Tako su se, primjerice, prvih stoljeća nove ere u Europi održavala cjelonoćna bdijenja u čast mrtvih, nalik na tada još uvijek utjecajne poganske kultove. Tijekom bdijenja žene su ostajale budne plešući i svirajući bubnjeve te su se svećenici žalili na razuzdanost tih obreda. U trećem stoljeću Crkva je zabranila ženama prisutnost na bdijenjima. “Budući da je bubnjanje prepoznato kao drevni izvor i simbol moći ženskih svećenica, bubnjanje je zabranjeno” (Redmond, 1997: 141). “Kršćanima se ne dopušta da svoje kćeri uče pjevanju, sviranju instrumenata ili slične stvari jer prema njihovoj religiji to im ne pristaje i nije dobro”¹ (prema Redmond, 1997: 141). Unatoč tim strogim zabranama i progonima, tradicija žena koje sviraju bubnjeve preživjela je još stoljećima.

Ellen Koskoff (1995) istraživala je različite društvene i kulturne kontekste u kojima žene sviraju instrumente. Tako je primijetila da su žene sviračice, za razliku od muškaraca, često stavljene u kontekst koji je seksualiziran i/ili društveno marginaliziran, shvaćajući ih dječjim ili amaterskim izviđačima. Svaki kontekst u sebi krije popratnu rodnu ideologiju. U društvima u kojima su granice između javne i privatne domene mekše, postoji veći stupanj i ženske su instrumentalne izvedbe više cijenjene nego u onim društvima gdje je čvršća granica između javne i privatne domene. “Opisi kultura i naroda

¹ Tako su glasile Zapovijedi očeva, nadstojnika i učitelja iz 576 godine. Tijekom stoljeća Crkva je izdavala nekoliko zabrana ženske glazbe i plesa. Čak u trinaestom stoljeću ženama koje “poganski plešu štujući svoje pokojnike i odlaze na grobove s bubnjevima i plešući” (Barhebraeus prema Redmond, 1997: 152) bilo je zabranjeno ići na misu u crkvu.

Temiar, Aboridžina i raznih afričkih društava to potvrđuju” (Koskoff, 1995: 124). U društvima takve rodne ideologije više se vrednuje ženski društveni položaj; žene imaju više ekonomske i političke moći te seksualne slobode. Obredi inicijacija, liječenja i oni s izvrnutim rodnim ulogama, gdje je ženska moć najvidljivija i najefektnija, daju najviše prilika ženama da se pokažu kao sviračice. Unatoč tvrdnjama da su žene malo ili nimalo svirale bubnjeve, navesti sve primjere ženskog bubnjanja nekad i sad u ovom članku nije moguće jer ih ima iznenađujuće puno.

Drevni Izrael i Turska – svjetovni konteksti

Osobito poticajna literatura za takav rad svakako su bili članak *Of Drums and Damsels* autorice Carol Meyers (1991) i knjiga *When The Drummers Were Women* autorice Layne Redmond (1997). Oba rada donose podatke o bogatoj tradiciji bubnjarica na istočnom Sredozemlju, Bliskom i Srednjem istoku, sjevernoj Africi, zastupljenoj u svjetovnom i religioznom kontekstu. Istražujući glazbenu tradiciju starog Izraela, Carol L. Meyers naišla je na podatke o ženskim izvedbenim tradicijama koje su u suprotnosti sa suvremenim poimanjem bubnjeva i roda. Riječ je o figuricama od terakote iz željeznog doba koje prikazuju bubnjarice te nekoliko biblijskih odlomaka o ženama koje sviraju bubnjeve. Glazba starog Bliskog istoka i Izraela bila je prije svega ritmična, a ne harmonijska ili melodijska, i bubanj je bio najvažniji instrument. Bubnjarice su stoga imale središnju ulogu u glazbenoj tradiciji Izraela, vjerojatno cijelog istočnog Sredozemlja i dalje. Izvedba povlači za sobom opću retoričku moć, kao što su pokazali etnomuzikolozi (Abrahams, 1968; Joseph, 1980, prema Meyers, 1991). Iz toga proizlazi da su izraelske sviračice tzv. žanra *drum-dance-song* imale popriličan stupanj kontrole i prestiža, barem privremeno, utoliko ukoliko izvedba ima mogućnost subverzije postojećih hijerarhija.

Pišući o izvedbenim praksama žena u Turskoj, Ursula Reinhard navodi kako “većina žena prati svoje pjevanje svirajući *delbek*² ili *def*. Kad instrumenti zatrebaju muškarcima, jednako su zadovoljne svirajući na loncu ili tepsiji” (Reinhard, 1990: 101). No u ruralnim krajevima Turske i dalje je sramota da žena nastupa javno i u slučaju da prekrši taj običaj, izbačena je iz zajednice. Slijedom toga, jedine žene koje smiju nastupati u javnosti su Romkinje jer one već imaju “vanjski” status unutar zajednice i stoga nemaju što izgubiti. Budući da se Romi ne smatraju punopravnim stanovništvom u ruralnoj Turskoj, i Romkinje ne podliježu obvezama i ograničenjima koja nalaže islamski običaj i zakon nad ženama. Romkinje sviračice često su bile u rodu sa sviračima. No

² *Delbek* pripada vrsti okvirnog bubnja.

njihovi statusi u društvu nisu bili ni približno jednaki. Tijekom pripreme za svadbu, u kojoj glazba nužno prati najvažnije dijelove ceremonije, posao se ugovarao samo sa sviračima. Uzimala se u obzir njihova dostupnost, cijena i sposobnost, dok su sviračice automatski "ulazile u dogovorenu cijenu", bez ikakvih posebnih očekivanja od njihova nastupa. To jasno pokazuje da je, unatoč istom poslu koji obavljaju, njihov status u društvu niže vrednovan.

Sveto bubnjanje

Barbara Tedlock, istraživačica i profesorica antropologije na Sveučilištu New York, autorica je knjige *The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine* u kojoj iznosi dokaze o važnosti i prednosti što je žene zauzimaju u šamanskim tradicijama sjeverne Azije i drugdje, od neolitika do danas (Noble, 2005, [http.](http://)). Proučavajući arheološke i povijesne izvore vezane uz pojavu šamanizma, ona proturječi prevladavajućem antropološkom mišljenju da su prakse šamanizma razvili i obavljali primarno muškarci. Šamanska loza, koja se i danas u Mongoliji prati po majčinoj strani, poznavanje ljekovitih biljaka, menstrualni ciklusi, poznavanje vještina rađanja i porođaja, samo su neke od stvari o kojima piše kad objašnjava postojanje šamanki od najranijih vremena. Nailazim na sve više, kako popularne *new age* tako i znanstvene literature, o postojanju i tradiciji ženskog šamanizma,³ od kojih mnoge danas žive i djeluju u Južnoj i Sjevernoj Americi, Aziji i sjevernoj Europi i drugdje (vidi Harvey, 1979; Kendall, 1985; Deusen, 2001).

Bubanj spada među najstarije i najraširenije instrumente na svijetu. Barem tri tisuće godina (od 3000. g. pr. n. e. do 500. g. n. e.) bio je glavni perkusijski instrument i svirale su ga gotovo isključivo žene! Obredi najstarijih religija oblikovali su se upravo oko sviranja na *okvirnom bubnju*. Te najstarije religije temeljile su se na štovanju ženskih božanstava, Majke Boginje, još iz razdoblja paleolitika, što se poslije razvilo u mnogo oblika ženskih božanstava brojnih kultura: božicu Inanu u Sumeru, Ištar u Mezopotamiji, Anat i Atargatis u drevnoj Siriji, Astartu u Kanaanu i Izraelu, Afroditi na Cipru, Atenu i Afroditi u Grčkoj, Kibelu u Rimskom Carstvu. Često su i same božice bile prikazane s bubnjem u ruci. Zbog onoga što se činilo kao čarobna sposobnost rađanja, stvaranja života, žene su bile prve izvoditeljice svetog, vršiteljice obrednih funkcija poput svećenstva. Sveto bubnjanje bila je jedna od njihovih glavnih vještina i moćno

³ Šamanizam je jedna od pojava u kojoj bubanj zauzima nezamjenjivo mjesto, stoga su šamanke naše prve bubnarice. Bubanj ponavlja prvobitan zvuk stvaranja i uvodi u ekstazu. On nosi šamana/ku u "središte svijeta", omogućuje šamanski let i dodir sa svijetom duhova. Bubanj sam po sebi predstavlja mikrokozmos.

sredstvo povezivanja zajednice i preobrazbe pojedinca. U sumerskom tekstu iz 2380. g. pr. n. e. nalazimo ime prve bubnjarice (i bubnjara uopće) zapisano u povijesti. To je bila Lipushiau, visoka svećenica u Uruku i duhovni vođa hrama Ekishnaugal u gradu Uru. U Egiptu su na zidovima grobnica česti prikazi žena koje sviraju *okvirni bubanj* dok preuzimaju mrtve, a među predmetima koji se polažu uz mrtvacu nalaze se i bubnjevi. Dionizijske su misterije predvodile svećenice u Delfima više od tisuću godina. Te je misterije pratila reputacija pijanih seksualnih orgija iako je riječ orgija značila “tajni obred” kojemu je cilj bio ekstatična transformacija svijesti. Svećenice su noću potajno odlazile izvan grada, u brda i šume, i duž svetog puta izvodile svoj tajni ples uz bubnjeve. Dionizijske (i Kibeline) svećenice zvali su *menadama*, što je značilo luda žena. Prikazivane su u ekstatičnim žudnjama za spajanjem s božanskim, plešući uz bubnjeve raspuštene kose sa zmijom u rukama.

Promjena tradicije ili povratak na staro?

The Amazones, The Women Master Drummers of Guinea izuzetan su primjer promjene stoljetne tradicije zabrane sviranja *djembe*⁴ ženama u Gvineji. Taj tabu nije bilo jednostavno razbiti. Osnivač Amazonki, Mamoudou Conde, htio je skupini od sedam *djembe* majstora dodati još sedam žena, no ta je ideja naišla na šok i nerazumijevanje. Uz argumente da se tradiciju ne smije mijenjati, čuli su se i argumenti da žene koje nikad nisu svirale *djembe* ne mogu postići njihovu razinu sviranja. Mamoudou je od najstarijih i najpoštovanijih članova sela dobio dopuštenje da dovede žene u sviračku skupinu. Amazonke su postale moćne, predivne *djembe* majstorice te su primjer društveno-kulturnog i ekonomskog odmaka od tradicije. Potreba da se opravda i prihvati taj čin potaknuo je državnog upravitelja za kulturu dr. Saidoua Dioubatea da napiše legendu o posljednjoj želji pokojnoga *djembe* majstora Noumodyja Keite. On se u snu javio svojoj ženi, moleći je da uzme njegov *djembe* i počne svirati te okupi još šest djevojaka poput nje koje će svirajući *djembe* promovirati mir, ljubav i nadu cijelom svijetu (Dioubate, [http.](http://)).

Postoje razni čimbenici koji utječu na promjenu tradicije unutar glazbenih praksi. Ratni sukobi i promjena vladajućih režima pozitivno ili negativno utječu na odnose moći u društvu, koji se onda preslikavaju i na (ne)mogućnost ženskoga javnog izvođenja i iskoraka iz tradicijski dodijeljenih uloga. U članku Cynthije Tse Kimberlin (Kimberlin, 2000) doznajemo o promjeni društvenog položaja i uloga žena u Etiopiji, koja se odrazila i na njihovu glazbenu praksu. Promjena se dogodila nakon etiopsko-eritrejskoga građanskog rata vođenog za neovisnost pokrajine Eritreje.

⁴ Vrsta afričkog bubnja.

Revolucionarne 1974. godine vlada je pozvala žene u borbu, obrazovala ih i obučila da budu dio vojske jer muškaraca nije bilo dovoljno. Ubrzo nakon toga donesen je zakon o pravu žena na obrazovanje, na posjedovanje zemlje i na participaciju u javnim poslovima. Prije revolucije žene nisu bile profesionalne sviračice i nije ih se ohrabrivalo u privatnim, a još manje javnim nastupima. Javni nastup žena bio je povezan isključivo s prostitucijom. Žene su u vojsci počele svirati, u ženskim i mješovitim sastavima, i bile su dio “kulturnih trupa” vojske. Od tada žene počinju izlaziti na ulice i svirati bubnjeve u vrijeme referenduma i svečanosti. Etiopske i eritrejske žene sada mogu svirati bubnjeve, na što su do tada pravo imali isključivo muškarci jer su bubnjevi bili simbol muškosti.

Na posljétku, bilo mi je važno zabilježiti ženske bubnjarske prakse, kakve bile god i kojim god kontekstima pripadale. *New age* kontekst sviranja u bubnjarskim krugovima koji se proširio na Zapadu i koji je vrlo popularan među ženama jedan je od njih te u njemu možda možemo prepoznati neke sličnosti ili barem pokušaje “modernog” šamanizma i obrednog bubnjanja. Znakovito je da su takve prakse nekoć davno pripadale mahom ženskoj domeni i da danas, kroz *new age* trendove, upravo žene grade i prakticiraju tu duhovnost “novog vremena” (usp. Kuzman-Šlogar, 2006; Jamal, 1988; Harding, 1976).

Istraživanje

Razgovarala sam sa šest bubnjarica i tri bubnjara primjenjujući metodu polustrukturiranog, otvorenog intervjua koji ostavlja mogućnost neposrednog iznošenja mišljenja. Moji/e kazivači/ce većinom su mlade osobe koje uvelike dijele zajedničku kulturu, pripadaju istoj dobnoj skupini, imaju fakultetsko obrazovanje te žive u Zagrebu. Analizom intervjua iščitala sam kontekst u kojem su ta mišljenja i iskustva nastala i čiji su rezultat. Istraživanje nudi jedan od mogućih odgovora zašto na hrvatskoj glazbenoj sceni nema više bubnjarica, otkriva mišljenja samih sudionika/ica dijela scene, njihova sviračka iskustva, suradnju s kolegama/icama u bendu, izvedbena iskustva, reakcije publike i sl. Razgovor je pokušao naći odgovore na pitanja kao što su *Postoji li kakva razlika, i zašto, u ženskom i muškom načinu sviranja bubnjeva? Zašto više žena ne svira bubnjeve te zbog čega muškarci prevladavaju na glazbenoj sceni? Imaju li muškarci i žene isti osjećaj za ritam? Kakva su očekivanja i viđenja publike ženskih, a kakva muških bubnjara? Postoji li razlika u značenju sviranja za žene i muškarce? Kako se osjećaš dok sviraš?*

Može se primijetiti da su se i bubnjari i bubnjarice u razgovoru često služili/e spolno/rodnim stereotipima u opisima “muškog” i “ženskog” načina usvajanja ritmova, sviranja, i dr. Te “ženske” ili “muške” načine ponašanja sociologinja Inga

Tomić-Koludrović (1996: 332–334) zgodno naziva “kulturološkim genitalijama”, bilo da su oni iskustveno opravdani bilo samo društveno nametnuti i usvojeni. Ona tvrdi da su “rigidnost ideoloških i stereotipnih koncepata ‘ženskosti’ i ‘muškosti’ indikator represivnosti suvremenih društava”. Evo kratkog i pregledno prikazanog sažetaka odgovora koji, čini mi se, opravdavaju termin “kulturoloških genitalija”:

BUBNJARI	BUBNJARICE
teže osjete ritam	bolje, <i>prirodnije osjete ritam</i>
fizički jači, imaju energije	fizički slabije, nemaju energije
ambiciozni	nedostatak ambicija i samopouzdanja
agresivno sviraju	sviraju raznolikije, nježnije, osjećajnije
dokazivanje i nametanje	suradnja
društvena podrška	društvena kritika, obezvrjeđivanje, objektivizacija
sviračka karijera	nedostatak slobodnog vremena
muška glazbena industrija	nedostatak uzora u današnjoj kulturi

Postavljajući pitanje zašto nema (više) bubnjarica ili općenito glazbenica na sceni, dobila sam najviše odgovora koji direktno povezuju nedostatak žena na sceni s njihovim spolom/rodom i sa stereotipnom rodnom ulogom žena. Čak i danas, u vremenu u kojem su žene jednako prisutne u medijima (ali su prikazane “muškim pogledom”,⁵ što je jedan od znakova istog problema), žene se susreću s kojekakvim teškoćama i predrasudama u pokušaju da javnu pozornicu dijele s kolegama glazbenicima.⁶ Struktura moći jasno je vidljiva, i muškarci – kao i na drugim društvenim poljima poput politike ili ekonomije – pružaju snažan otpor puštanju žena na pozicije moći. Jer, stajati na pozornici, pred publikom, samo je po sebi određena vrsta moći. Pokazati svoju vještinu u nečemu, biti priznata od javnosti, imati sposobnost zabavljanja, manipulacije i subverzije, sasvim sigurno znači imati određenu vrstu moći.

Jedan od osnovnih problema s kojima se dan-danas susreću ambiciozne djevojke jest to što većina stanovnika Hrvatske dijeli patrijarhalni obrazac

⁵ “Muški pogled” izražava asimetričan (nejednak) odnos moći između gledatelja i one koja je gledana, tj. muškarac nameće svoj neželjen (objektivizirajući) pogled na ženu.

⁶ Ne možemo reći da žena na estradi nema, štoviše, katkad nam se čini da su preuzele dominantno mjesto, no to je samo dojam na prvi pogled. One su najčešće pjevačice, a ne sviračice, i kao takve često svojom seksualnošću, a manje glazbenim umijećem, privlače pozornost publike. Prave odnose moći shvaćamo gledajući cjelokupnu glazbenu industriju, menadžere, producente, vlasnike klubova i dr., uglavnom muškarce, koji diktiraju uspjeh i zaradu izvođača/ica.

koji na prvo mjesto stavlja ulogu žene kao majke, nositeljice obiteljskog života, dok javna domena, bilo da se radi o političkoj bilo o glazbenoj sceni, pripada muškarcima. Pokazalo se da je ženama teško doći do estrade jer nemaju vremena profesionalno se posvetiti sviranju zbog “ženskih” obaveza poput kućanskih poslova i odgoja djece. Kad je jedna kazivačica bratu rekla da nije primljena u bend, on ju je utješio ovim riječima: *Marija, pod broj jedan, bendovi ti većinom ne uzimaju žene zato što se žena jednog dana uda, ostane trudna i mora izaći iz benda.* Marija nastavlja priču objašnjavajući da *[Bendovi] većinom ne uzimaju [djevojke] jer znaju da taman dok ona nauči sve, onda ona mora otići. I plus toga, imamo više posla, uz posao, doma moramo i kuhat, spremat i nemamo vremena koliko muški mogu odvojiti vremena.* (Marija) Nina je istog mišljenja: *Valjda se žena u nekome periodu u životu okrene obitelji, djeci.* (Nina) Ako okupi vlastitu moć, iskorači iz zadane svakodnevnice i to ipak učini, žena najčešće nailazi na nerazumijevanje okoline koja s negodovanjem gleda i komentira takvo odstupanje. Početna pozicija s koje muškarci i žene dolaze i o(p)staju u svijetu bubnjeva uistinu nije jednaka, pa ne čudi što nisu jednaki i njihovi rezultati. Jana to kaže ovako: *Druga razlika je da dečki koji sviraju pol sata-sat nemaju grižnju savjesti što nisu oprali veš, nahranili djecu, izveli psa. Žene imaju više obaveza od muškaraca.* (Jana)

Ivona i Jana primijetile su da se dio razloga zašto žene izbjegavaju javnu glazbenu scenu krije u različitom značenju i cilju sviranja koji imaju muškarci i žene. Ivona, osim što je članica benda, drži poduke iz sviranja *djembea* i primijetila je bitnu razliku koju pokazuju djevojčice i dječaci u odnosu prema vlastitom sviranju. Ambicioznost dječaka vidljiva je odmah u startu, što rezultira agresivnijim sviranjem, više natjecateljskim odnosom prema kolegama, vlastitim nametanjem te, kao posljedicom, bržim napredovanjem i u konačnici osnivanjem bendova te javnim nastupima. Ženama se pokazalo važnije neko drukčije, “osobnije” iskustvo sviranja, sviranje kod kuće ili u krugu prijatelja, nego profesionalno sviranje i javni nastupi. Darko je istaknuo činjenicu da su u nekim kulturama tradicionalno svirali muškarci, ali i današnji šovinistički i patrijarhalni nazor koji putem odgoja i medija utječe na činjenicu da je malo žena koje sviraju bubnjeve. *Činjenica je da je više muških izvođača na bilo kojim instrumentima. (...) Prvo da kažem, što se toga tiče, ja sam totalni feminist (...) Mislim da je plod toga što uglavnom ima puno više muškaraca nego žena to što u nekom periodu povijesnom su muškarci to, ko i sve drugo, preuzeli na sebe. Ima primjera koji to totalno pobijaju. (...) Mislim da je to općenito, jebi ga, živimo (...) u šovinističkom društvu, patrijarhalnom, koje se odražava na sve pa tako i na to. Od samog odgoja do medija i svega. To sve povlači aspekte života pa tako i taj.* (Darko)

Bruno je istaknuo nedostatak tradicije ženskog bubnjanja, nedostatak ženskog samopouzdanja, mišljenje da je to muški instrument te fizičku

konstituciju sviračica kao moguće razloge zbog čega nema bubnjarica na sceni. Isti su se argumenti pojavljivali kad je bila riječ o tome sviraju li žene drukčije od muškaraca. *Možda postoji čak nekakva doza (...) straha mogu li one to (...) Možda je to negdje povezano u njihovom umu da je to muški instrument, muški posao. To se vjerojatno na nesvjesnoj bazi održava. (...) To je moja nekakva pretpostavka koja možda i ne drži vodu. (...) Moj feeling (osjećaj) nekakav bi bio nedostatak samopouzdanja. (...) Jer u povijesti čini se da je bilo vrlo malo ženskih bubnjara mada te neke koje su bile su vrhunske. (Bruno)*

Nijedna djevojka, za razliku od dvojice muškaraca, nije navela žensku fizičku konstituciju kao mogući razlog zašto žene ne sviraju bubnjeve. Njihovi odgovori, kao i Darkov, nisu usmjereni na fiziologiju, već na društvenu uvjetovanost. Kada sam Rinu pitala zašto na sceni nema više bubnjarica, ona je rekla da



postoji nekoliko razloga, ali da je to najviše rezultat okoline koja s podsmijehom gleda na djevojke koje to pokušaju. *Mislim da ima više razloga... ali većinom zato što, svi ti se, kao prvo i prvo, svi smiju. Ako počneš kao nešto, misle da je to samo faza. Ako neki dečko (...) neće ljudi tako poprijeko gledat, okolina će više djelovat na djevojku. I onda je teško nastaviti, mislim da je najteže prvi korak napraviti. (Rina) I u našem društvu, ženi, od tipa 45 godina, koja dođe na tečaj, koja ima ritma i koja uspije se oslobodit kroz sebe i doć do sebe je teško objasniti okolini zašto se uopće zajebava s tim. Kaj će ti to tebi, ti si ozbiljna žena, šta te spopalo, a i šta će ti to kad nećeš ništa u životu napraviti od toga? Dok je dečkima u pravilu uvijek lakše odvojiti vremena za svoj gušt. (Jana)*

Unatoč razilaženju od društveno zadane rodne uloge, vladajućim društvenim stereotipima, nedostatku uzora i tradicije, praksi nadmetanja, agresivnosti i konkurencije kolega bubnjara i “negativnim fizičkim predispozicijama od kojih žena pati”, nekolicina njih, srećom, ipak dospije do javnih pozornica. Što se onda događa sa sviračicama, kakva ih iskustva prate u životu i kako o(p)staju na tim malim privremenim pozicijama moći? Kad publika vidi bubnjaricu na pozornici, reakcije i komentari su neizostavni, na žalost, najčešće takvi da ih možemo nazvati seksističkim. Bubnjaricu se objektivizira kao nijednoga muškog člana benda te, osim na izgled, ona mora paziti na svoje ponašanje. U nekim je slučajevima koketiranje s publikom ono što se automatski očekuje od nje na

sceni jer je žena i to je prepoznatljiv i zapravo prihvatljiv način ophođenja žena u javnosti (za razliku od npr. agresivnog i bahatog ponašanja). Ako odudaraju od zadane uloge i prekrše ta nepisana pravila, društveno su sankcionirane tako što im se oduzme to malo moći koje su dobile. O jednom od razloga ne o(p)stajanja na svjetskoj rockerskoj sceni članica benda *The Runaways* (Bjeganice) Joan Jett kaže: "Mislim da su *The Runaways* jednostavno bile preiskrene. Cure se tako ponašaju: cure piju, cure puše i psuju. Da se radilo o isključivo muškom bendu, nikoga ne bi bilo briga" (O'Brien, 2002: 122). Darko također daje primjer seksističke objektivizacije. Opet je najvažniji izgled bubnjarice, a tek onda na red dolazi glazba. On kaže da je takav pristup stvar općeg mentaliteta našeg društva. *Bio je ovaj jedan bend na sceni (...) gdje je cura svirala bubanj... I podjednako dobro je svirala, nema razlike, muško, žensko. (...) ali, recimo, uvijek bi na njihovim koncertima bilo ono, u jebote (...), žena na bubnju, to se gledalo kao nešto (...) nesvakidašnje, vau, ajmo gledat Aigi Luigi, cura svira bubanj, još je k tome zgodna i dobro svira, vau, ludilo. Pozitivne reakcije? Da, pozitivne, ali recimo, nepoštene za nju. Sad će ljudi doć gledat bend radi nje, a ne radi njihove muzike. Tako da je, možda je i to jedna stvar što će ljudi prvo pogledat ženu na stageu kakva je, to je opći nekakav mentalitet, kako je obučena, a onda će, ako nešto znaju o glazbi, ić vidjet kako svira. (Darko)*

Castiglioneova knjiga iz 16. stoljeća o pravilnom društvenom ponašanju, koja je bila iznimno utjecajna stoljećima poslije, među ostalim se osvrće na sviračice i piše: "(...) glazbeni instrumenti koje ona [žena] svira po mom bi mišljenju trebali biti prikladni. Razmislite kakva bi ružna stvar bila vidjeti ženu da svira bubnjeve, frule, trube ili druge slične instrumente: i to zbog toga jer njihova grubost prekriva i uklanja onu blagu nježnost koja tako krasí ženu u svakom njezinu činu" (Castiglione prema Steblin, 1995, vl. p.). Razmišljajući o opisima koje su upotrijebili neki/e kazivači/ce, čini mi se da usvojena predodžba kulturno nametnutoga "ženskog ponašanja" i dalje je vrlo živa u izgradnji rodno društvenih odnosa u hrvatskom društvu. Kad razmišlja o bubnjaricama, Kristijan kaže: *Od oka, uvijek mi je žena lijepo izgledala na flauti, violini, violončelu, dok pjeva, pleše. Za bubnjem? (...) Kad je fizički zahtjevno, to mi zna ne izgledat' baš lijepo. Treba joj više fizičke snage i onda mi to na ženi ne izgleda baš, kad se vide ti mišići i napetost, nekako ko da je pretvara u muškarca, ko da gubi na tom ženskom aspektu, kad se radi o tom fizički zahtjevnom, nekako mi više zadrži ženstvenost u nekim drugim instrumentima. (Kristijan)*

Postojanje takvih stavova navodi na promišljanje koliko su se rodni odnosi uistinu promijenili u korist ženske emancipacije, kad se od žena očekuje da svjesno ili nesvjesno zadovoljavaju "drevne" kriterije feminine vanjštine i ponašanja.

Činjenica nedostatka ženskih bubnjarica na glazbenoj sceni danas se može objasniti sagledavajući ukupan učinak nekoliko faktora s kojima se žene susreću u hrvatskom društvu:

- 1) Društvena uvjetovanost nerazumijevanjem i uskraćivanjem prilika za razvoj bubnjarskih aktivnosti žena; a) predožba da sviranje bubnjeva odudara od rodne izvedbene uloge žene izražena kroz stereotip da je bubanj muški instrument i da sviranje bubnja ženu nagrđuje, b) vezanjem žena za kućanske poslove i odgoj djece prisutno u stavu da bi zbog obitelji “patila” sviračka “karijera”, te se na taj način (limitirajuće) anticipiraju ženske sviračke sposobnosti i ambicije.
- 2) Predrasude o fizičkoj i intelektualnoj sposobnosti sviranja žena izražena je argumentacijom biološkog determinizma i tvrdnju da žene ne posjeduju dovoljno fizičke energije ili konstituciju koja je potrebna za vrhunsko sviranje uz proturječna mišljenja da žene “bolje osjete ritam”.
- 3) Glazbeno (i ljudsko) obezvrjeđivanje žena na pozornici izraženo kroz “muški pogled” koji izvođačicu procjenjuje i objektivizira svodeći je na seksualno poželjan ili nepoželjan objekt.
- 4) Nedostatku žena na sceni pogoduju principi nadmetanja i drugih praksi koji ne uzimaju u obzir specifičnost ženskog iskustva i ženske izvedbe te diskriminacija i dominacija muškaraca unutar cjelokupne glazbene industrije.

Unatoč svim navedenim razlozima, zadovoljna sam što mogu reći da i dalje sviram bubnjeve, katkad javno nastupajući. Ne samo ja nego i mnoge snažne djevojke koje poznajem i s kojima sviram u Zagrebu, uzele su bubnjeve u vlastite ruke i nastavljaju prkositi predrasudama i stereotipima, koristeći i uživajući u njihovoj drevnoj ljekovitosti⁷ i “ženskoj spiritualnosti” koju obnavljaju i tajnom svetošću.

⁷ *Djembe* se još naziva i bubnjem koji liječi.

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SANDRA PRLENDA

GLASOVI OTPORA, GLASOVI RAZLIKE

Dubrovački poslijediplomski seminari zamišljeni su kao mjesto žive diskusije i susreta uglednih teoretičarki i istraživačica s jedne, te studentica, studenata i mladih istraživača/ica koji su na početku svog znanstvenog rada s druge strane, postajući tako stvarnim mjestom učenja i međugeneracijske podrške. Nerijetko se u diskusijama nakon izlaganja predavačica i predstavljanja studentskih projekata za trajanja seminara propituje i produbljuje nekoliko osnovnih koncepata koji prolazeći kroz raster konkretnih i različitih istraživačkih tema i pristupa u novim obratima zadobivaju drugačija značenja, upućuju na nova čitanja i vode u nove interpretativne ishode. Kao provodne niti seminara nadnaslovljenog *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi*, i ovog su se puta iznova propitali pojmovi doma, granica, lokacija, politike nade, ali i fenomen glasa kao osnovni medij otpora i ženske razlike.

Započele smo sa glasanjem zvijeri. Bila je to metafora koja je izrasla iz izlaganja prvog dana, bolne pripovijesti Eve Ensler o užasima femicida koji se upravo odigrava u Kongu. *Daj samo dodaj jednu rečenicu o prirodi sukoba u Kongu, to jest o pomoći V-Day kampanje*. Ostavši u dijalektici izmjene svjetla i tame, pratile smo izlaganje Irene Ateljević okupano optimističnom svjetlošću mjesečeve energije koja tiho mijenja svijet. Kontrast dviju slika svijeta odmah je izazvao pitanja o tome kako ih je moguće interpretativno pomiriti. Vara li nas vid ili sluh, upitale smo se poput junaka vica iz izlaganja Anitte Kynsilehto, jer čujemo jedno, a vidimo drugo. Neoliberalizmom globaliziran i iznova koloniziran svijet, uključujući kolonizirane subjektivitete (iz priča o uspjehu obrazovanih imigrantica, koje istražuje Anitta, ili pseudo-emancipacijskih pokretnih slika ženskih tv-serija), zapravo je uhvaćena zvijer koja bijesni i opire se, repom razbijajući sve oko sebe – ali ipak broji svoje posljednje sate. Tiha revolucija kulturalnih kreativaca rađa novu transmodernu paradigmu, uvjeren je Irena Ateljević, pružajući brojne primjere međusobno različitih, ali u istom smjeru upravljenih napora koji će, uz postdisciplinarni pomak, dovesti do točke u kojoj ćemo prepoznati kolektivnu (globalnu-izbacila bih globalnu)

prirodu našeg kontradiktornog uma i shvatiti da dijelimo osjećaj zajedničke povezanosti svijeta (*worldiness*) i ljudskosti (*humanness*), što su izrazi kojim postkolonijalni pisci sve više zamjenjuju izraze globalnosti (*globality*) i čovječanstva (*humanity*). Premda različiti žargoni još uvijek razdvajaju znanstvene i kulturne zajednice, a feministička borba za razjašnjavanjem skrivenih značenja užedisciplinarnih terminologija i dalje ostaje potrebna, kao da se sinkronost transmodernih gibanja u svijetu sve više usklađuje dok ne proizvede taj dugo očekivani pomak paradigme na bolje.

Glasovi razlike glasovi su otpora i subverzije. Protunaracije idu uz dlaku dominantnim diskursima – samim ih svojim postojanjem remete. Drugost feminističkog diskursa, koju on nosi u sebi čim se uspostavi nasuprot narativne matice, za neke je izvor tjeskobe, posebno u kompetitivnom sustavu disciplinirane znanosti. No taj je rizik, na koji upozoravaju i bell hooks i Biljana Kašić, vrijedno poduzeti. Znati da smo dijelovi lanca koji nas sve povezuje može nam dati trenutni osjećaj sigurnosti, potreban u rastrganom svijetu u kojem je čin otpora zapravo čin našeg preživljavanja. Može nam se učiniti da izoliranom feminističkom kritikom u kratkom vremenu nećemo postići mnogo, no krugovi koji se šire nakon bačenog oblutka uvijek remete glavni tok. Trenutak kad će ojačani (*nedostaje mi subjekt – počni odavde sa mi*) drugim protunaracijama preusmjeriti maticu možda je daleko, ali *to ide preko mene i mog života*, kaže Biljana Kašić. (*Ja bih ovaj poredak riječi - Odabirući feminizam kao mjesto pripadanja i oglašavanja, svjesno se pozicioniramo kao "tjelesne fusnote unutar dominantne naracije" i preuzimamo odgovornost za svoj glas, kao što je to šutnjom pred kamerama učinila Mima Simić. (možda rečenicu pojašnjenja, ja se ne sjećam o čemu se radi).* I Renata Jambrešić Kirin nas je podsjetila da čin feminističkog mišljenja nije pitanje primjenjivosti već zadanih misaonih sustava i disciplinarnih metodologija, već proces propitivanja i preispitivanja. Kao feminističke misliteljice pripadamo republici riječi, globalnom feminističkom projektu i kolektivnim (pri)povijestima, svjesne da smo glasnogovornice tih kolektivnih projekata, ali da ne možemo kontrolirati živote naših riječi i tekstova. Pored toliko mogućih horizonata interpretacije, kontrolirati možemo samo svoja tijela i etičke odluke kojim ćemo se misaonim projektima, istraživačkim paradigmama, građanskim akcijama i udruženjima priključiti (*ovdje bih izbacila feminističke akcije jer možemo kolaborirati uzduž i poprijeko*). Oglašavajući se svojim glasom, zazvat ćemo druge glasove figura otpora i time osnažiti vlastitu poziciju, posegnut ćemo za njima kad osjetimo potrebu za stabilnim tlom.

Na nestabilnom tlu čistine sve brojnijih ne-mjesta (*meni se sviđa ta riječ*), privida slobode koji nam nudi kapitalističko/američko kontinuirano probijanje granica (o čemu je diskusiju potaknulo izlaganje o ulozi žena u westernima??? Silvane Kosanović), ili postmoderna čistka provedena među disciplinarnim

istinama (koju sam sama evocirala), tražimo sigurnost. Nećemo je naći u očevom domu, njega moramo napustiti, ustvrdila je Iva Grgić Maroević. Potrebno je misliti o (svojoj) disciplini kao o očevom domu. Dom je to koji razdiru raspre i napetosti, mjesto očeve moći koju on provodi ne pitajući za žrtvovane/ o. Stoga ga moramo napustiti, uputiti se u avanturu interdisciplinarnosti, transdisciplinarnosti, antidisciplinarnosti. Ili se baviti kontrabandom? (*super riječ, ali ne znam što znači ovdje?*). Krijumčariti, hakirati, subvertirati disciplinarne istine i žargone, prevoditi našu feminističku zabrinutost u jezik matrice i suočiti je sa razarajućim zaključcima – druga je taktika, koju smo nekad morale savjetovati studenticama iz rigidnijih znanstvenih kultura globalnog juga (*zvuči malo balkano-kolonijalno, ajde pojasni ili diplomatski je izrazi*). Institucionalno i kognitivno nasilje globalnog sjevera ponekad se manifestira drugačije, ali nema sumnje da je zvijer ista (*ili: da je rika zvijeri ista*). Neke subverzivne glasove orobili su medijski moćnici i komercijalizirali ih do krajnosti, upozorila je Ulla Vuorela, bilo da je riječ o, primjerice, hiphoperskim modnim brendovima i popularnoj kulturi (što otkrivaj, primjerice, finske studije potrošnje), donorskim režimima istine, ili, kako opet ističe Iva Grgić Maroević, o simuliranim emancipacijskim porukama serije *Seks i grad* koja ženama od svih sloboda ne ostavlja onu da ne idu kupovati. Mima Simić upozorila nas je na rijetkost gej i lezbijskih glasova u javnosti, snagu popularne kulture koja ih ponekad posuđuje, ali i problematičnost prikazivanja lezbijki (*jel može tako ili treba žena neheteroseksualne orijentacije*) kao žrtvi kao jedinog modusa kojeg srednjostrujaška publika može prihvatiti.

Vraćale smo se temi doma više puta. Izlaganje Laure Huttunen o Bosancima u finškoj dijaspori uputilo nas je ka zaključcima o nomadskoj poziciji žene – kako je istaknula Iva Grgić Maroević, žena je uvijek imigrantica. Njezina pozicija u Bosni i u Finskoj zapravo je slična, jer u tradicijskoj kulturi žena ionako udajom odlazi u drugo selo, iz očeve prelazi u kuću muža, svekra i svekrve, i tamo je oduvijek strankinja. Razlika između kuće i doma evidentna je i u upotrijebljenim izrazima: muškarci grade kuće (*house builders*), a žene dom (*home makers*). I na relaciji Srbija-Italija otkrile smo praksu izgradnje velikih praznih kuća u rodnom kraju kao praksu markiranja teritorija i dokazivanja uspjeha, što nam je iz svog iskustva interkulturalne medijacije dočarala Melita Richter Malabotta. Nostalgija koju muškarci osjećaju nostalgija je za izgubljenom moći, dok žene dublje osjećaju gubitak slobode kretanja tijela. Biti između za neke je žene privilegija i izbor, istaknula je Rada Borić (*možda: zaključila je ovaj dio rasprave R. Borić*).

No nismo mogle zaboraviti da je za mnoge žene najopasnije mjesto ipak (očev) dom, posebno nakon izlaganja Azze Kamel o naporima egipatskih ženskih organizacija za suzbijanjem genitalne mutilacije u zemlji u kojoj se ona gotovo sustavno provodi. Patrijarhalno suučesništvo žena u tom zločinu, poput

kolonijalnog suučesništva, predstavlja instancu posuđene moći koja perpetuira praksu koju bismo, predlaže Ulla Vuorela, trebali ismijavati kao praznovjerje. Imaginacija i umjetničko izražavanje kroz radionice kreativnog pisanja, glume i filma (nazvane *Kreativne u sjeni*) u organizaciji egipatskih aktivistkinja pomažu djevojčicama i djevojkama da zaliječe povrijeđenu dušu i omogućuju da se talentirani glasovi uzdignu povrh nijemog preživljavanja.

Laura Huttunen nas je upoznala s definicijom glasa antropologinje Liise Malkki prema kojoj je glas sposobnost uspostavljanja narativnog autoriteta nad vlastitim okolnostima te sposobnost zahtijevanja odaziva publike. U takvoj definiciji, koncept glasa pokazao se interpretacijski iznimno podatnim i omogućio je ostvarivanje formatom seminara zadane interdisciplinarnosti i ključnih postulata feminističke pedagogije. Ono što je teško pretočiti u tekst, a posebice u tekst o tijeku i fokusu seminarskih diskusija, osjećaj je povezanosti, kako među sudionicama seminara, tako i s globalnim sestrinstvom, ali i s predmetima našeg proučavanja i poučavanja. Emocionalno učenje i iskustveno, tjelesno znanje ovog su puta dosta bili postignuti cilj. Ili, po riječima jedne od bubnjarica koje je intervjuirala Iva Bulić, *kad bubnjam(o), kao da se poravnavam(o) s osi svijeta.*

VOICING FEMINIST CONCERNS

RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN

INTRODUCTION: VOICING FEMINIST POLITICS AND POETICS

The collection *Voicing Feminist Concerns* is the second volume from the Centre for Women's Studies new series *Feminisms in a Transnational Perspective*, which publishes selected papers, research results, scholarly and artistic contributions presented by lecturers and students at the international postgraduate course held at the International University Center in Dubrovnik. The goal of the course is to familiarize participants with recent feminist theories and feminist pedagogy that promotes critical, applied and participative knowledge for the purpose of academic and activist empowerment of women for their emancipatory activities in society. The collection contains eleven papers presented and discussed in detail during the course "Voicing Feminist Concerns" (Dubrovnik, 25th – 30th May 2008) attended by 26 participants from 12 countries. The articles selected for this volume were also translated into the Croatian language.

The authors explore different modes of articulation and affirmation of the female voice as a powerful agent of social change and analyze the processes by which the personal voice and its public resonance constitute women's existence, theory, activism and creativity. The overcoming of phonocentrism, phenomenological and linguistic approaches within feminist epistemology (C. Gilligan, A. Cavarero, L. Irigaray, Ch.T. Mohanty) is characterized by an interest in the "politics of voice", in the vocalization of the female subject in historical and contemporary contexts, within the written tradition and in oral communication, in official memory and in individual narratives of counter-memory. The theoretical discussions and research presented here offer methodologically provocative and ethico-politically well-tuned authorial voices, as well as examples of the feminist contestation of grand narrative narration, history of literature, history of musical practices and contemporary political and social paradigms.

By focusing on individuals who are embodied and personalized, depicted by their own accounts or life histories, a simultaneous interest is achieved in the personal, the relational and *the vocalic* – in face-to-face encounters – and

in the wider power relations in which the protagonists of every speech act (or relating narratives) are embedded. Yet this does not signify the promotion of the communicative rationality of language and false universality or objectivity. Quite contrary, it is an attempt at conceptualizing and promoting gender-based vocalization of the subject as the major task of feminist poetics and politics. According to Italian philosopher Adriana Cavarero, the Western history of philosophy might be grasped as the “devocalization of logos”, as the privileging of the semantic level over the phonetic one, mind over body. This tradition used to remove the corporeal realm of the voice assigned to woman from the political sphere of the universal subject assigned to man. In this sense, the “devocalization of logos appears as yet another figure of the symbolic matricide of which patriarchal culture leaves many transparent traces”. One of the traces is the oppression of pleasure that characterizes resonance embodied in female figures from the Sirens to the Muses, from Echo to opera singers. In her crucial study *For More Than One Voice* (2005), Cavarero proposes a “politics of voice”, a politics of vocalic relationality or equal, reciprocal communication as a way to re-establish the bond between speech and politics.

According to Cavarero, the logos of those who support active and reciprocal communication is in the contiguity, in the resonance, in the echo, in the circular multiplication and resonant reflection and not in the pragmatic act of understanding. Sound and resonance, musicality and acuteness, shouting-out and losing one’s voice are at the heart of our ability to speak. That is why for this feminist philosopher the real question is not how to think up a politics of pleasure that abates the relation between politics and speech, but “how to deliberate politics that is not being pursued by voice from the area of speech”. Bodily impetus and dispositives are what make the voice, loud demonstrations, shouts and demands an ideal means for subverting the linguistic and political order. But the poetics of feminist voicing does not only imply “uncovering” the voice and pleasure in its rhythm and vibrations. The feminist paradigm is characterized by articulation, confrontations, taking sides in every dispute, defense of women’s rights and of gender equality within the context of a transformed but nevertheless repressive global patriarchy. In a world in which the dominant media benumb us with sensationalism of human misery *en masse*, speaking with one’s own voice, which is a precondition of feminist empowerment and articulation, entails a respect for democratic freedom of speech, ethical co-relations between the communication partners, sharpening of the ability to listen and recognize the otherness in which resides also the uniqueness of each existence and multiplicity of its never finished identities. While “to have one seen” suggests a return to the subject, but also to the (narcissistic) ego, “to have one listened to” entails a relational relationship, a temporal and emotional commitment and willingness to share one’s own fate

with the other in always new and unpredictable ways. It also means to share a responsibility for acting.

The concept of the embodied and gendered, subverting and rebellious, vulnerable and empowered voice has been depicted by addressing the themes related to violence against women and feminist activism (E. Ensler and B. Kašić), exile and transnational practices (L. Huttunen), globalization and development (I. Ateljević, U. Vuorela), “unread” women’s literature (I. Grgić Maroević, E. Šeleva, N. Badurina), unexplored women’s history and memory (M. Richter and Ch. Bonfiglioli) and re-appropriated women’s musical productivity (I. Bulić). **Biljana Kašić** writes an intellectually and emotionally engaged story of her own entrance into the space of a fruitful intersection between feminist and postcolonial theory, where both of them advocate the empowerment of testimonial voices of the victimized, oppressed, marginalized or only “translated” postcolonial subjects. Regardless of the risks of de-contextualization, commodification and misplaced meanings, personal (women’s) history becomes for her the key means of undermining the hegemonic power and destabilization of its logocentric order simply because “the personal narrative as risk itself puts at risk the whole matrix of narrative(s) with various unpredictable effects and consequences”. She is particularly interested in how theoreticians, bound by “triple bonds” (gender, race and class) to the minority identity, such as Trinh T. Minh-ha, Gayatri Ch. Spivak, Sara Suleri, bell hooks, manage to voice *counter-discourses*, opposing the dominant order by a reevaluation of fixed meanings, and by an appropriation of new ones. By pointing out that not every voicing is an affirmation of the “disturbing”, rebelled female self or a work on undermining the hegemonic language, Kašić points out that every resistance speech (subversive, mimetic, allegorical, parodical, etc.) entails taking over the responsibility for the consequences of the speech acts and actions in the community of the rebelled. She also demonstrates that the resonance between the Latin American subaltern voice in the *testimonio*, the peace activism of women from former Yugoslavia and Asian women’s “world court of women against war” is not a mere sequence of coincidences. Acknowledging the different epistemological comments and ethical concerns regarding the “testimonial shift” in feminist discourse, Kašić explains how and why the voice of traumatized women is particularly vulnerable to the discursive commodification of testimonies in the metropolitan centers of their promotion and critical reflection.

Due to the danger of losing testimonial authority, the ever more present emotional anesthesia of the recipients and ossifying of meanings and images related to the traumatic experiences, testimonies must sometimes be given back their literariness, rhetorical strength and fabulation. Therefore, the painful truth about the real nature of the local “dirty wars” of the 21st century is much

better expressed by the testimonial literature of “unimaginable” forms of war violence against African women and girls, as mediated by author and activist **Eve Ensler** in her recent works and in the essay *Waiting for Mr. Alligator*, than by documentary genres and politological analyses which fetishize “the power of the facts”. Moreover, **Ulla Vuorela’s** paper *Women, Development and Middle Class*, analyzing some motifs from Tanzanian transitional “socio” romances, demonstrates how convincing female literary voices manage to create a more complex imagery, a more emphatic description and a better analysis of society than those offered by social scientists, economists and envoys of powerful international organizations. The encounter with the everyday life of individual African communities requires a distance from the European epistemological tradition that does not help us to understand the experience of political modernity in non-Western societies, but forces us to view it as a part of the non-linear, conflicting and unfinished macro-history. As masterfully shown by Ulla Vuorela, the power wielders are busy with the “management of poverty” and through the activities of the World Bank, IMF and other UN organizations they direct aid to “the poorest among the poor”, doing very little in terms of radical restructuring of the unequal economic distribution of goods, which stimulates a constant increase in the number of the poorest. Education is used only as a rhetorical means, as a means of controlling women’s bodies (postponing motherhood among schoolgirls) and slowing down the population growth. However, education is genuine only when it becomes a tool that enables women to be active subjects of their own lives and participants in the politics of social development, to be critical towards the hegemonic truths and even to become “the authors of fiction, should they wish so”. Regardless of numerous issues of disputes between Western and African feminists, they all unanimously point out the importance of increasing the number of educated and “relatively empowered” women who can initiate structural changes, fight against the humanitarian, legal and cognitive imperialism, and, like Vandana Shiva, spearhead new global *grassroots* movements.

A form of new cultural empowerment of women which, along with African and world music, has spread over European streets, stages and the media is the subject of **Iva Bulić’s** paper about women drummers in Croatia. She acted as a participant observer in various ethno bands and drummers’ courses motivated by her academic interest and her pursuit of genuine musical expression. She was particularly inspired by a new way of (re)conquering the public space, spearheaded by women drummers who play the drums coming assorted musical traditions in the most powerful way. While introducing us to the diverse historical and cultural contexts in which women played music within the religious practices and social rituals, Bulić demonstrates how and why a radical shift has happened in certain (African) societies – from the ban on

women's drumming to the global imitated musical trend and women's activism loudly "appropriating the past and embracing the future". The key task of her ethnographic and feminist research of the Zagreb musical scene was to collect and analyze statements from the musicians and from audiences, ranging from those who reproduce (misogynic) prejudices about the "inappropriateness" of drums for women players (referred to as "impudent women" or "tomboys" in the traditional culture) to those who celebrate in the figure of the woman drummer the performances of new, creative and rebellious female identities.

Unlike Biljana Kašić, who believes that having been faced with the paradoxes of the contemporary condition characterized by neocolonialism and a reflection of the North/South and West/East gap, we feel an apparently inextricable anxiety of our human condition, **Irena Ateljević** argues in favour of the assumption accepted by some theoreticians (M. Ghisi, J. Rifkin, P. H. Ray, D. Elgin, R. Eisler) that we have just stepped into an age of new humanism and *transmodernity*, which will finally replace the patriarchal matrix of the endless economic progress with a post-patriarchal transformative paradigm that argues for a new global consciousness change and the nourishment of human capital. The emerging world-view is called *reflective/living-systems paradigm* by D. Elgin. According to his Millennium Project Report (1997), the paradigm shift has been confirmed by world statistics on global ecological awareness, main behavioural trends, the concept of Earth citizenship, emerging social values and sustainable ways of living. Ateljević further develops the idea that women are leading the "silent revolution" among the *cultural creatives* (P. H. Ray, S. R. Anderson), that they are the carriers of socio-cultural change in which a true democracy, quality of life, reference to social inclusiveness, partnership and love ethics will have a leading role, and ontogenesis will focus on self-actualization and spirituality. Transmodernity theory is one of the few academic narratives that recognizes the deep transformative potential of feminist epistemology and opens a dialogue between their own paradigms (paradigm of living systems, partnership model of caring economics and the relational global consciousness of biosphere politics) and feminist *love ethics* as developed by bell hooks as well as the *circularity paradigm* (G. Steinem) which call for the bioethical respect of every living creature.

The authors who analyze literary discourses do it in an innovative way by combining literary cultures and feminist literary criticism while researching how female literary counter-voices have destabilized the power structures of the dominant texts and literary canons throughout the history. By putting individual women writers (such as Nada Bunić/Speranza di Bona, Marija Jurić Zagorka and Kica Bardzieva-Kolbe) into their "proper" place within the literary canon, they themselves disturb the dominant practice of the patrilineal reproduction of authority and position themselves as "transmodern" literary

historians who are ready to engage in the complex procedure of trespassing the inherited socio-cultural values. **Iva Grgić Maroević** shows how those scholars who research less prominent literary traditions are forced to challenge both the national canon and the “supremacy” of the aesthetic categorizations and periodizations of the great literary traditions. Even then when it is a part of national cultural interest to research and affirm domestic women poets of the Renaissance in order to draw some parallels with the situation in Italy of the 16th century, it is not rare that literary historians “ventriloquize”, manipulate and, paradoxically, silence or censor women’s literary voices. That is how the national literary history delivered the legend of Cvijeta Zuzorić (Fiara Zuzzeri Pescioni, born in Dubrovnik in 1552 – died in Ancona in 1604) as the first great Croatian woman poet although not a single verse written by her hand has been preserved. Grgić Maroević follows Germaine Greer, differentiating a woman poet from a poetess in order to explain why Zuzorić is still glorified as the most relevant Renaissance poetess, although an integral collection of Nada Bunić (Speranza di Bona) entitled *Difesa de le rime et prose de la signora Speranza et Vittoria di Bona in difesa di suo honoure & contra quelli, che ricercò farli infamia con sue rime* [The defence of the poetry and prose of signora Speranza Vittoria di Bona in defence of her honour and against those who tried to defame her with their rhymes], published in Italian in 1569, was discovered in Siena’s *Biblioteca comunale* in 2004. Namely, the dominantly visual perception of “mute” Cvijeta Zuzorić makes it possible for historians (as well as contemporary Croatian writers) to utilize her as an “empty signifier” onto which they inscribe their own ideas of Renaissance feminine beauty (construed by the poetic canon), such femininity that eroticizes, intrigues and inspires, and that is opposed by the provocative oeuvre of Nada Bunić. The analysis by Grgić Maroević demonstrates that today it is particularly Bunić’s oeuvre that seems to be the product of the most coherent, rebellious woman poet of not only her immediate environment, but perhaps of the whole European sixteenth century. Hence, it is precisely the *voice* of Nada/Speranza and not the *body* of Cvijeta/Fiara that brings us back optimism in an attempt to trace the continuity of women’s poetry within the Croatian and/or Mediterranean literature up to now.

Elizabeta Šeleva follows this feminist idea of re-inscribing the canon and promotes a Macedonian author in exile, Kica Bardzieva-Kolbe, into an exemplary Balkan author of literary “new internationalism” (according to A. B. Wachtel), who places the problem of multilayered self-identification within the post-Yugoslav and post-ideological environment into a wider narrative of universal experience of exile, displacement, double belongings, plural loyalties, existential and metaphysical home-making of the intellectual. The novel *Snow in Casablanca* is centred around the phenomenon of female voluntary exile, the search by the main character for her spiritual family, who she believes to be in

the West, precisely “in that very Europe which had cultivated her spiritually and which she, herself, afterwards re-created as an object of craving for affiliation”.

Laura Huttunen in *How to Give a Voice to the Diaspora?* writes about war exiles from Bosnia and Herzegovina who have been living in Finland for two decades now, and who share similar aspirations for plural belonging, for parallel homelands, for a transcending of the diaspora condition. It is specifically due to the complementarities between East-European and West-European contemporary everyday life and the common efforts to improve the quality of life. The aspirations of the Bosnian diaspora are closer to the world-view of “vernacular cosmopolitan” (H. Bhabha) than to that of uprooted, homesick and “unadapted” forced migrants. Huttunen focuses her analysis on the concealed discord of her interviewees’ voices about the issue of return from the “first-forced-then-voluntary” exile, on the contradictions that are re/discovered only after years of ethnographic research, common visits to Bosnia and Herzegovina and in more intimate communication with all family members. Here too it is the women who argue to stay, the right to education and work, new life styles, and who slowly reveal a “much more complicated reality of hopes, desires and negotiations over Bosnian families’ life trajectories”. As a true ethnographer, Huttunen addresses the (feminist) politics of her own voice within and outside of the academic field, her right/obligation to speak, in certain situations, on behalf of the researched, to hear and understand them within the limits of her linguistic and anthropological competence. The best proof for her insightful and long-term self-reflection is the conclusion that the Bosnian doubts, contradictions and hesitations related to the return to the homeland are in synchronicity with “a complex set of negotiations over life trajectories that straddle multiple geographical locations”.

Natka Badurina reflects on the motif of the rape of women as an excuse for the community’s (political) right to a revolutionary uprising. This is a frequent motif in European Romanticism, and it was embraced by the Croatian Illyrian movement and patriotic literature writers in the theme of the Peasants’ Revolt of 1573 (a tragedy by M. Bogović in 1859; a novel by A. Šenoa in 1877; a drama by M. Jurić Zagorka in 1903) with obsessive variations of the endangered virginity of the country-girls whose abduction and/or rape causes the righteous and pure revolt of the oppressed. This phantasm has a rich history in Western cultural memory of Biblical and Classicist provenience, and its modern adaptation can be found in Rousseau’s *Levite of Ephraim* (1762/1781), a text that uses inappropriate sentimentalism to turn the misogynic message of a Biblical story into one acceptable by modern society. However, Badurina reminds us that objectionable sexual violence becomes symbolically and culturally productive just at the moment when modern civil society of the 19th century begins to take form and when in more or less (counter) revolutionary upheavals the norms

of the old feudal society are falling down while the patriarchal symbolic order is preserved. A particularly challenging object of consistent feminist critique has been the semantic cluster of obsessions of 19th century Croatian writers who tackled the myth of rape, i.e. a suspicion of woman's guilt and her pleasure; the image of female destructive sexuality, masochism and madness, an archetype of a lusty woman who puts men into danger as well as the motif of the excommunication of a raped woman from the community's favour. In this way the myth of rape becomes a symptom of the regressive collective psychology, which stigmatizes the raped woman, even if she is a victim of a sexual crime, and since she has not committed suicide and crossed over the threshold of the un/bearableness of suffering, "it is impossible for her to rebel; she can only represent the means of other's rebellion". By giving her female character a central part in the story, Zagorka obviously made a substantial move forward in her censored and unpublished play *Evica Gupčeva* (1903). For her, no female victim is necessary for the initiation of rebellion, on the contrary, the "the keys of this revolt" are in Evica's hands, but – being a genuine representative of the humiliated and the oppressed who posses no "common consciousness that would be opposed to the ruling class" (as per Gramsci's definition) – she has no voice of her own, no historical mission, but is doomed to repeating the words of the master and the nation-building narrative full of "bloody springs" and graves on which "the freedom will dawn" one day. Still, Evica is the first "unknown heroine" to whom Zagorka's feminist literary gesture has enabled to be included in the existing national and romantic narrative, even if, like the nymph Echo, she would only repeat the slogans of the past and future national leaders.

Melita Richter Malabotta presents a study of oral women's history from the "mobile-border area" between Italy and Slovenia, in the vicinity of Trieste. It is an analysis of the life narratives collected by students in Slovenian and Italian schools of the region of Trieste, who had interviewed their grandmothers (born between 1914 and 1939) within the framework of a project called *Da frontiere a ponti – Ko se iz meje ustvari most* [From Borders to Bridges]. The questions guiding these semi-structured interviews were related to the gender experience of life in the family, school, marriage, inter-ethnic relations and one's own household, to gender specific hopes, wishes and dreams, formation of life values and women's role models, the role of women in peace and war times, etc. The author draws on the sociological premise of the relevance of the life experience of women who are marginal and marginalized subjects and whose embodied daily practices enable life between and across the borderline which stood for a contact zone between the Eastern and Western bloc. Yet Richter Malabotta shapes her conclusion in light of feminist argumentation that gender, national and political subjectivities are inter-dependant and

points out women's ability to describe and reflect upon their life experience in a way which is different from false generalizations and myths of the great national narrative. By narrating their life stories, the women linked their personal histories with general women's experiences and revealed themselves as "protagonists of their own lives or of History with a capital H". The project re-affirmed the premise of feminist pedagogy that insights into the lives of *our foremothers* could become a basis for empowering both the female students who conducted the interviews and the women whose voice had been silenced and whose histories had been neglected by historians. Namely, through the recollection of the autobiographical narratives of their foremothers, "students entered the discussion in a classroom not only as learners, but also as 'authors,' as 'teachers'".

Chiara Bonfiglioli writes about the difficulties of reconstructing women's history with the help of diverse public and private archival traces, "memorial gestures" and communicational media. In order to discover what it meant to the participants from Yugoslavia and abroad to take part at the First International Feminist Conference in South-Eastern Europe *Drug-ca žena. Žensko pitanje – novi pristup?* [Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: a New Approach?], which took place in Belgrade in 1978, Bonfiglioli made use of the interviews she conducted, the archive material, the fresh reminiscences of the participants at the anniversary meeting in 2008 and the notes of the participants and their memories. As she was trying to answer the question what sociopolitical and symbolical status of this feminist gathering within the second wave feminism is, she was translating not only different languages but also temporal vistas, cultural spaces, the personal and collective experience of feminist activities in the particular European environments. It is her conclusion that every communication medium determines the type of the narrative authority, the structure of the (auto)narrative and that they affect the possibility of a translation between the subject and the cultures, a translation that puts in question both the "translator" and "the original text" while opposing the hegemonic idea of a and unique meaning (of an event). She addresses the potential of oral sources for a genuine dealing with the past, confirming that such "restrained and enigmatic" sources force us, the ethnographers and theoreticians, not to impose our own assumptions and concepts, but "to reformulate problems and challenge our current habits of thought" (L. Passerini).

The authors of the contributions included in the volume have used different modes of discourse (feminist and other theories, literary texts, musical con/text, life histories) in their attempts to recognize the counter-discursive women's agency that disturbs and subverts the dominant symbolical order. It is not only the resistance of the body against the so-called "functional styles", language grammar and pragmatics, academic and political correctness, but it is also an

attempt to express ourselves and our bodily experiences “through providing stimulating, thoughtful, and provocative women’s voices on diverse subjects from a gender perspective” (B. Kašić). Cavarero has explained the dominant inscription of the personal voice, personal experience into artistic and theoretical writings as a reflex of the common desire for unity and uniqueness of existence, which can attain a tangible form only in a (personal) narrative. She argues that the voice cures apathy and a feeling of defense, it evades the principles of the language and the logos, the patriarchal law which idealizes the women who keep silent, and is therefore a perfect medium for women’s subversion and/or rebellion. Our Dubrovnik attempt at uttering meditative, self-reflective and active feminist voices was focused both on the past and future, moving from ultimate skepticism of the feminist social critique to the utopian imagining of women’s “third space” in the post-conflict transmodern society, which, in the words of Irena Ateljević, helps us as the *cultural creatives* to look straight “from the edge of chaos into a new order of society”.

Translated into English by Anđelka Rudić

EVE ENSLER

WAITING FOR MR. ALLIGATOR

Until recently, I believed that waiting was a form of protection, a state that insured my ultimate security. Until recently, I was always waiting for something. I did not know who or what it was, but it hung there, this possibility, this thing on the edge of my mind. I had been waiting for so long it had simply become what I did. Sometimes it was conscious, but most of the time it was like a reflex, a verb that was my verb: waiting. I think it is why I felt so connected to refugees, homeless women, women in prison. They spent their lives waiting – waiting for a return to their homeland, waiting for a new country to invite them in, waiting for a place where they can finally undo their bags, waiting for escape.

It is why I loved mail. I loved opening the mailbox. I loved sealed envelopes. I loved going through the pile and seeing some handwriting I didn't recognize. There, there. It might be there. It might be in that letter. I was always thinking today it would arrive. I would open the envelope. It would be inside.

When I was drinking and drugging it was the next ice-clinking gin and tonic, the next hit of white powdered methedrine. When I was wild and promiscuous it was the next man or woman I could strip off my clothes with, the next person with whom I could go all the way. But all the way where? At various times I imagined this thing would come as a trophy, an announcement, an invitation. Once I almost caught it deep in the center of the gentlest, hungriest kiss.

This waiting was a very specific feeling. I remember on Christmas mornings (which were often fraught, because of my father's radical mood swings), insanely unwrapping my presents even though we were supposed to do the unwrapping in a modulated, thoughtful way. I remember thinking, this one will be it. This shiny or fuzzy or brand new thing in this endless tissue paper will be what I am waiting for. I remembered once being in a forest and getting lost and being worried and sitting down and my pants got wet and then finding this fiddlehead fern. This perfect green wrapped piece of life that would unravel and become something grand, something beautiful. Whatever it was that I was waiting for, would be like that: green and becoming bigger than itself.

There were people who were not waiting for anything. I knew some of these people. Somehow, either they got this thing early on, or they were perfectly happy living with the absence of it. Their verb was different. They were living, discovering, being, experiencing, getting lost. They were not after anything. They were not waiting. I spent way too many hours psychoanalyzing this preoccupation. What was it I missed? What early psychological wound created such longing? What was I overcompensating for, trying to fix or to fill? My mother's absence, my father's cruelty. Blah blah blah.

Sometimes I think that it was just some hole, some existential yawn inside my being, a muscular craving for some part of myself that got unhinged at birth. Or maybe it was the repository wound, the accumulation of the multitudes of losses throughout many lifetimes—the betrayals, the deaths, the regrets. A kind of active and ancient graveyard in my psyche. Or was this waiting a residue memory of another world inside this world? Was it a desire to evoke a world I once knew, remember a place I called home, an alternative paradigm that lives parallel to this paradigm?

Maybe the waiting was some deluded fantasy or the kind of insane optimism that masks deep despair that there is something or someone coming to make sense of this, to make it better. Maybe I was simply unable to face the profound pointlessness of this whole existence. So instead, I waited. There was a future in waiting. And what would happen if this thing were to finally arrive, and I were to get what I was waiting for? Would I just die? Would I be finally be safe, secure? Would I have a center, a place, a reason for being?

As a teenager I found objects which became the symbols, the projections, of this thing I was waiting for. When I was 15 and 16, it was butterflies. I drew them. I dreamed about them. I studied them. I wrote poems about them. Each time one would appear near me, it was proof of the presence of something mystical, something arriving. When I was 17 and 18, it was a leather hippie headband with a strip of purple suede. When I had it tied around my forehead, it was a magnet, drawing this thing, this possible future to me.

But the truth is, this waiting started much earlier. It started in darkness, in terror. It started inside the drunk and dangerous voice of my father threatening to annihilate me. It started in his hard, hateful hand on the side of my little face, in the cold indifference of his eyes, in the shaking rage of his pursed lips. It started in my room after a beating, after his belt had made swollen welts on my legs. After he had banged my teenage head over and over against the wood paneling on the den wall, after the blood poured from my nose on the white and red checkered table cloth in the family restaurant and I was rushed to the bathroom to stop the bleeding, so I wouldn't make him feel bad by reminding him he had punched me. It started in my room, alone. After the punching and whipping and screaming had stopped and there was only the buzzing in my

head and the exhaustion from the crashing adrenaline rush and the guilt and the embarrassment. It started in that bleakness, that incessant rocking on my bed. Waiting was better than cutting myself or making myself bleed. Waiting was better than murdering my father or imagining his electrocution. Waiting was less dangerous than killing. I did not want to be a killer. I was afraid to be a killer. So I learned how to wait.

As my situation got more desperate, I could no longer wait for something broad and abstract. So I invented a being that was coming to get me. The being could not be human. I did not trust humans. The being was not really benevolent or cuddly. I had no use for soft and cuddly. I was always wary that inside that which appeared to be tender was something cruel.

I was waiting for Mr. Alligator. He was a little man-reptile. He had an alligator body and short human legs. He was friendly to children in need. He existed for them. He was on call. He protected them. He was only dangerous to perpetrators – he could easily devour the scariest corporate daddy. He had a special phone number you could only access if you were in trouble. When I came to a certain level of desperation, I would suddenly remember it. I would call him. I would speak to him loudly as if there were a bad connection. My father and my family would know that Mr. Alligator was on the phone, know there was someone out there listening, watching, witnessing.

“Hi, Mr. Alligator,” I would say. “It’s me, Evie.” (They called me Evie then.) “It’s Evie and I need you to come and get me. I need you to come as soon as you can. It is bad here. They are mean to me. They do not love me. But I know you love me. So please, when can you come, Mr. Alligator? Please can you come soon?”

He would promise to get there as soon as possible. I knew he was busy. There were other children calling. I knew because once after my father had thrown me against a wall, I tried to call him and his line had been busy. After he and I had spoken, I would go to my room and pack this little brown suitcase. I would put in my pocketbook-size hairbrush, three magic markers (always a purple) and some cookies. I would leave the house. I would walk down the path on our front lawn and I would sit at the end of it, my sneakers compulsively rubbing the gravel in the driveway.

I would wait for him. Sometimes I would wait an hour, sometimes the whole day. The waiting became my defiance. I could not be deterred. My mother would come out after I missed a meal and tell me to come inside, to stop with the nonsense. But this was not nonsense to me. This was as serious as life and death. Mr. Alligator was coming. He was the future. He was mine, something I was creating, dreaming. He loved me. He was going to make everything better. He had to. There was no other way I could go on. Of course he never did show up.

Well, that is not exactly true. Forty years later, I went to Africa because I had heard there were women who were working to stop the practice of Female Genital Mutilation. Agnes Pareiyo was one of them. She lived in the Rift Valley. One day when she was twelve, she was taken against her will and brought into a dark room. Two women held her down and an older woman cut off her clitoris with a razor. She wasn't allowed to scream or make a noise because it would mean she was weak. After they mutilated her she was forced to lie still with her legs tied together for three days. They forced her to clean her wound by peeing on herself. The pain was unimaginable. She would try not to scream. This unexpressed scream lived in her bones to this day.

Agnes was never the same again. The cutting took her clitoris. She never knew sexual pleasure again. She was forced her to give up something essential, against her will. Her whole community was involved in this undertaking, so it robbed her trust. When she grew up, Agnes could not bear the idea of this happening to other little girls. So she set out with a magic box that contained a woman's medical torso. It had a vagina and vagina replacement parts. She walked through the dusty rift valley from community to community. The Masai are essentially nomadic so she would travel hours, days, before she found a family or tribe. She taught mothers and fathers and girls and boys what a healthy vagina looked like and what a mutilated vagina looked like. She showed them the various forms of mutilation and the way the vagina got sewn back together after being cut, sometimes with thorns. She showed them the dangers of cutting – the risk of infection, AIDS and dying from painful childbirth. She taught young boys about how their wives would never know pleasure so the love between them would be void and empty. She showed young girls how, if they saved their clitoris, they would get to go to school and would not be forced into marriage at a very young age with a very old man. She created an alternative ritual for girls that celebrated their coming of age with dance and music and theater. The girls received cows as presents, instead of being cut.

Agnes walked through the Rift Valley. She walked for days, for years – from one Masai village to another. Often she slept on the ground. In the years she walked, she saved 1500 girls from being cut.

I asked Agnes what V-Day could do for her, how we could support her. She said, "Eve, if V-Day buys me a jeep, I could get around a lot faster." We bought her a jeep. The first year she had it, she was able to reach 4500 girls. So I asked what else V-Day could do for her. She said, "Eve, if you gave me money, I could build a house for girls so that when they were about to be cut they could run away to the house and save their clitoris and go to school." So we gave her money to build a house.

Two years ago I went back to Africa. There, in the middle of the Rift Valley

was a sign that read *Tasaru Ntomomok Rescue Center for the Schools – Until the Violence Stops*, which is V-Day's slogan.

Agnes had been preparing for this day for weeks. As I drove up I saw hundreds of girls dressed in red (which is the color of the Masai and also the color of V-day). I was so overwhelmed I couldn't get out of the jeep. It was a bright sunny African day with a blue blue sky. Finally, my legs wobbly, I climbed out. Agnes greeted me and began to walk me down a path. Suddenly it was the path of my childhood, down the front lawn to the place where I would sit by the road and wait. Now there were girls – young girls, teenage girls – lining the path on either side of me, dancing, stamping the dust, singing a song in Swahili about how the time of Female Genital Mutilation had ended. They gathered round me and dressed me in a red Masai shawl covered with beads and glittering ornaments. Their song, their joy carried me down the path. There at the end was a house, our house: the V-Day Safe House for The Girls. I stood there and realized I wasn't waiting anymore. I was dancing. I was crying. I was singing. I was laughing. But I was not waiting. It had taken almost forty-two years, but Mr. Alligator had finally come. We get rescued by giving what we need the most. What we are waiting for has always lived inside us.

Source:

Ensler, Eve (2006) "Waiting for Mr. Alligator." In: E. Ensler, *Insecure at Last: Losing It in Our Security-Obsessed World*. New York: Villard, 105-113.

BILJANA KAŠIĆ

VOICES AND VOICING: ON UTOPIAN AND RESISTANT ACTS

1.1. Introduction

Taking a critical feminist perspective as a point of departure and reference, I would like to explore the potentiality of women's voice as an agency and ethical urgency to enounce contemporary concerns despite obstacles and ambiguities in terms of approaches and uncertainties in confronting the "realm" of the world(s). I will address and try to theoretically articulate the ways in how women have articulated their voices (hidden, subversive, resistant) by embracing some distinctive thoughts/speech/narratives/acts (Trinh T. Minh-ha, Irit Rogoff, Gayatri Ch. Spivak, Staša Zajović, among others) and how through these actions the *counter-discourse* sharpens and challenges both the meaning of discourse textuality and the meaning of the textuality of common life(hood).

Although the analytical framework captures a range of different women's voices that direct feminist concerns nowadays including wars, neocolonialism, humiliation, unjust social order, issues of identity and belonging, displacement, modern slavery, the main idea of this presentation is not to make any comprehensive overview, rather to offer a subjective, full-of-dilemmas insight from a South-Eastern Europe (former Yugoslav) angle. At the same time, this is a dialoguing and questioning of the closeness and differences between the "European South" and the "global South" especially when women's issues matter but also about the different types of shifting/crossing over/transgressing beyond the 'South/North' and 'East/West' paradigms and dichotomies.

1.2. Speaking in our own name

I would like to start this presentation with some voices put forth by different women on different occasions over the last twenty years.

"My name is Rigoberta Menchú. I am twenty three years old. This is my testimony. I didn't learn it from a book and I didn't learn it alone. I'd like to stress

that it's not only my life, it's also the testimony of my people" (Menchú, 1983:1). This is the statement appeared 1983 by an Native American woman from the Quiche community in Guatemala by which she testified about the horrific truth, the story of horror and torture of the Guatemala's Army oppression against her own community.

"We need to replace history with memory. For colonization was the archetypal racist project that did not only inaugurate the era of *universalised violence* but also sought to establish and institutionalise the supremacy of the White, the European, the West. (...) And in this master narrative woman has been created and recreated as a permanent *gendered Other*; reduced to a biological object that has become the site of conflicts of many kinds. Whether it is as a victim of rape, as a form of ethnic cleansing or in caste conflicts" (Kumar, 2007:268, 269). These are the words of an Indian woman, Corinne Kumar, a woman who set up alternative courts for women almost thirteen years ago.

"We repeated: 'Do not speak in our name, we speak in our own name'; with our bodies, as a scream and warning, we expressed our bitterness and repulsion towards all those who lead war" were the words voiced by Staša Zajović (Zajović, 1997:5) an outstanding peace activist and opposer of the Serbian militaristic regime, leader of Women in Black from Belgrade.

"This is the world in which I move, uninvited, profane on a sacred land, neither me nor mine, but me nonetheless. The story began long ago... it is old. Older than my body, my mother's, my grandmother's. As old as my me, Old spontaneous me, the world." (Minh-ha, 1989:2) This opening passage of the book *Woman, Native, Other* is written by Trinh T. Minh-ha, an American professor, writer, composer and it evokes her own self, her nostalgic imaginary situatedness, both geographical – Vietnamese, and woman's one.

Along with these, there are many other resistant voices shaped within other frames or other types of textuality, including artistic ones, those that foster critical stands against 'the production of human havoc' requiring re-thinking and demanding responsibility. Two renowned feminist artists – Sanja Iveković, a Croatian artist, and Ana Mendieta, a Cuban-born American artist, to only mention these two significant women, use the body in various ways as a resistant voice and act, in the same way as various feminist gatherings and protest groups, especially Women in Black, use artistic practice including joint bodily performances as a special kind of their resistant actions. Examples of multiple women's voices appear across the globe; examples which testify, witness, scream, remind, evoke, enounce, disturb, inscribe, challenge, transgress; which illustrate their anger and their power, write their stories, address their stand, shift their perspective in looking at the world, or better 'worldliness', as postcolonial writer Edward Said, would rather point out.

The testimony given by Rigoberta Menchú, the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992, became one of the most celebrated texts of Central American resistance; alternative courts of women function as the most important forum of public hearings against injustice across the world; resistant acts that have been exposed in the political engagement of Women in Black or embodied in the art vocations by Ana Mendieta, Trinh T. Minh-Ha, Irit Rogoff, Sanja Iveković, all bear witness to significant feminist positioning. In this regard, feminist voicing refers to the articulation¹ that through providing stimulating, thoughtful, and provocative women's voices on diverse subjects from gender perspective, at the same time seeks to challenge the legitimacy of the dominant discourse.

1.3. Speaking beyond the local place/scope/settings

When I was thinking of how to prepare this presentation, two main questions constantly occupied my mind. One was what is the particular message I would like to share with the audience and the second one was which type of epistemological inquiry does this presentation call for. I felt restless the whole time, having different versions of my entry into the issue of voicing/writing/articulating, that always deeply moved my sense of self, thinking once more of the many times I had lost a voice, or proper words for expressing what I wanted to. Simultaneously, walking through my *memoryscape*, of how I invited my 'rebellion self' to do a resistant act either silently or publicly; of how many times I had experienced a sort of both human anxiety and feminist 'pride' such as in Jerusalem, along with Rada (Borić) in 1994, a year earlier in Zenica 1993 with Gaby Mischkovski, my German friend, or in Cape Town 2001 when I participated as an expert witness for hearings on the war conflicts in the already divided Yugoslav communities. Or in 1991, when I became one of the very few women conscientious objectors who dealt with men who opposed the war. In the meantime, pieces of stories were written along with Melita, Staša, Corinne, Yvonne Deutsch, Rada Borić and Rada Iveković, among others.

My second dilemma was how to 'invent' my own situatedness for this very occasion. Along with borrowing the voices of the above-mentioned women as my primary entry for voicing, I encountered certain kinds of work such as that of Toni Morrison, bell hooks, Irit Rogoff, Judith Butler, Sara Suleri, Gayatri Ch. Spivak etc., along with some male theorists such as Homi K. Bhabha, Bill Ashcroft, to mention only a few, that embraced my process of thinking for this presentation. Through reading and re-reading their thoughts and being in the process with the self meanwhile I found a certain web of notions and

¹ I agree with Ernesto Laclau's statement that "Articulation' (...) is the primary ontological level of the constitution of the real" (Laclau, 1990:184).

concepts such as counter-discourse, *talking back*, survival, displacement, exile, unbelonging, *disruptive other*, very important and exciting ones in order to create and shape my situatedness. By situatedness I mean at the same time my feminist positioning and my critical self-location and crossing. The questions “Where do I belong?”, in terms of breaking down a stable state community, and “Where is one’s place?” (Ashcroft, 2001:124), as Bill Ashcroft addressed the issue of belonging for another purpose, namely as being crucial “(...) to the cultural impact of colonization and affects every aspect of colonized society” (ibid), somehow came together. Coming back to the nineties, I was disturbed by the uncertainty of my ‘lived’ place which was formatted by the link between the so-called assumed identity and an actual location as I immensely felt the meaning of space in its globality and bonding with it, beyond the local scope/setting.

But the most pressing issue was actually the urgent need to re-construct my womanly, more precisely, feminist place from where I could speak/act. The very moment when human rupture became a constitutive matrix of my experience and thinking, my feminist stand opened up the doors for many entries from various real and imaginary places. My body and my consciousness, or embedded place of my being/belonging, came to pulsate. What emerged all the more was the main concern of how to clear a place from where I could speak, if I may use Gayatri Ch. Spivak’s very significant dilemma. Spivak was right when she wrote that, “ethics are not a problem of knowledge but a call of relationship” (1996:190). In this regard, women’s speaking out as “speaking on” seems to be impossible without facing the bonding of subject formation and one’s own positioning with the responsibility of “speaking for”, or, namely for a place of inter-subjectivity as a potentiality of that relation; for calling and engaging other voices when humanness matters.

The resistant voice I am engaged with appeals for the evocations of others, being at the same time one’s own self and, in feminist words, one’s self “in relation”, knowing that only by facing a dramatic act of its own position in relation to both the self and others², the “disturbing self” would be able to transgress, or “to walk beyond the lines” which was also a sign of feminist peace activism during the war conflict in former Yugoslav countries.

1.4. Coming to female voice: the bodily one and the discursive one

Voicing is an issue of positioning but for women it means something more. The subject, and here I evoke Julia Kristeva (1980), appears only when the

² A relationship, as Carol Gilligan stated in her well-known book *In a Different Voice*, requires a connection that depends “(...) not only on the capacity or the ability to listen to others and learn their language or take their point of view, but also on having a voice and having a language” (Gilligan, 1996:xx).

consciousness of its signification and its naming does. Therefore, voicing for women is both an act of positioning and an act of enunciation, or, through voicing as positioning, women enounce their being and their becoming, their multiple selves, dealing the whole time with the complex procedure of how to transgress their “uninvited selves” to be present in public and the consequences of discomfort that go along with it as well as the wish for articulation of their own agenda. In a strictly Butlerian sense, voicing is a sort of enactment. Therefore, I would argue that any feminist voicing as enactment is both a resistant voice and a voice of the resistant self.

Toni Morrison (1993), an eminent feminist author who has passionately worked with voicing, is very aware that women through undertaking a language are actually acting, and through this very acting, language itself becomes a norm, sign, direction for women’s lives. Following her line of thinking, Judith Butler precisely stated that, “language is (...) both ‘what’ we do (...) and that which we effect, the acts and its consequences” (Butler, 1997:8).

For Trinh T. Minh-ha, finding a voice, searching for voice and words within language is always an act of personal commitment to language and to one’s own self, or that what, evoking the words of Susan Griffin, is addressed as that place in one’s own self where words have authority, but also an act of ‘ontological’ solidarity with and among those who belong to oppressed communities/groups. There are different responses and different women’s voices that claim for decolonizing language and for breaking silence and invisibility, but for many of them the question of priority when one’s own subjugated/oppressed identity matters³ still remains a crucial issue. In order to be closer to this complex issue and, historically speaking, very often ultimate dilemma, I wish to refer to the voices of two outspoken feminists today that question this point.

“Why not develop a certain degree of rage against the history that has written such an abject script for you that you are silenced?” (Spivak, Harasym, 1990:62) was the question posed by Gayatri Ch. Spivak, followed by a potential proposal: “Then you begin to investigate what it is that silences you, rather than take this very deterministic position – since my skin color is this, since my sex is, I cannot speak” (Spivak, 1990:62). On the other hand, bell hooks put a very strong claim on the feminist agenda almost twenty years ago by asking: “Dare

³ That what Trinh T. Minh-ha named as ‘the triple bind’ in order to explain the complexity of the position of someone who is a woman, writer and (non-white) ‘Third World member’ and that makes a vocation extremely difficult when any choice among these three conflicting identities may happen. However, woman, and this is one of Minh-ha’s key remaining points to face: (...) often finds at odds with language, which partakes in the white-male-is-norm ideology and is used predominantly as a vehicle to circulate established power relations” (Minh-ha, 1989:6).

I speak to oppressed and oppressor in the same voice?" (hooks 1989:28), and continued in a more radical rhetoric: "Dare I speak to you in a language that will take us away from the boundaries of domination, a language that will not fence you in, bind you, or hold you?" (ibid, 28)

The first voice faces us directly with the effects and sources of how the silenced history of women's oppression and women themselves within a multiply oppressed history silenced women's voice in language of master narrative(s)⁴ and created this unbearable rupture within it; the second one opens up the on-going process of anxiety around the gendered Other and gendered Race as colonized Other in terms of both masculine empires – discursive as the epistemological one and spatial as the colonial one throughout history – both with their conflicting/competing aspects. It also forces us to face the complexity and paradoxes of on-going global processes marked by conditions of colonization and new colonisation that is always verified through voices of authority, and how North/South and West/East paradigms work within this, as well as an anxiety of humanhood which seems irresolvable.

Therefore, addressing the problem situated within the same voice as a metaphorical signifier for the colonization of the 'woman self' and 'racial self' through directing aspects of multiple oppression upon women, reminds us not only about some misguided readings of feminisms within the context of race as a specific/particular/oppressed experience (Mohanty, 1991), but rather on two women's textualities; they walk separately and together with each other, within their inter- and intra-tensions and dynamics; the bodily one and discursive one. When bell hooks confirmed that language is a place of struggle, she enounced a subject of opposition, namely a subject of resistance embraced and posited within the 'personal narrative' as the most powerful act of women's voice and at the same time the most troubled and ambiguous act within the master narrative.

1.5. Oppressed female voice as "bodily note"

This clear viewpoint deserves additional exploration. If we understand why the majority's voice is always impersonal while the minority's voice is always personal, as Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989:28) properly addressed in her searching for woman's voice, then we might be closer to understanding why any personal narrative takes a risk at being de-voiced, under-evaluated, misused and

⁴ Between these lines of questioning/answering in Spivak's paper, we can read the presence of both unease and rage that the historical script as an act of silencing a woman's voice produces, but also a trigger for a transformative position that goes with a harsh decision to carry out research of one's own (subjective) position with ('objective') historical master narrative(s).

exploited or a chance to be only a 'footnote' or 'bodily note' within and for the master narrative. If I may use one digression here, this is precisely one of the experiences that women from the European South situated in the former Yugoslav region have shared with women from the Global South: by receiving an opportunity to be visible, through story-telling within war time, they took the risk of becoming "footnotes" for master (theoretical/Western) narratives (Narayan, 1997; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Kašić, 2004). An injury by discourse (Butler 1997; Butler 2005), no matter whether a media or theoretical one, not only intensified the trauma of being further marginalized or de-voiced, but it created an even bigger gap within the space of discourse as a place of exercising power upon minor(s). Butler was right when she pointed out the key distinction in the seemingly small differentiation between "being recognized" and "being recognizable"⁵ and concerning the positioning in language at the moment when one wishes to move from being an object to being a subject. The metaphor of "coming to voice"⁶ that contains both meanings of recognition and relies on those very meanings, is addressed simultaneously as a key issue by oppressed groups and women in particular. "Coming to voice" of course means more than scope of its literally meaning; it enounces a momentum of shifting; a momentum when those who are historically oppressed become subjects of shifting history and social change.

Coming back to personal narratives as remarkable seals of the abovementioned metaphor and despite the variety of risks of the ways of how, who and for what purpose they can be used, I would argue that nothing but the personal narrative could more powerfully demonstrate the way in which male power inscribes itself; nothing could more strongly shift the gaze towards facing the problem, disrupt the 'ordered' hegemonic power or subvert its effects by disturbing its historical patriarchal rationalism/universalism; nothing could be a better signifier of the transformative 'state' of one's own exposure into one's own power. The simple answer is because the personal narrative as risk itself puts at risk the whole matrix of narrative(s) with various unpredictable effects and consequences.

If I borrow the voice of Bill Ashcroft, it is because in the case of Rigoberta Menchu Tum's testimony, "(T)he privileging of the *énunciation* in her account, the privileging of the telling over the told" (2001:123), the privileging of

⁵ "One comes to 'exist' by virtue of being recognized, but, in a prior sense, by being *recognizable*," (Butler, 1997:5) or more precisely, by virtue of what goes beyond conventional recognition, its constant fragility and symbolic rituals.

⁶ Kobena Mercer in the text "'1968': Periodising Politics and Identity" emphasized that the metaphor of "coming to voice" as a theory of the speaking subject (...) enables us to approach the analysis of subject-formation in the broadest possible sense – in terms of democracy as a struggle over relations of representation" (1992:429).

experienced truth upon universal historical truth – not only locates itself in a new space, the interstitial space (cf. Bhabha, 1994:36) between literature and history or literature and colonialism, but demonstrates such an unpredictable power in communicating the truth of oppression that it turns the point of discourse towards its own meaning; a meaning that Foucault once noted as “will to truth”. There are various reasons why testimony is more disruptive than any of the other genres within the series of personal narratives, and I will, following the Ashcroft’s argumentation line (2001:114–123), mention three of them: the first, the constant shifting of boundaries between the present and past along with the communality of voice of the oppressed individual and oppressed people; second, connected with the inseparability of the affirmation of self-identity and identity of the collective oppressed group, and the third, its effects on the authority of textual historical narrative through providing disruption within, by re-installing “the rhetoric of experience in ‘historical’ narrative.” (Ibid, 116) Therefore, woman as a carrier of her narrative, as the subject of enunciation, or this disruptive ‘Other’⁷ becomes that what, or better, that who that matters, and whose “will to truth”, through exposure of herself, through the transformative act and acting, sharpens and cuts the master narration and raises awareness, and finally, by this act, crosses over the framework of any particular discourse, and discourse as such.

That is precisely what Ana Mendieta and Sanja Iveković have done within their radical artistic practice, or Staša Zajović within peace activism, or Kim Hak-Sun (Ueno, 2004:69), when in December 1991, with two other former Korean military comfort women at the Tokyo District court, spoke about her own sexual abuse after almost fifty years, demanding a formal apology and individual compensation from the Japanese government, and by this act directly disturbed the construction of public memory and official historical narrative. Along with many others of course.

1.6. Female voice of multiple otherness

The question appears in two directions: how multiple Otherness has become a threshold for claiming, for voicing, for interrupting, for one’s new unknown narrative and potential of new narratives and how voice turns to the formation of self-claiming. In a sense, we are in the field/terrain of a resistant textuality or counter-voice of various kinds that actively works to destabilise or disrupt

⁷ Although a cultural critique, Irit Rogoff (2000:155) uses the notion of ‘disruptive other’ for different opposing marginals (including diaspora, displaced persons etc.) to the dominant order; it can be appropriate for women who intrinsically disturb the dominant matrix by re-evaluating, by reclaiming, and by shifting the fixed production of meanings or undoing its certainties.

the power structures of dominant texts and their canons and by this act deconstructs the significations of authority.⁸ Helen Tiffin, calling on the postulate of Richard Terdiman that “(...) counter discourses have the power to *situate*: to relativise the authority and stability of a dominant system of utterances which cannot even countenance their existence” (1997:98), is actually emphasizing this constant procedure of consciously dismantling its (colonial history) underlying assumptions, its scientific or any other pretensions from, as she stated, “(...) the cross-cultural stand-point of the imperially subjectified ‘local’” (Tiffin, 1997:98). In other words, counter-discourse can only exist and be understood within its very determining situation/locality and to its reference point (ibid, 96) as if it doesn’t imply or tend to do an act of irreversibility with the master-narrative. It functions as a new space of enunciation that creates a new structure of meanings, a new horizon of thinking, a new critical eye to the master narrative but without the ambition of replacing it.

Considering that discourse by itself is always a place for counter-acting thanks to its implicit ambivalence, especially the artistic discourse which has its own niche that allows for various forms of resistance such as mimicry, allegory, metonymy, subversions, parody, modes of ambivalence, *testimonio*, poetics of exile; this means opportunities for interpolating and creating a woman’s resistant voice. In considering feminist self-location and critical potentials, I am also thinking of the category of performativity exposed by Judith Butler as a particular mode of resistance, or the abovementioned concept of “talking back” invented by bell hooks as a double mode of counter-discourse, as an appeal for the re-reading of gendered race through the critique of both texts: patriarchal and colonial rationalism. Along with this, Toni Morrison and Patricia Williams suggested theoretical ‘spaces’ for conceptualizing absence, cultural hauntings, gender fantasies; Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her project entitled *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999), by using various ethical guidelines among which claiming, testimonies, story-telling, remembering, celebrating survival, connecting, reframing, naming etc., spoke simultaneously of contesting history and women’s resistant stories. In other words, there are places where official zones of control upon discourse can’t function and where ‘minor’ voices could emerge and permanently enlarges “contentious *internal* liminality” (Bhabha, 2002:300) within discourse.

⁸ “It is not that the voice of authority is at a loss for words. It is, rather, that the colonial discourse has reached that point when, faced with the hybridity of its objects, the *presence* of power is revealed as something other than what its rules of recognition assert,” is how Homi K. Bhabha (1997:35) for another purpose explained this procedure of the impossibility of keeping master surveillance within discursive dominance and chances for counter-strategies.

1.7. Voicing my own concerns

However I try to address this issue, woman's autobiography stands out as a certainty in all the expositions of resistance – as an articulating of her own story, a witnessing of her own ideas, a source of complex and ambiguous authenticity, an act of her personal involvement and as a potential for multiple leaps in order to provide new political imaginary, responding, if I follow Corrine Kumar's thoughts, to the complexities of reality, more critically and more creatively.

How could we be silent then? Why should we be?

In this very question I found the reason for re-collecting/re-voicing counter-discursive practices written by women as a basis for the re-inscription and re-invention of solidarity among women as their ultimate and sharing vocation despite the multiplicity of old and new obstacles and differences and thanks to them.

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IRENA ATELJEVIĆ

WE NEED MORE MOON ENERGY: FEMININE VOICES QUIETLY CREATING A NEW TRANS-MODERN WORLD

1. Introduction

Dreams require optimism, a sense that one's hopes can be fulfilled (Rifkin, 2005:384).

This chapter raises feminist voices and concerns in the context of the so-called 'post- 9/11' world which has climaxed in a global crisis of wars, 'terrorism', climate change, over-consumerism, increasing gaps between the rich and poor, social alienation, and individual feelings of pressure, anxieties, chaos and powerlessness world-wide. These processes have raised a whole range of futurist scenarios from the 'softer' questions of environmental sustainability to the radical argument that humanity is in a danger of collective death (e.g. Brown, 2006; Ghisi, 2006; Rooney, Hearney & Ninan, 2005). The questions of (the earth's) sustainability that have penetrated public discourse only in the last two decades are speeding ahead faster than we can comprehend. The problem is that we still frame it within the existing economic and political framework which continues to use rationality, money and technology as the most dominant measurements of progress and human development. Reflectively, social scientists, economists, political activists, writers, spiritual leaders and many successful entrepreneurs argue that humanity needs (and is actually going through) major global mind change and a paradigm shift.

In this chapter, I will review various standpoints and research that suggests a major global change in consciousness and will offer the concept of transmodernity as an umbrella term that connotes the emerging socio-cultural, economic, political and philosophical shift. I will begin with the elaboration of the concept as given by Ghisi (2001; 2006; 2008)¹, followed by reference to other

¹ I met Marc Ghisi at a conference on Transmodern visions of tourism when his speech (Ghisi, 2006) was very revealing as he spoke from the capacity of a theologian, philosopher

writings in the fields of critical economics, social anthropology and psychology, cultural studies, political science, subaltern and postcolonial studies and social activism literature. Given that many of the tenets provided by Ghisi's notion of transmodernity relate to other writings that do not necessarily use the same term, but communicate a similar idea of the emerging paradigm shift as the next cultural and material development in the human (although dominantly Western) history I have opted to use the concept as a medium to convey what appears to be a single message: '[h]umanity finds itself, once again, at a crossroad between a dying old order and the rise of a new age' (Rifkin, 2005: 181).

In doing so I have detected that feminine voices of transmodern calls for inclusivity, partnership, and love ethics play a leading role in the shift. Yet, in the anticipation of criticism by critical theorists and political economy pessimists that my discussion on love ethics is rather naive, I want to clarify my position. Being originally educated as a neo-Marxist geographer I cannot deny the dominant and overwhelming evidence of structural inequalities around the globe. However, in the process of my career I have learned to agree with the later works of Gloria Steinem and bell hooks who claim that marking oppressed difference creates the mindset of victimisation which seriously affects personal and collective confidence about oneself, hence subtly reproducing further marginalisation. So in my hope that we can truly remake the world I opt to focus on signs that signal the potential move in the collective consciousness. In the plethora of pessimistic views and bad news I leave that (admittedly important) job to others and commit myself to trace and discover what is positive and possible in our human development potential.

2. Transmodernity: the dialectic triad

The concept of transmodernity is a very complex thesis which Ghisi (1999; 2001; 2006; 2008) primarily explains as the new paradigm of the world which communicates underlying values in which humans rely on to make their judgments and decisions in all areas of their activities – economy, politics and everyday life. Before I begin sketching his main ideas here I need to alert the reader that I will present them as 'given', so the general picture of the concept

and researcher on global cultural transformation who worked in the "Forward Studies Unit" of the European Commission for 10 years, advising presidents Delors and Santer on EU visions, ethics and culture shifts. His 'good news' talk based on his book (2001) entitled: *Au-delà de la modernité du patriarcat et du capitalisme: La société réenchantée?* was intriguing, and encouraged me to investigate the notion of transmodernity further (in translation: 'Beyond modernity, patriarchy and capitalism: Re-enchanted society?', although not published in English as such). However, its extended version under the different title (2008) has been translated into the English.

is obtained. However, in doing so I will also provide further evidence from my own analysis of other references that point to similar directions as well as to those which Ghisi refers to himself (although often in an admittedly glancing manner).

However, within the constraints of a book chapter I am also acutely aware that my discussion will still remain at the level of the general overview, which always runs the risk of oversimplifying many complex aspects that will be displayed here.

Ghisi begins his thesis with an overview of five levels of change which he describes through the 'iceberg metaphor' of the human global (un)consciousness and its (un)awareness and (in)visibility, whereby the first two levels are the least visible in terms of the awareness of their 'slow death'. So, the first level is at the darkest and coldest bottom where our global civilization finds itself today at the edge of unsustainability and what he describes as the death and collective suicide of humanity. The second level relates to the death of 'command, control and conquest' patriarchal values which have turned the world into the competitive and territorial battleground. Level three refers to the death of modernity as a dominant paradigm through which we see the world as an objective reality rooted in impartial truth. Level four refers to the death of the industrial type of businesses and decline of the material economy, while the level five concerns the overall crisis of overtly bureaucratic and pyramidal institutions. In making these claims he makes a reference to the numerous scientists, leading individuals and various governance representatives who have been warning the public and governments about the need for change for quite some time (Elgin, 1997).

While I read these as typical postmodern claims, Ghisi continues to explain, a *transmodern* way of thinking is now emerging, as our hope for a desperately needed and newly reconstructed vision, after the endless postmodern (albeit necessary) deconstructions of modernity in which intellectuals engaged for the last few decades. The postmodern rubble in which we have found ourselves is quite neatly captured by Rifkin:

If post-modernist razed the ideological walls of modernity and freed the prisoners, they left them with no particular place to go. We became existential nomads, wandering through a boundaryless world full of inchoate longings in a desperate search for something to be attached to and believe in. While the human spirit was freed up from old categories of thought, we are each forced to find our own paths in a chaotic and fragmented world that is even more dangerous than the all-encompassing one we left behind (2005:5).

According to Ghisi then, the very concept of *transmodern* implies that the best of modernity is kept while at the same time we go beyond it. As such, it is

not a linear projection which takes us from (pre)modernity via postmodernity to transmodernity, but rather transcends modernity in that it takes us trans, i.e. through, modernity into another state of being, 'from the edge of chaos into a new order of society' (Sardar, 2004:2). This argument very much reflects the original meaning of the term itself that was apparently coined by the Spanish philosopher and feminist Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda in her essay *La Sonrisa de Saturno: Hacia una teoria transmoderna* (1989)² in which she uses Hegelian logic whereby Modernity, Postmodernity and Transmodernity form the dialectic triad that, completes a process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. As expressed in her own words: 'the third tends to preserve the defining impetus of the first yet is devoid of its underlying base: by integrating its negation the third moment reaches a type of specular closure' (Magda, 1989:13). In other words, transmodernism is critical of modernism and postmodernism while at the same time drawing elements from each. In a way it is a return to some form of absolute 'logic' that goes beyond the Western ideology and tries to connect the human race to a new shared story, which can be called *a global consciousness* (Rifkin, 2005).

So, what exactly does this complex philosophical premise mean in terms of its translation into the social, economic and political arrangements of the world and our human existence? To explain this, the discussion will be divided into three sections - first the main theoretical tenets of the concept, second the social factors of change and finally economic and political changes. Yet since my view is that people form and are formed by structures it is important to note here that this division is done only for the sake of the reader's easier comprehension and not to artificially divorce powers of structure and agency.

2.1 *The main transmodernity tenets*

Ghisi describes transmodernity as the *planetary* vision in which humans are beginning to realize that we are all (including plants and animals) connected into one system, which makes us all interdependent, vulnerable and responsible for the Earth as an indivisible living community. In that sense this paradigm is actively tolerant and genuinely democratic by definition, as the awareness of mutual interdependency grows and the hierarchies between different cultures dismantle. It is also essentially postpatriarchal in a sense that women's visions and intuitions are to be recognized as indispensable in order to invent together innovative urgent solutions. This is radically different from

² Rosa Maria Rodriguez Magda is a Spanish philosopher and feminist whose work is mainly published in Spanish, which explains why her work is not so well-known in the English speaking world of the West. I managed to find on Internet only one of her essays in English in which she explains in general terms the main philosophical tenets of her concept.

the (preceding and necessary) (post)modern feminist movements that fight for women's rights only. Rather it is about a joint effort of men and women to fight for the better world of tomorrow by rejecting values of control and domination. It is also essentially postsecular in a sense that redefines a new relation between religions and politics in a way that re-enchants the world towards a new openness to spiritual guidance as a basis for "private" behavior and "public" policy, whilst rejecting religious divisions and dogmas. It is open to the transcendental, while resisting any authoritarian imposition of religious certainty. In doing so it tries to rediscover the sacred as a dimension of life and of our societies.

Transmodernity opposes the endless economic progress and obsession with material wealth and instead promotes the concept of quality of life as the measure of progress. This is expressed in the form of the knowledge economy which moves the emphasis from material capital to intangible assets and the nourishment of human capital. It challenges the rationalized notions of work in its artificial divorce from life. It combines rationalism with intuitive brainwork. It moves away from vertical authority toward "flatter," more "horizontal," organizations; away from "recommendations-up-orders-down" management and toward more consensual decision-making. It redefines the relation between science, ethics and society to reach for real and radical transdisciplinarity. It downsizes the concept of clergy, technocrats and experts in order to raise the self-awareness, self-knowledge and individual accountability of all. It promotes Earth citizenship and draws from the highest potentials of humanity. Yet it is not a uniforming view as global reconciliation around a sustainable future and a broad range of cultural diversity is maintained at the same time. Within the global vision of connected humanity it claims that each community or region needs to be free to develop in ways that are uniquely suited to its culture, ecology, climate and other characteristics. It wants us to see that the danger of today is less between cultures and religions, than the conflict between different paradigms. It transcends modernity clashes 'to jump over' into the transmodern world and as such it offers a powerful path to peace and a new platform of dialogue between world cultures. Overall, it is generally characterized by optimism to provide hope for human race.

2.2. Socio-cultural change: The silent revolution of cultural creatives

Ghisi substantiates his claims with reference to the phenomenon of the 'silent revolution' led by the growing numbers of so-called 'cultural creatives' (Ray, 1996; 1998; Ray and Anderson, 2000), 'who create new values and who, without knowing it, are activating the 21st century paradigm' (Ghisi, 2008:158). The

concept of the silent revolution of cultural creatives comes from the historian Arnold Toynbee who analysed the rise and fall of 23 civilisations in world history and who claims that when a culture shift occurs, usually 5% of 'creative marginals' are preparing the shift in silence. This concept has been borrowed by sociologist Paul H. Ray and psychologist Sherry Ruth Anderson who have applied it to their market cluster research of politics in America. Drawing upon 13 years of survey research studies on over 100,000 Americans, plus over 100 focus groups and dozens of depth interviews, they have discovered that around 24% of Americans are departing from traditional or modern cultures to weave new ways of life. They describe this new subculture as the 'Cultural Creatives', who deeply care about ecology and saving the planet, about relationships, peace, social justice, self actualization, spirituality and self-expression. They are both inner-directed and socially concerned. They are activists, volunteers and contributors to good causes – more so than other Americans. Amongst many interesting behavioural indicators, they are those who read and listen to the radio the most, and watch television the least. They reflect on themselves, like to travel, and are seriously looking for a spiritual dimension in life that goes beyond religious dogmas. In their everyday life they search for the harmony of the body, mind and spirit; hence their travels often consist of spiritual and educational trips (eg. retreats and events focused on spirituality and inner search, well-being, alternative medicine, etc.). Interestingly, 66% in this group are women. Ray and Anderson (2000) claim that because they have been fairly invisible in American life, Cultural Creatives themselves are astonished to find out how many share both their values and their way of life. Their visibility and the power to produce a serious change are overshadowed as they are often disregarded simply as the esoteric 'New Agers', who simply opt for an 'alternative lifestyle'.

The statistics go beyond the North American continent however³. The Statistics Office of the European Commission (Eurostat) used a similar method to the American study and confirmed a similar trend of approximate 20% of the European population who exhibit a similar set of values (Tchernia, 1997). In his latest work Ghisi (2008) also gives numerous anecdotal evidence which shows that this trend is quietly spreading throughout Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East. In the typical fashion of synchronicity I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, these European results were presented to the State of the World Forum in San Francisco in 1997 (a gathering of world leaders convened by the Gorbachev Foundation) where another scholar Duane Elgin similarly suggested, on the basis of another independent world-wide

³ Ghisi who met Paul Ray in his capacity of working for the European Commission proposed his 'Forward Studies Unit' to do a similar study in the countries of EU.

survey, the emergence of a new paradigm and global consciousness change⁴. In his Millenium Project Report (1997) he provides many indicators that suggest the new emerging world-view which he calls a *reflective/living-systems paradigm*. He derives his claims from the comprehensive overview of many 'cultural transformation and paradigm' publications by eminent scientists and world leaders as well as the empirical evidence of world statistics on global ecological awareness, main behavioural trends, emerging social values and sustainable ways of living.

2.3. *Economic and political changes*

For the sceptics who often too easily disregard these claims as being rather an elitist, upper/middle class 'luxury', I would like particularly to cite here two renowned social and political scientists who provide us with the convincing evidence about the new technological, economic and political arrangements that are creating and manifesting the transformation. Firstly, I will discuss Riane Eisler (1987; 1996; 2002; 2007), a renowned macrohistorian⁵ and secondly, Jeremy Rifkin (1995; 2005), a well-known economist and advisor to government leaders and heads of state (in Europe and USA).

Based on her work as a cultural historian and evolutionary theorist over the last 20 years, Riane Eisler introduced the *partnership* and the *domination* system as two underlying possibilities for structuring beliefs, institutions and relations that transcend categories such as religious vs. secular, right vs. left, and technologically developed or underdeveloped. It is her particularly brilliant historical analysis (1987) of over 30,000 years that provides us with a refreshing view of our past and 'givens' in all areas of our personal, communal, economic and political life. For example, with reference to recent archaeological discoveries she shows that ancient times (before 3500 BC) were based on matrifocal values, which did not mean the opposition to patriarchy (ie. the domination of women over men), but rather the societal organization focused on the values of giving life, fertility, the pleasure to exist, artistic creations and sexual pleasure. In the 'new' world, of which we are the last heirs, 'power' is no longer viewed as the ability to give life, but is construed as the power to bring death, destroy

⁴ This synchronicity I discovered by accident however. As I have been searching for the 'new paradigm literature' Duane Elgin featured highly on the list and then in reviewing his work I realized that he attended the same event in 1997 where Marc Ghisi presented the European study of cultural creatives.

⁵ Riane Eisler is the author of the international bestseller *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future* which has been published in 23 foreign editions, making Riane as the only woman who has been selected among 20 great thinkers, (including people like Hegel, Marx and Toynbee) for inclusion in *Macrohstory* and *Macrohstorians*.

life, subdue others and be obeyed at all cost. The life-generating and nurturing powers of the universe, in our time still symbolised by the ancient 'feminine' chalice or grail was replaced by the lethal power of the blade. She also gives a new interpretation of 'original sin' and the beginning of Genesis in the Bible as a text that represents a transition of the 'old' matrifocal symbols into the patriarchal myth in which the tree of life and wisdom becomes an evil and the sacred Eros between man and woman becomes the 'shameful act'.

In providing us with an impressive range of world-wide evidence of personal, communal and economic initiatives, organisations and policies, she claims (in a similar vein as all the authors cited above) that we are finally witnessing the world-wide movement towards a *partnership system* (1996; 2002) of *caring economics* (2007). She asserts that the reason why we do not hear much about this movement in the media is because it is not centralised and coordinated under a single unifying name and: 'without a name, it's almost as if it didn't exist, despite all the progress around us' (2002:xxi). In her latest groundbreaking work (2007) on the *Real Wealth of Nations* she deconstructs Adam Smith's theory of the 'invisible hand of the market' as the best mechanism for producing and distributing the necessities of life to unpack its deep-seated culture of domination and exploitation that has devalued all activities which fall out outside of the market's parameters of buying and selling. Instead she proposes a new 'caring economics' that takes into account the full spectrum of economic activities of the household, from the life enriching activities of caregivers and communities, to the life-supporting processes of nature. In juxtaposition to the overwhelming evidence of structural inequalities and social injustices of the domination system, she provides evidence and many practical proposals for new economic inventions – new measures, policies, rules, and practices – to bring about a caring economics that fulfils human needs. In the many examples given, such as high-quality care for children for example, she also uses a purely financial cost-benefit analysis to demonstrate how caring is one of the best investments a nation can make. In her insightful economic analysis of policies and their (in)effectiveness around the world, she effectively shows how the dominant culture of valorising the double economic standard of 'productive' vs. caring activities actually lies behind economic policies and practices, rather than the typical false claim that it is the question of money. Her claims of critical and caring businesses is further supported by the evidence that many mainstream businesses have been re-questioning the main purpose of their 'bottom-line' existence (i.e. going for profit only) which has led to the concept of spiritual economy and spiritual entrepreneurs conscious of her/his missions towards the common good of humanity (see Allee, 2003; Harman, 1998; Stewart, 2002; www.worldbusiness.org)

Whilst Riane Eisler provides us with a new economic model for the future, Jeremy Rifkin claims that it is the 'European dream of the United Europe' (in its all potentiality) that is already a political manifestation of the new coming era and is quietly eclipsing the American dream as expressed in his own words:

The new European dream is powerful because it dares to suggest new history, with an attention to quality of life, sustainability, and peace and harmony. In a sustainable civilization, based on quality of life rather than unlimited individual accumulation of wealth, the very material basis of modern progress would be a thing of the past...The new dream is focused not on amassing wealth but rather, on elevating the human spirit. The European dream seeks to expand human empathy, not territory. It takes humanity out of the materialist prison in which it has been bound since the early days of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and into the light of a new future motivated by idealism (Rifkin, 2005:7-8).

To substantiate his claims which could be easily interpreted as 'overtly idealistic' in the light of many EU controversies, hypocrisies and problems he stresses two main points. First he clearly states that dreams reflect hopes, not achievements, hence the notion of the *potentiality* in many of the tenets provided by the ideal of European dream. Second to contextualize the possibilities more strongly he provides us with a painstaking overview of the historical making of the Enlightenment/modern age, which created the earth-shattering changes for the medieval era.

In elaborating his thesis he provides us with an overview of how the fundamental pillars of the modern era: individualism, the market-exchange economy, the ideology of property and territory-bound-nation-state governance (forged with capitalistic markets) were created and how they are also slowly getting replaced with the new spatial, economic, social and political arrangements of the global era. By giving us as an overview of its political architecture, and the historical making of the united Europe, its unique features of extra-territorial governance, constitution, internal workings and various policies, he gives us the realistic picture of its many hypocrisies and contradictions yet many of its many achievements and potentialities.

Rifkin also speaks about the potentiality of universalizing the European dream model, as other countries (especially India and China) face increasing obstacles in a world where the nation-state model is less able to accommodate global commercial and cultural forces. He refers to Richard Nisbett's (2003) work on geographies of thought and 'how Asians and Westerners think differently' which gives credence to the view that Asian peoples and countries

might be even better suited than Europeans to create network governance, transnational space and global consciousnesses. The second (and very recent) European Enlightenment of seeing the world as 'the interconnected whole' (or so-called system approach) has been historically characteristic to the Eastern Mind and their religious manifestations of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. Yet, in the light of the common Western criticism of Asians as being too oriented toward 'group think' against the overtly individualistic American mindset, Rifkin gives us a new framework for bringing those two seemingly contradictory forces together, by making a comparison to new communication technologies. He delineates new technologies as being decentralized and democratized and at the same time so globally connective that they foster both extreme individuation and extreme integration which also very much echoes the main idea of transmodernity.

Barfield suggests, however, that we are on the cusp of the third great stage of human consciousness – the stage where we make a self-aware choice to re-participate with the body of nature. It is new *relational* consciousness in which we are increasingly becoming aware of shared risk and vulnerability, economic, social and environmental interdependencies, to exercise process-oriented behavior and show willingness to accept contradicting realities and multicultural perspectives. In many ways, Barfield's view reaffirms Eisler's evolution theory of human development from the ancient, matrifocal times, via the domination system of patriarchy to the emerging partnership model between men and women; nature and humans; mind, body and soul. So, instead of denying our own mortality (so characteristic to the youth's sense of invincibility), the current era is about the maturity stage in which we realize that we can't really begin to live until we accept the inevitability of our own death. But how do we come to terms with our own death and make the choice to live? Rifkin again gives us a nice summary here:

[we do it] by making a self-aware decision to leave the death instinct behind, to no longer seek mastery, control, or domination over nature, including human nature, as a means of fending off death. Instead, accept death as part of life and make a choice to re-participate with the body of nature. Cross over from the self to the other, and reunite in an empathetic bond with the totality of relationships that together make up the Earth's indivisible living community (2005:374).

In other words, it is a call to move from the current *geopolitics* (and its assumption that the environment is a giant battleground where we all fight for our survival) to *biosphere* politics (the premise of the Earth as a living organism made up of interdependent relationships on which we all can only survive by stewarding the larger communities of which we are part).

When speaking of geopolitics, finally the postcolonial and subaltern literature needs to be consulted, as (after all) transmodernity is a term that originated in the Spanish speaking circles and is particularly associated with its leading advocate, Enrique Dussel and his neo-Marxist philosophy of liberation (1995). However, as I already stressed in the introduction, it goes beyond this chapter to engage seriously with the epistemological and political aspects of Dussel's way to unsettle the Eurocentric coloniality. Yet, a few commonalities with the preceding discussion can be identified. First Dussel's acknowledgement that postmodernity has been critical of various modern Eurocentricisms but not enough, as it still represents a Eurocentric critique of the included negation which still hasn't managed to affirm those aspects of a culture excluded by European modernity, but rather paradoxically reinforced the process of 'Othering' by the further demarcation of difference and identity politics. Second and in consequence he sees the potentiality in transmodernity to move us beyond traditional dichotomies; articulate a critical cosmopolitanism beyond nationalism and colonialism; to produce knowledges beyond third world and Eurocentric fundamentalisms; to produce radical post-capitalist politics beyond identity politics; to overcome the traditional dichotomy between the political economy and cultural studies and to move beyond economic reductionism and culturalism (Grosfoguel, *et al.*, 2007). In a similar vein, Ziauddin Sardar (2004) sees the positive potentiality of the transmodern world to bridge what appears currently the impassable gap between Islam and the West due to the concept of 'tradition' as an *idée fixe* of western society. He shows how transmodern tenets of consensual politics and modalities for adjusting to change are at very heart of Islam. Yet he warns us that in developing a transmodern framework to open discussions it is important to think of the Muslim world beyond the strait jackets of either ultra-modernist or ultra traditionalist governments (neither of whom have any understanding of transmodernism) and involve ordinary people instead – activists, scholars, writers, journalists, etc. In doing so, Sardar (2004) argues we will discover that most people have critical but positive attitudes towards the West; and women will be as willing, if not more so, to participate in such discussions and the transformations they may initiate, as men. He is of the opinion that if the West shift towards transmodernism, the involvement of the public will open up massive new possibilities for positive change and fruitful synthesis which would replace homogenizing globalization with a more harmonious and enriching experience of living together.

3. Feminine voices: A call for love ethics

The preceding discussion has clearly shown that while many different labels and models exist they all similarly point to the same intuitive aspirations for inclusivity, diversity, partnership, sacredness and quality of life, deep play, sustainability, universal human rights, the rights of nature and peace on Earth. The *synchronicity* phenomenon of the universal seemingly unconnected ‘coincidences’ (Jung, 1960; Jarowski, 1996) and Riane Eisler’s argument of no global awareness of this world-wide movement for the reason of lacking an unifying name, are further illustrated by the fact that I primarily learned about many of those ideas through the feminist writings focused on love ethics (bell hooks) and what Gloria Steinem described as the *circularity paradigm* (1993, 2004). Her words very much resonate with the ideas elaborated above:

If we think of ourselves as circles, our goal is completion — not defeating others. Progress lies in the direction we haven’t been... Progress is appreciation. If we think of work structures as circles, excellence and cooperation are the goal — not competition. Progress becomes mutual support and connectedness. If we think of nature as a circle, then we are part of its reciprocity. Progress means interdependence. If we respect nature and each living thing as a microcosm of nature — then we respect the unique miracle of ourselves. And so we have come full circle (Steinem, 1993:189-190).

The realization that human powers come from within has been translated into the political arena, producing a socio-political movement of so-called ‘sacred activism’, which reaffirms an individual growth, spirituality and actions that counter contemporary global discourses of fear, alienation and disempowerment (e.g. Diamant, 2005; Fonda, 2004; Fox, 2000; Maathai, 2005; Tacey, 2004).

In many ways some of those ideas can be traced in my latest work where I put forward the poststructural concept of embodiment (Ateljevic & Swain, 2006; Ateljevic & Hall, 2007; Wilson & Ateljevic, 2008). I have argued that the poststructural perspective gives us the opportunity to engage with subtle norms and values shaping our lives in the process of which both, the normalized discourse of dehumanized structures and the resisting power of agency, can be parallely revealed. Yet, in my deconstructions I want(ed) to remain positive and hopeful, as I have begun to be inspired by the feminist work on the importance of embracing love ethics and the tracing of positive structures, changes and potentialities that give us hope and models of acting and behaving in our personal and professional lives (Ateljevic, 2005; 2006b; Ateljevic, Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). As Steinem aptly asks:

And where is the routine study of social forms other than hierarchy, patriarchy, and competition – or even an understanding that they exist? Where are the campuses as pioneers of the powers of self-esteem and human possibilities? (1993:129).

Or as Erich Fromm (1956, original edition) in his renowned work of the psychoanalysis of modern political economy posed the powerful question of how almost all our energy is spent on learning how to achieve success, prestige, money and power, while the art of living and loving “which ‘only’ profits the soul, but is profitless in the modern sense, is a luxury we have no right to spend much energy on?” (2006:5-6).

bell hooks (2000; 2002; 2003) has particularly engaged with those ideas in her work of conceptualizing love that goes beyond only exceptional-individual phenomenon. To promote the overall cultural embrace of a global vision wherein we see our lives and our fate as intimately connected to those of everyone else on the planet, she urges both men and women to challenge the patriarchal culture of lovelessness, sexist stereotypes and dehumanization and to engage in the art of loving for themselves and their universal humanity. She has translated those ideas particularly into the most obvious academic area of influence for the potential social change – our teaching, and in doing so has produced the concept of so-called ‘democratic educators’ and a pedagogy of hope (2003). In presenting her ideas and looking at what works she urges us teachers to resist oppressive structures by exposing their dehumanization and to embrace the values that motivate progressive social change – spirit, struggle, service, love, the ideals of shared knowledge and shared learning. It is in this context of (what I now recognize as) transmodern calls to ‘shift to a new level of consciousness, to reach a higher moral ground... to shed our fear and give hope to each other’ (Wangari Maathai 2004 Nobel Peace Prize lecture) that feminist voices will find transnational/universal perspective. In other words, it is only through integrating deeply embedded and destructive dichotomies and hierarchies of feminine/masculine; body/mind/spirit; external/internal; humankind/nature; rational/emotional; subject/object that we can produce a true way forward towards a more just world.

4. Final reflections

In this paper I have engaged with a broad range of literature that provides us with many signals and evidence of an emerging and significant paradigm shift in our human evolution. To suggest so, different authors use many terms to capture the main forces behind the potentiality of creating the brave new transmodern world – the reflective/living-systems paradigm (Elgin); the partnership model of caring economics (Eisler); the relational global

consciousness of biosphere politics (Rifkin); love ethics (hooks); the circularity paradigm of interdependence (Steinem); the transmodern philosophy of political liberation (Dussel). The plethora of these terms echoes the argument of Riane Eisler (2002) that the reason why we do not hear much about this movement is because it is not centralised and coordinated under a single unifying name.

In conveying 'good news' however, I do not deny the harsh reality of structural inequalities around the world and my own privileged position in it – to speak, to write and to live comfortably. Yet, it wasn't always like that. As a person who experienced the Balkan war in the 1990s and subsequent displacement with its all challenges during which I encountered both beautiful human support and random discrimination I attest to the powers of positive mindset and human compassion which helps one to empower and to get empowered. In the light of my own experience I want to promote values of wisdom and compassion and individual powers to make a difference and in doing so to point to the possibilities of creating unity by celebrating diversity, which I believe represents the only way to the sustainable future of humanity.

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ULLA VUORELA

WOMEN, DEVELOPMENT
AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES¹

I had the chance of visiting the 11th East African Book Fair that was exhibited in Dar es Salaam in August 2002. When I asked one of my Tanzanian colleagues in sociology how much time I should reserve for the visit, I was told that one could easily spend a whole day perusing the books. Indeed, this was true; one could spend as much time there as one could spare from other activities – the display was so rich with recent social sciences books, critiques of globalisation and development discourse together with schoolbooks, storybooks for children and local fiction. The main attraction of the fair was no doubt the stall of a small and recent publisher, E&D Limited, where Salim Ahmed Salim, who opened the fair, also stopped for the longest while. E&D is a publisher, established by two young women, Elieshi Lema and Demere Kitunga, specializing in critical social sciences, educational books as well as fiction. The social sciences and educational books with a wide distribution serve the purpose of enabling the publishing of books that are closest to the heart of Lema and Kitunga, namely the publication of fiction written by women, feminist research and children's story books that they publish both in English and in Swahili.

The most inspiring book of the season was the novel *Parched Earth* written by Elieshi Lema herself – there is no doubt that the publishing house was also designed to provide a channel for the energies of those who established the house. *Parched Earth* is the first novel written in English by a Tanzanian woman, a love story from a woman's point of view. The main character in the book, a female teacher, reflects about the possibility of love on an equal basis. Having failed at her first marriage, she finds herself involved with a career diplomat. But to arrive at this point is a contestation between demands set out by tradition and an individual urge to forge one's own identity. Some of the reviewers

¹ Originally published as: "Naiset, kehitys ja keskiluokka". In: *Muutoksia*, Melin, Harri and Jouko Nikula (eds.) Tampere: Vastapaino 2003.

agreed that Lema's book manifests a new generation of African writing, a generation that informs us of a political, cultural and historical consciousness we thought was the privilege of industrialised Western authors only. The story springs from one's inner experience is witness to a perspective that sees gender as an interactive rather than a necessary fate or an inroad into various kinds of separatisms (Fawzia Mustafa). As such, the story is a manifestation of a new strand of Tanzanian writing that no longer describes women through a male mindset (C.S.L. Chachage).

But what is the significance of this event, when we speak about gender and development and the huge burdens that women in the developing countries are given to carry? Is it not poverty that is the most pressing problem of development? Aren't the efforts to speak of love just another of the individualist and self-centred middle class concerns, and luxurious even at that?

I will quote another African woman writer, Ama Ata Aidoo, whose most important novel *Changes* was published some years earlier. The novel of this mature writer has also been translated into Finnish, published by *Kääntöpiiri*, a Finnish publishing house, also established and directed by women. This book *Changes*, which was published in 1991, speaks of relationships between men and women, be it in love, in marriage or in working life. The main events also carry along a number of ironic or sarcastic or even naughty observations of society. Aidoo doesn't leave the authorities in her country alone; neither does she resist the temptation of commenting on learned women, be they colleagues in the Ghanaian or in Western societies. Aidoo makes a confession in the beginning of the book as she writes an apology meant for her critics.

Many years ago, when I was a bit older than now, I said in a public interview that I would never be able to write about lovers in Accra, because for sure, there are more important topics to talk about around us. So my work in writing this book has been an exercise of eating my own words. This is a story of the lives and loves of a privileged young woman and other fictive persons in Accra. The book does not purport to make any comment on any debate, however topical that debate may be (Aidoo 2002, 7).

In this article, I am not going to take Aidoo's confession too seriously. I don't think that she even meant it to be taken literally – gathering this also from the fact that when she gave a talk in Helsinki last year she chose to speak of the "Politics of Intimacy". One of the points made in this talk was to open our eyes to realise that even our most intimate relationships are entangled with politics. So, what significance then would love stories have for our strivings for development?

Aidoo speaks of the significance of education, even though she also points out how impotent even the best of education may remain when one thinks

of its potential as a real social force. As such, Aidoo puts a lot of emphasis on real education. Visiting Finland, she told us that an African woman author doesn't necessarily need the Woolfian "room of her own" because, what is more important for her would be her own computer and a word processing program.

This notion brings me closer to my particular topic, which is to think of the significance of the middle classes in development, as agents of development and the roles played by middle class women in society. This might not be seen as a novel idea to be developed, if one thinks of all the noise that also the "big" development agents are making about the significance of education. Just think of the policies of the World Bank, his brother the IMF and all the actors in the banking and financing world; or else, of the population conference held in Cairo or of the policies of various UN organizations. Should I not be excited and happy that they, all of them, give so much emphasis on the education of girls and women in particular? My enthusiasm evaporates considerably, though, when I know how often education is used as a mere rhetoric device. My enthusiasm cools down even more when I know that the ultimate aim of education of girls for the global governors seems to be to look at it as a tool for the containment of the population growth, because when the age at which girls start giving birth will be delayed, their careers as mothers will be shortened. Certainly, I welcome the efforts to give the girls a better chance to mature peacefully, but I like to hasten to add that girls should not be "kept" in schools only in order to delay their first births.

I cannot fully agree with those either who take population growth as the main reason for the poverty of the developing countries or even, global poverty. My interest lies in real education, in an education that is relevant and contributes significantly to the mastery of the milieu of the women; my interest lies in an education that empowers women to become more active agents of development and brings an overall improvement in their lives. I am talking of an education that has substance and gives one the means to become even authors of fiction, if one so wishes. Ama Ata Aidoo provides me an example of a fact that we know very well from our own history: a good author or a good writer of fiction often manages to give a more accurate and emphatic description and analysis of society than the best social scientist with our sharpened tools for analysis, that may remain cut and dry and even off the point sometimes.

I think a definite distinction needs to be made with seeing the education of girls and women as a means of managing the female body or seeing it as an enabling tool in the making of women as active subjects of their own lives. Speaking of the benefits of education, I speak also of the significance of the middle classes. I speak also for such an education that enables one to critically receive the wisdoms of the policymakers and politically correct but shallow

speeches that pale when juxtaposed with what happens in reality. More than that, I speak of an education that helps one take a distance from the hegemonic truths and self-evident tropes. Or of an education that sharpens one's mind to distinguish between fact and fiction. It is also in this sense that the development of critical reading skills is an important part of a citizen's education. There are many women in the developing countries that we can look up to as important guides. One of those who came to Finland and spoke of the realities of women in the developing countries was Nawal el Saadawi. Many have followed; let me just remind you of Arundhati Roy as one of the professionals who has not only produced powerful fiction but also engaged in political advocacy.

While the reduction of poverty remains an uppermost concern, there is a significant transformation in the ways in which policymakers relate to poverty. Not only is poverty something that has to be identified and measured, there is a shift from an ethics of egalitarianism and rights into an ethics of individual competition and "merit-based" survival. With regards to strategies to remove poverty, this implies the screening of those who deserve support from those who don't, i.e. distinguishing the "hardcore poor" from those who can take care of themselves and thus don't need to be considered for welfare benefits. Alleviation of poverty is the "correct" wording, when one shuns away from structural changes.

The main feature of the World Bank-led rhetoric and justification for development cooperation are measures geared to the "alleviation of poverty" as an enhancement of politics that has stipulated that development assistance has to be best directed to the "poorest of the poor". What one means by poverty has subsequently created a huge mass of literature, geared to developing instruments with which to measure poverty. In the meanwhile, the wide gap between the rich and the poor, be it countries or individuals, has become ever more yawning. This state of affairs has made me think, for a long time now, of how relevant the goal of assisting the "poorest of the poor" will be in the long run, if the acknowledged goal of development would be the "removal of poverty", not only its alleviation. Targeting the poorest of the poor may sound noble, but entails the danger of transforming the efforts to remove poverty into a *charity* towards the poor, and forgetting the efforts to achieve a deeper restructuring of the unequal economic order that has nurtured the making of the poorest of the poor as a class. When development cooperation remains or becomes a charity work in human crisis situations, one is dealing with short-term stopgap measures instead of creating the conditions for economic growth that would be distributed more evenly. This is the background which prompts me to posit here as my thesis that if one is serious about removing poverty, one should shift one's thinking about the significance of having a

large based middle class in any country. My thesis, in short, is that poverty is best removed by the creation of a large middle class. The larger, the better!

I see eyebrows being raised? What do you mean by the middle classes? Do you mean all those people that our generation shunned as bored, conventional, stagnated people, aspiring to the lifestyle of a bourgeoisie? Do I mean all those people that we never wanted to become, all those whose first ambition was to decorate their homes with the necessary sofa set and the requisite TV set to watch? Do I talk of the middle classes whose only aspiration is to consume more, by grace of the regularity of salaries that land like clockwork into one's bank account? What about sustainable development at the mercy of these consuming classes? Hasn't development cooperation been correct in its avoidance of those better off who can well take care of themselves and seek education and the best of doctors as the blessed consumers? Isn't it politically incorrect to even mention the middle classes within the framework of developmentalist thinking?

As a counterargument, I would like to also pay attention to the quality of life in countries that do not have large middle classes, and where the income and educational disparities are huge. In Pakistan, for instance, there is a small and utterly educated elite class; yet the rate of illiteracy is about 90% for women and about 80% for men at the level of the total population. What about countries such as Kuwait, Afghanistan, many Asian countries? The peculiarity of the Japanese is that most of the people consider themselves as middle class people, which might partially explain that a Japanese signing the guest book to an art exhibition in Helsinki, could think as her comment merely, "Thank you! I am Japanese. I am happy".

I'd like to dwell a bit on thinking about the significance of the middle classes as a force of transformation. If we look at Finnish history and the people who we celebrate as its makers, whether industrialists, popular educationists, working class leaders, what unites them is the fact of them belonging to the middle classes.

And if you find the word middle class too strong or too loaded with negative connotations and cultural meanings, we could perhaps learn from Adetoun Ilumoka, a Nigerian scholar, who speaks of the significance of those *relatively empowered* when compared with others. When talking about the relevance of human rights in Nigeria, she gave a lot of agency and significance to the relatively empowered people, i.e. people who in their own environment are relatively better off, whether in terms of education or economic safety, and who thus were in a better position to become influential activists. Even if the talk of the "poorest of the poor" might appeal to our sympathetic feelings, as a policy it does not easily rise above charity work or crisis administration. Certainly, as humans we do have the commitment to rescuing others from hunger, the consequences of catastrophes or other, keeping their heads just above the

water; don't we still see more and more of them drowning? I get worried; the more the resources for development cooperation need to be transferred to crisis aid the less might be reserved for sustainable construction. While I do not deny that the necessary has to be done, but crisis aid should not divert us from thinking about structural changes in the economic map, and the position of the developing countries in the global political economy.

About the importance of love stories and of conceptual feminist debates

I return to the importance of love stories in critical development thinking. Ama Ata Aidoo speaks not only to feminists but she also speaks to men. I will quote her story about Esi at some length. Esi is a statistician in Ghana; she is married and the mother of one child. One morning she makes an important discovery. She had prepared herself for the working day ahead, had a shower and dressed herself, when her husband gets into a sexy mood and wants to make love to her, despite the resistance coming from the wife.

She could not remember when she last had felt herself so unwilling to meet the world. And then, in a state of some kind of a shock she realised that despite the two showers she had had in the morning, she did not feel clean and pure. Pure? Then she realised that what had happened in the morning with Oko was, in fact, the rape of the wife. "Rape in marriage"? She started laughing vigorously and then came to think that, what if somebody walked in to her office just now, that person might consider her insane. If somebody would think that she had lost her mind that would in fact not be too far from the truth. Isn't hysteria a kind of shaking of one's mind? (---) Rape in marriage? And then she saw herself or another woman sociologist giving a talk to a large audience in a conference entitled "The frequency of marital rape in an urban African context".

Aidoo describes also what happened after the speech had been given.

"Didn't we say it already? We will be buried in those imported feminist thoughts."

"And our respectable colleague, how would you describe the rape of a wife in Akan? In Ibo? In Yoruba? In Wolof or Temne? In Kikuyu or Swahili? In Shona? Zulu? Xhosa?"

(...)

A rape of the wife? No. In their society there could not possibly exist an indigenous word that would refer to the rape of a wife. No. In their society the husband had the right to demand sex from his wife as his right. Whenever it suited him. Besides, any "normal" person, especially

any normal woman would consider another woman either lucky or gifted or both, if she can arouse such a craze in her husband (Aidoo 2002, 23-25).

Aidoo addresses the issue of the ways in which we can make use of concepts across cultural and developmental barriers. Doing that, she gives us something to think of as feminists and as development activists. Despite the differences in our conceptual thinking and naming, we still share some common concerns and experiences. I also hear Aidoo making the point that naming the thing makes us conscious of the thing; yet, the mere act of naming does not bring the issue into existence, because it may well have existed before we could even name it.²

When speaking of love, both Elieshi Lema and Ama Ata Aidoo speak of the relationships between women and men. They speak of the position of women, of the significance of education for women. Aidoo also makes an emphatic point of the significance of international dialoguing between women for women. One can also read a kind of irony in the way she comments on the local specificities in the lives of women. Both Aidoo and Lema are saying, albeit a bit differently, that women share a lot of things, women can learn from each other, but not only that, we have to learn to listen to each other also. This is even clearer when we go to the feminists and the kind of discussions and debates we have had about gender and gender systems. Here the issue is also very significantly about local and situated knowledge, about the politics of knowing and about power. We might also pay attention to the significance of researchers and civil society activists. Engaging in dialogues with them is not only fruitful, but might give us some slight surprises as well. Such surprises can also force us to rethink our own positions and the ways in which we see some others.

If Aidoo speaks to us of the significance of our bodies as producers of our experience and knowledge, many scholars have also paid a lot of attention to the hidden corporeality of some of the developmentalist rhetoric. An innocent looking talk of the significance of education for girls and women may entail hidden messages about the ways of controlling the woman's body. Fawzia

² As a parallel act of naming, let me introduce you the new Japanese term of *Menzu Raifu*. This is an Anglicised Japanese, a word that a representative of a male consciousness raising group used when talking about new ways of living for men, new kinds of Men's Lives. *Menzu Raifu* is the Japanese way of writing and pronouncing Men's Life. It is not that men were not already living their lives, but the new word was introduced to mark a shift in thinking about the lives of men. Domestic violence, likewise, is spoken in Japan as the DV, i.e. Domestic violence. When I asked, has there not been any domestic violence in Japan earlier; some people suggested to me that it has been "such a natural part of life that one would not even bother to give it a name".

Mustafa makes a link between some of the rhetorical shifts in the language of the UNFPA and the governance of development and the governance of women's bodies in development. She draws our attention to the fact that the language used by UN organizations entails more speech of the female body than meets the eye at first sight. When the UNFPA no longer speaks of "population growth" or "family planning" but speaks of women's health and reproductive rights instead, it may in fact have the effect of hiding the quarrels about women's rights for abortion and make the UN acceptable and "politically correct" also to those who advocate pro-life activists, who are staunch adversaries of abortions. This will make the organization look more woman-friendly and more feminist-oriented than it really is in practice. One may also ask, to what extent is the emphasis on the prevention of HIV/AIDs more of an international attempt to save African women from becoming victims of African men rather than giving Africans access to medication at a cheap price, already available to others (Mustafa 2000). Particularly significant would be the treatment that would relatively easily save the lives of the babies of HIV-positive, pregnant women.

Nigerian lawyer Adetoun Ilumoka speaks of the rights of women to have an abortion. She takes it as an example of how speaking of human rights does not necessarily carry the same meaning in poor developing countries as it does in industrialized Western countries. Ilumoka reminds us of the importance of seeing the human rights discourse in the context of its historical making, in a context where there is an institution to whom one can take one's demands for human rights. Demanding one's rights does not make sense in a situation where there is no institution to address such demands, and when the more pressing problems are about entitlement to better living, drinkable water or education. Ilumoka sees women's problems largely as political and structural, legal imperialism as one of them. Legal imperialism for Ilumoka refers to all such actions, which forcefully brings about legal change as part of other economic, political and cultural uses of power and domination. Legal imperialism is a practice of power that requests legal changes that are not necessarily in the legal authorities' own interests. Examples of such imperialism have been the attempts to legitimize the rights of multinational corporations to demand land for the establishment of production points to other countries.

Can educated middle class women raise their voice?

Considering that globalization and many large-scale political decisions, trade policies and property rights bear heavily on the lives of women in the developing countries, the role of political activism and consciousness raising is all the more important. Many activists coming from developing countries are critical researchers, even though their work may require a lot

of reactive activism and consultancy research on the terms of the sponsors, with lesser chances for research based on one's own priorities. However, many women have also turned the opportunities in consultancy work into producing critical voices of critical third world activists. Scholars from the third world, women and men, have produced a lot and also radical criticism of the structural adjustment programs and other aspects of globalization; this is not surprising though because major policy shifts such as the neo-liberal turn have taken place on terms dictated by the corporate capital and its political allies. In the major political shifts, smaller reforms have less of an impact, if for instance, the genetic rights of seeds are patented in the name of large corporations. If the problem for women is legal imperialism and the appropriation of immaterial and material property rights, it takes a number of relatively empowered people like Vandana Shiva to participate in campaigns against "patenting life". Work done in smaller projects may be significant, but never reaches the proportions of having a large impact that finally would lead to structural changes. Here one cannot underestimate the significance of a conscious and vigilant middle class.

What have the relatively empowered women in the developing countries done then?

In Tanzania, academic women organized themselves already at the beginning of the 1980s into study groups with the purpose of enhancing one's theoretical and practical understanding of the situation of women. This reading group was able to register itself as an NGO, already at a time when civil society activism was acceptable only when affiliated to the one and only party, or else in the confines of the various churches and missionary societies. Even an activism of this kind aroused considerable resistance on the part of men at the campus – to the extent that some would not allow their wives to participate in a group that was alleged to lead to divorces. The women persevered and the Women's Research and Documentation Project has been followed by a number of other projects and organisations. One of the most important ones is the *Tanzania Gender Networking Project*, TGNP, with its own premises. TGNP publishes its own bilingual (English and Swahili) newsletter and holds weekly seminars open to the public, discussing important social and gender issues. TGNP's activities target both the more and the less educated women and it organizes campaigns such as public education about citizens' rights and access to resources. TGNP was among the first organizations in Africa to promote the Gender Budgeting Initiative that is about using 'gender lenses' to analyze national policies, public expenditures and revenues in order to have an impact on a more equitable allocation of resources. As I am writing this, there are hundreds of women's

organizations in Tanzania that indicate how important the role of the “relatively empowered” is in the strengthening of civil society. While the political spectrum covered is a wide one, the impact of campaigns that involve participatory research and animation is even more difficult to measure.

In Pakistan, the middle class women have also established study centres for feminist learning and NGOs such as the Women’s Action Forum that regularly demonstrate against oppressive practices towards women in the name of fundamentalism. They demand changes in family laws, and the abolition of polygamy as an oppressive practice. They also campaign for the protection of the female body against domestic violence. Violence against women in Pakistan is one of the pressing problems, and women have established shelters for battered women and also given them legal advice. This kind of activity is so subversive that some of the legal activists and women’s shelters have to be protected by armed guards day and night. Ayiesha Imam in Nigeria was given an award recently for her significant activism (even while endangering her own life) against fundamentalist violence. Also in other African countries, the relatively empowered women organize shelters and legal and psychological counselling for women who have been victims of violence or oppressive practices. Women with gender and equality awareness are needed as lawyers, politicians, and human rights activists and in the media. There are already many of them, but many more are needed. The problem in many countries is that the relatively empowered are also relatively few, and not all of them are committed to the cause of less advantaged women. Calling on the middle classes or the relatively empowered, necessarily, calls for political engagement and contestations as well.

On the possibility of cross-cultural dialoguing

Finally, I would like to pose the question of what happens to us in the West, when we listen to scholars and activists in the developing countries? What do we obtain? Not necessarily what we might expect. We better prepare ourselves for some surprises. Let me take an example of the positive impact of IT as a facilitator in not only providing a discussion forum to third world women but in providing a space for cross-cultural encounters and dialogues. The net journal *JENdA* and the Nigeria Women’s Rights Forum are such spaces. *JENdA* and *Feminist Africa*, published by the African Gender Institute in the University of Cape Town, are refereed publications, good to read and also to submit articles to, if one has the courage to expose oneself to even sharp criticisms. *JENdA* does not bow deep in front of anybody, and we Western feminists better prepare for criticisms and conceptual debates rather than patting our own heads.

Oyeronke Oyewumi does not speak of development cooperation, but of (under)development cooperation, a term that carries an intertextual trace from Walter Rodney's classic *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Both Oyewumi and Amadiume have pioneered in opening some important Africa-centred conceptual debates that have put Western feminisms to some hard tests, both with good reason and sometimes a bit provocatively. The editorial collective of *JENdA* has amply indicated some of the problems for when euro-centric concepts are uncritically applied in an African context. Even such central concepts as *woman* or the notion of *gender* might not endow themselves to identical use in the African context. From a West African perspective, the notions of man and woman are not universal categories bound to the anatomical bodies, rather their use may be tied to the categories of race and class. Oyewumi has proposed in several contexts that the notions woman, gender and sisterhood best function in the context of the Western nuclear family – and the Western nuclear family could not be taken as the model for universally applicable, global theorizing. In her view, the traditional Yoruba family does not have gender as the organising principle, because roles based on kinship positions are not tied to the biological gender; rather, positions of authority in the family and kin are defined on the basis of parenting and relative age. In addition, Oyewumi points out that one's position as a mother is not in the first place a relationship to a man, but is basically a relationship to the child. Words denoting a spouse do not distinguish between husband and wife but a more important distinction is made between those who were born in the house(hold) and those who came later through marriage. The senior person holds authority over the junior, and the person born in the house to the one who joined it later, regardless of gender. A household (meaning people who live together) implies those related by blood, whereas spouses as in-laws would remain as non-relatives outside the solidarity between those related by blood. Commenting on sisterhood as an expression for solidarity between women globally, Oyewumi points out that in the Yoruba context, one cannot take solidarity between sisters for granted. Finally, Oyewumi points out that categories referring to marriage and family basically refer to such relations of relative power that have little to do with biologically gendered bodies (Oyewumi 2002).

I think Nkiru Ngwesi makes an important point when putting a lot of emphasis on the historicity of the phenomena we are studying as against too easily accepting any 'received wisdoms'. She draws our attention to the historicity of the nuclear family and asks one to look at it in the context of European industrialization. From this perspective, the history of the nuclear family, the study of households and the gender division of labour and the split between the public and the private appear as results of particular historical developments. They then have to be seen as part of situated, contextual knowledge. She alerts

us as Western feminists not to see Africa as a continent without a history, or else she warns us from identifying the beginning of history of the continent with the arrival of the colonial conquest. I would like to add that development for women in Africa does not start with Ester Boserup, the Danish economist, whose book on *Women's Role in Economic Development* became the most cited classic in the discourse on women and development of the 1970s and 1980s. I would also like to add that European concepts do have a history, and it will be important to locate Western feminist discourses in their historical contexts. Western feminist discourse is not one and not even two (the first and the second waves)! Finally, I have learned that in cross-cultural dialoguing we may easily be wrong both historically and in our ability to understand context-bound, but our misunderstandings may turn out very fruitful if they lead to further inquiry and hence, better understandings. From this perspective, to start, cross generalizations may move in both directions, so that we may see Africa as one, or Western feminist discourse may seem like one, even though it has a history of many conceptual debates and political clashes. The significance of situating and situated knowledges is important for all of us in providing us with better ways of knowing and better positions from which to argue our cases.

In the Finnish context, the “development discourse” can be seen as a historical phase that was coeval with the rise of the Nordic welfare state and the eagerness to engage in development cooperation as part of the global agenda. The Nordic connection was for us one way of constructing a Western, Nordic identity in a period of the cold war, even to the extent that the substance and focus of development cooperation may have suffered from this. That Finland became party to the demands for the neo-liberal turn in the mid 1980s became a kind of beginning for those turns and ideological shifts that we have also witnessed in the Finland of the 1990s.

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LAURA HUTTUNEN

VOICING THE DIASPORA? REFUGEES,
RESEARCHERS AND POLICYMAKERS IN THE
BOSNIAN DIASPORA

'Voice' is a complicated matter. In academic literature, voice is often understood in a symbolic manner, either as having a voice within texts and textual production (e.g. Clifford & Marcus 1986; Spivak 1988), or as having a voice in public arenas. This formulation equates 'having a voice' with having power. But voice may also be understood in a very concrete sense, as sounds that we produce from our bodies. In this article I will consider voice from two different vantage points. On the one hand, I will consider the voice of my interlocutors, diaspora Bosnians' voice in different contexts. On the other hand, I will touch on the problem of my own voice as a researcher – my *ability* to speak, my *entitlement* to speak in certain occasions, as well as my ability to *hear* my interlocutors' voices.

My considerations are tied to a particular empirical context. I have carried out periodic fieldwork since 2001 among Bosnian Muslims who live in Finland but engage in diasporic/ transnational practices with their former home country (see Huttunen 2009; 2008; 2007; 2005; forthcoming). Since it was obvious from the beginning that the lives and life trajectories of my informants were not circumscribed by the borders of the Finnish state, my ethnographic field has been multi-sited from the beginning, with several locations in Finland and in Bosnia-Herzegovina providing the actual 'field-sites'. This paper is, thus, embedded within an ethnographic project of understanding refugee life within a transnational social field.

The politics of having a voice in the diaspora

In the 1990s anthropologists discussed 'voice' in relation to ethnographic texts. The discussion was clearly about the politics of voice, but politics limited, to

a large extent, to textual production (see e.g. Clifford & Marcus 1986; Behar & Gordon 1995; James & al 1997). But the politics of voice may refer also to agency in various contexts outside the academia. Anthropologist Liisa Malkki defines voice as “the ability to establish narrative authority over one’s own circumstances and future, and also, the ability to claim an audience” (Malkki 1997, 242). She discusses ‘voice’ in connection to refugee crises and refugee management in Rwanda and Burundi, and beyond. Her definition speaks about voice in a symbolic, but also, in a political sense: to have a voice means to have the possibility to shape one’s own future, or at least to participate in shaping it. Another question follows from this formulation: Who is the relevant audience for one’s voice? Who has the power to shape the futures for people living under various circumstances?

In the case of Bosnians living in the diaspora, there are several agents that exercise power over their possibilities to choose, to build their lives, to decide where to live and how to live their lives. If they were to have a voice in Malkki’s political sense, we should ask: who should hear them? Where should they be able to claim an audience?

Mapping the relations of power that structure life in the Bosnian diaspora produces a complicated landscape of local and supra-local relations. To start from the most obvious, the Finnish state and the Finnish authorities regulate their lives in their new host country. Certain regulatory practices concern all residents in Finland, while others concern the ways in which immigrants are incorporated into their new host society. In addition to those, there are some policy practices that are directed specifically towards the Bosnians in Finland, such as certain repatriation programmes. But as most of them engage in active diasporic relations with the former home country, the emerging political apparatus in the new state of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as changing political climate there affects their possibilities in many ways. (On Bosnia, see Stefanson 2006; Jansen 2007; Harvey 2006; on Finland & Bosnia, see Huttunen 2009 & forthcoming).

In addition to those more localized power structures, there are others, supra-local or transnational in character, that shape the circumstances of Bosnians’ lives. The large international organizations that rule refugee management and return, such as the UNHCR and the International Red Cross, have moulded their lives in a remarkable way. Also those organs that have governed the transition in Bosnia from war to peace, but also from the socialist past to the present neo-liberal mode of governance, shape their possibilities in a very concrete sense (cf. Jansen 2007; Huttunen 2009). There are also countless NGOs that participated in the reconstruction efforts in post-war Bosnia that governed a considerable amount of resources in the area (Sampson 2002; Helms 2003). All these agents have real power over the lives of Bosnian citizens in the diaspora. To have a voice, to be able to claim an audience in all these

arenas would be a noteworthy achievement for anybody, and in many cases an unthinkable goal for a majority of the refugee population with no access to formal positions of power.

These considerations urge us to consider the voice of the researcher working with such a group. Should the researcher seek to speak for the group under study in some, or in all of those arenas? The idea of speaking *for* somebody is always problematic (see e.g. Spivak 1988), even more so in such a complicated situation. Facing the enormous political, ethical and social questions related to such a tragedy as the Bosnian war, the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the ensuing diaspora makes one rather humble and unwilling to express certainties. Below, I will discuss further some aspects of the dubious idea of speaking *for* somebody.

Even if a researcher would wish to take on the role of an activist and propagate certain viewpoints, the task is challenging. Also, the researcher is often voiceless when facing the policy machine governing life for diaspora Bosnians. There are too many audiences to be claimed, and even if certain policy makers are willing to find some research literature to help them with formulating their goals and practices, quantitative knowledge is often preferred over ethnographic. In these contexts, academic discussion on the power of the researcher, so vividly discussed in the 1990s, seems rather distant.

Bosnians, both in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as in the diaspora, seem to be rather distrustful about politics in general (Helms 2003). Rather, they seem to concentrate on 'family welfare projects' (cf. Eastmond 1998; 2006), i.e. on ensuring a decent life for their families and loved ones. In such circumstances, their solution is understandable: Bosnians act in arenas where they do have a voice, where they can exercise at least some form of control over their futures.

The ability to hear: Gendering the question of return

To speak *for* somebody entails the dubious idea that those for whom someone is speaking cannot do that for themselves (Spivak 1988). Further, it implies an idea that one knows thoroughly the lives of those for whom one is speaking. Such a certainty may hinder one's ability to *hear* the variety of voices within the group. Here I will think about the dissonance of voices among diaspora Bosnians through gendering the question of return to Bosnia-Herzegovina. The return has been governed by various actors with divergent strategies and divergent goals (see e.g. Harvey 2006; Jansen 2007; Philpot 2005; Stefansson 2004 & 2006; Williams 2006). While trying to understand how Bosnians themselves see their putative return to Bosnia, I have conducted interviews with Bosnians in Finland on the topic. In 2006 I travelled around Finland in

order to meet and interview families that had been selected as beneficiaries in a repatriation program for Bosnians wishing to return permanently to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within the program, demolished family houses would be rebuilt by donor money. These families had not, however, returned to Bosnia, even if the rebuilding of their houses had been finished, and even if they had signed papers to assure that they would return once the rebuilding was completed.

Almost all my visits to Bosnian households followed a similar pattern. Soon after the greetings and welcoming coffees the man in the family would initiate a discussion on return. The man would assure that the family would return as soon as it is possible, first of all as soon as there is employment in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The main reason for their staying in Finland was their inability to procure livelihood in the current rather fragile and unstable economy back home. They told long stories about the good social life in pre-war Bosnia (c.f. Jansen 2008). The wish to return to the place of origin was in most cases expressed as the common wish of the family.

Soon, however, the story would turn out to be much more complicated. I usually stayed for a day or at least an afternoon, and during the day the women in the house would start to take a more active role in our conversation. Most of the women would claim that they actually do not wish to return to Bosnia permanently, only for visits and holidays. According to them, their children have better futures in Finland, with better schooling, health care systems and social security, and better prospects for their adult lives. Also, more practical concerns were expressed by the women. They would say that life in Finland is in many ways easier for women, especially for women coming from rural areas in Bosnia: taking care of the family and everyday matters in impoverished rural areas, where many people have returned to cultivating their own food in the insecurities of providing for families, is very hard. Especially for women who bear more responsibility in such matters. The situation in rural parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina is exacerbated by the fact that in many places, the majority of pre-war friends and relatives are abroad or dead.

This gendered pattern of discussing return implies, of course, a much more complicated reality of hopes, desires and negotiations over Bosnian families' life trajectories. The divergent ideas expressed by men and women are tied to complicated gender relations and gendered patterns of family life both in Bosnia, in Finland and in the diaspora. The fact that the family houses in the homeland to which the families would return are actually the men's houses, due to inheritance and residence practices in Bosnia (see e.g. Bringa 1995; Huttunen forthcoming), is certainly a constituent element in the diverging desires of return. So are the contested gender politics in post-war Bosnia, where the conservative understandings of women's positions are being argued in the public (e.g. Helms 2003).

It took a while before I as a researcher began to *hear* the gendered structure of voices. My own understanding evolved from a simple understanding of the diaspora Bosnians desire to return to seeing the situation as a complex set of negotiations over life trajectories that straddle multiple geographical locations. My main point here, however, is to illuminate the complexity of voice as a political project: there is no on single 'Bosnian' or 'diaspora Bosnian' voice, but rather an ongoing battle over the strategies of voicing different concerns.

Embodied voice

The ability of the researcher to listen to her interlocutors' voices is a political and ethical matter, but it is also an empirical and methodological matter: Which aspects of voices should we listen to? What else, beyond the words, the denoted content, should we recognize? And, what are the most fruitful moments for listening to different voices? Voice is not just the words that we utter, it is also something that comes from our bodies, resonates in our bodies, with our emotions, with our ways of making sense of the world (cf. Janzen 2004). With our bodily voices we engage in relationships, we convey things beyond words, beyond the information that is encoded in language. How to capture such nuances in our research practices?

I have spoken with my informants/interlocutors both in Finland and when travelling in Bosnia. I was often surprised over the changes that took place in my informants while travelling in Bosnia, especially when we talked about their life and experiences that were located in Bosnia or ex-Yugoslavia. The ways in which people talked about their past while standing on the ruins of their former family houses, destroyed in the war, was profoundly different from the way in which they talked about it in my neutral office back in Finland. Both the content, and the ways in which the story was told, was different. The deeply embodied nature of their past was conveyed in the tones of voice and bodily gestures that framed the content of telling.

There have been many moments when the bodily nature of having a voice has been played out during the trips that I made with Bosnians. I remember particularly well one evening during a trip with a group of Bosnian Muslim men from Finland to the *Republika Srpska* of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2001. At that time, Muslim return to that area was not yet taking place to any considerable degree. The group was preparing to meet an administrator of the Republika Srpska government dealing with the returning refugees. These young men had lived through very personal experiences of violence, and there was a lot of aggression and bitterness among them. Esad, the leader of the group, wanted to prepare the others for the meeting. He wanted them to be calm and behave themselves, to be diplomatic, in order to build ground for

fruitful negotiations. “Yes, I know that there is a lot that you would like to say to him, to them”, he said. “A lot of anger and hate, I know. And I know it is hard, but you know I have swallowed so much to be able to negotiate, to be able to return some day... That’s what we have to do, to swallow, and to discuss.” He pretended to be swallowing, again and again, as if he had something stuck in his throat. He showed us very concretely the painfulness of swallowing the anger, simultaneously conveying the bodily nature of speaking, and of remaining silent in certain circumstances.

Another powerful way of voicing emotions is music. During that same trip to Republika Srpska in 2001, my fellow travellers were singing sad Bosnian songs during our long bus trips across the ruined landscape, thus voicing many emotions that were difficult to convey in spoken language. This leads to still another way to think about voice: voice in artistic expression.

Evocative voice: Communicating across difference?

‘Voice’, in Malkki’s sense, is about having power over one’s life and circumstances of living. In artistic expression, voice is sought usually in a different sense. Rather than pursuing concrete (political) goals, artistic expression seeks to convey the dimensions of human life that are difficult to put into words or mould in declarations. I wish to close this exploration of voice with two poems written by Azem Kurtić, a Bosnian Muslim¹ man living in Finland:

A PEAR TREE (PÄÄRYNÄPUU)

Of all the longings, the greatest
is the longing to return to the place where my father lived
and where I was born.
So that I would rebuild my village
and it would not stand empty and burnt any more.
As I used to do, before the war
in the courtyard behind my house
I would sit again under the old pear tree,
and I would rest in the shadow of the tree and eat the pears.

¹ Despite the new political correctness in naming citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina according to their ethnic identity, I am following my informants who refer to themselves as ‘Bosanci’ and their homeland as ‘Bosnia’.

If just my hopes would come true
as soon as possible
and I could return to my homeland!
Nowhere is better to dwell
than in the tract of one's birth.

Azem Kurtić²

AM I (OLENKO MINÄ)

I was given a name without asking me.
I was exiled from my home without explaining why.
Taken to a prison camp, mistreated, humiliated.
Finally called an immigrant.
Now they ask me – who am I?
I pause to think but cannot find an answer.
As a citizen of my own country I am not accepted any more.
In my current country they do not include me as one of their own.
There is no name written on my forehead.
Would it finally be time, would I be mature
to decide myself where I belong?
One thing I know for sure:
I am a human being – a world dweller.

Azem Kurtić

These two poems point to two divergent aspects of refugee or diaspora life. While the first one conveys the pain of losing one's home, and forges a diasporic orientation back to the 'origin', the second one bespeaks a more cosmopolitan orientation. Together they are seeking for a voice that could convey the ambiguity of life, the emotional and sensuous aspects of living, as well as the pain of losing one's home and search for a new place in the world.³ The voice that is speaking through these poems is intimate and personal, and as such it invites readers to share across ethnic, national and temporal dividing lines.

² The poems were written in Finnish, and translated into English by L. Huttunen. These two poems are unpublished, but Azem Kurtić's other poems are published in Mäki (2000). I am grateful to Azem Kurtić for his kind permission to publish these poems here.

³ For a more thorough reading of these poems in an ethnographic context, see Huttunen 2007.

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ELIZABETA ŠELEVA

LOVE AS BIOGRAPHY AND FATHERLAND
IN KICA BARDZIEVA-KOLBE'S
SNOW IN CASABLANCA

Because I was craving that... for the outer world to confirm the kinship by choice as the ancestors personally selected by Dina Asprova, the would-be woman of letters of Macedonian origin, in Western Europe.

Snow in Casablanca, a novel written by Kica Bardzieva-Kolbe, deals on the whole with the topic of exile which was first initiated by the author in her philosophical hermeneutics of the refugee state in her family-confessional book entitled *Aegeans*. According to Georg Lukacs, the transcendental homelessness of the soul determines the crucial genealogical prerogative of the modern novel: the protagonist in it searches for the purpose of building a new home for himself/herself. As a genre, the novel therefore is predisposed by the homeless constant, i.e. the homeless quest of the characters for their own narrative Home, once they have experienced the drama of exile, displacement, non-affiliation, alienation in this and that world, in which they have been predisposed and then disposed of in existence. Within this frame, exile, in fact, is not experienced only as a historically founded, concretely conditioned trauma of separate individuals and/or collectives, but it is also generalized to the level of an all-comprising metaphor of modern existence, in which exile functions, above all, as a universal norm.

At the beginning, Kica Bardzieva's novel primarily focuses on the very phenomenon of voluntary exile, caused by the individual quest Dina Asprova made to find her spiritual family – which, as she trusts, is located in the West, in that very Europe which had cultivated her spiritually and which she, herself re-created afterwards as an object of craving for affiliation. This attitude of Dina's, which refers to Western culture as an exemplary one, seems to fit perfectly in a broader typological constant, as pointed out by Karen Virag, a Hungarian theoretician: "For the modern Eastern-Europeans, Western Europe denotes the

desired state of existence, as well as the home of culture.” At least in the first part of the novel, Dina does not understand the axiom of origin as a determinant. Quite the opposite, with her undoubtedly broad, mental capacities – she strives to build a different type of hermeneutics, beyond the principle of rooting.

I, too, am such an orchid. Red, rare. It doesn't need a firm root in soil. On the contrary, the thought of a root frightens me all the more... I need my fatherland as plants need soil to grow. Each soil is good for them, as long as there are enough nutrients. This is the way I've been raised and brought up.

In the first part of the novel, the familial, as well as the fatherland, are not set, determined categories for Dina, but rather categories of choice – a fact which results in a specific hermeneutics of the (lack of) fatherland. In this respect, Dina nourishes a quite non-bourgeois repulsiveness to property, ownership – for her, the only acceptable thing is the transient, the temporary – even if this refers to her own home. “Flats mean nothing to me. I am a scholarship-holder, forever. I feel best when I live in others' flats.”

Besides Dina's literal, geographical and spatial moving (first to the West, and later to Macedonia), this novel focuses much more profoundly on the process of permanent (spiritual and mental) replacement, dislocation and displacement of the self and its complex transformations, which by far overreach the essential effect on our cultural identity. The diasporic narrative, which denotes Bardzieva's prose, is historically authentic – incorporated in the concrete diasporic being and the very diasporic culture of the Balkans as a region. That and such a (diasporic) pattern to a large extent also conditions the self-imagological model, the prism of which serves for its inhabitants to experience themselves – namely, as always-already potential or virtual (real in the future) refugees!

Dina rightfully describes herself as an apocryphal Macedonian, her highly expressed self-consciousness in the whole course of the narrative time deals with – what is rather complex for us here - the undeniably important problems of self-identification in the new-transitional, post-ideological, post-Yugoslav surrounding. Bardzieva touches on the burning issue of the actual crisis of identity, and as such she is one of the rare authors “on alert”, not only in our literature, but also in a broader, Eastern-European literary context, where, it seems, such issues are neglected. In fact, in his recently published study “Eastern-European Literature in Post-communism”, American Slavist Andrew Wachtel stated: “Having in mind the trauma the post-communist transition has caused to writers, it is unusual how few literary works are directly faced with the essence of new reality of the Eastern European societies and cultures” (2006:200).

Dina's return to her fatherland, at first reluctant due to the conditioning of external circumstances, on the other hand will produce quite unexpected implications. Having built her liminal (borderline) identity, Dina, at the beginning of the novel, suffers from reflexive homesickness, which, according to Slavist Svetlana Boym, is the homesickness which reflects the fear of (coming) home. Still, the encounter with her friends, especially the knowledge that David, the symbol of her first, unforgotten love, was staying in Macedonia, will result in the imagological reconstruction of her original culture. Besides their common youth love story, Dina is related to David by the symbolism of cross-refugees, familial and individual, real and virtual: she is of Aegean origin, while he is a Jew. They both belong to two, by definition, diasporas cultures, both have the generic experience tattooed on their skin, referred to by Julia Kristeva as "foreigners to themselves". Before embarking to another country, Dina and David had always contained the already worn, basic feeling that they are foreigners in their own country. Once he falls in love with her, David actually states the constitutional premises of their very only possible fatherland, rooted in love: "You have no fatherland. I'm your fatherland. We are homeless to our love. Now you are my biography." Dina, after an exile period of ten years, will experience re-patriation and restitution of home, as a result of the cathartic power of love. Love as the essentially homing power. People as a home. And, above all, trust as the ontology and philosophy of love. This is posed as being feasible (also transformed as mythical) by the very return to Casablanca as a modern Ithaca.¹ By this Dina is not a (lifetime) migrant, but an expatriate (temporary migrant).

2. This novel by Bardzieva is layered and polysemantic, which can be seen already in the title. The country of Casablanca is a metaphor for Macedonia, but also the imagological determination of any small, border country, front-country, crossroad country, country of refugees – in which several powerful culturological matrices are united.

I'm talking about a European Casablanca... It is the notion and symbol of all the Casablanças in the world. Besides, it is a European product par excellence. It was always others who waged wars in it. Only refugees and war victims remained in it, as is the case in every genuine Casablanca... So, Casablanca is the destiny of all small countries at crossroads. It is a harbour with no sea. A Casablanca on the mainland.

¹ Darko Suvin (2005), however, writes about the figure of the necessary exiled, as is Phlyoctet, whose tragic displacement does not permit return to his Ithaca.

Existence in such a country is always in question. For this reason, its inhabitants develop a special mentality, which Dina, upon her return, tends to perceive in an entirely different way, with an altered attitude to evaluation. Having personally lived the inter-cultural dialogue between the East and the West for a period of ten years, Dina experiences a transformation, not only of the personal, but even more of the collective self-presentation and evaluation. She will set up a counter-narrative for the authentic status and privileges of this cultural space as creatively equal with the Western-European: “The whole world is trying to tell us that we are people, remnants of a historical ruin, something similar to Atlantis... No big thing could stem from us”

This very complex of provinces, as Dina finds out, motivates most of the intellectuals to leave and conquer the West. Unlike Boris’s whining tone, who is convinced: “If I want to write something nice, I have to leave... I need a normal everyday life” – the wise professor, Gavril Ognenov, presents another, polemically-hued attitude to the (quasi)imperative of leaving, to which Dina herself has not been immune: “You may never go to the West, and still you can conquer it.” But to stay here, you have to be “man enough”. In this way the author of this work relativises the widespread interpretation in the Balkans regarding escape (emigration to another country) as an act of courage – the very move or choice for escape out of/beyond may be identified less like bravery, but more like cowardice.

Instead of the cliché patterns of cultural inferiority, Dina arrives at objective, although thus far neglected, pushed aside, forms of cultural identification, which make our self-consciousness legitimate from a different angle:

The Macedonians have always been filmophiles. Proof of this is Manaki, the first filmmaker in the Balkans. The evidence for this inclination to virtual biography is present with him, too. To perceive everything, indirectly, through pictures.

Positioning the collective inclination to perception as a virtue, the very understanding of the world on a meta-level is also particular to Dina’s point of departure about the world as its predominant spectator, which is also a trait in her best friend Nora, the analytically inclined teacher. On the other hand Boris, in a greatly ironic way, warns of the present-day notorious, mutually-destroying character of the Macedonians as a people, to be in permanent conflict with themselves. “The same as our cultural monuments, we should be protected by ourselves, the Macedonians. God, may someone protect us from ourselves! I’m sick of us, myself, of all of you!”

3. The restitution or restoration of the Home in Dina, however, is not the result only of the evaluationally-intellectual re-interpretations of the abstract kind.

Scents, scents, in my mind, in my heart, in my nose. All is contained in the scent. One should only come to the place, and there I'll find the true scent of the person or the situation. In this way I'll find the place where the Aegean bungalow used to be... The soil smells of life gone. Fruits in winter. The scent of quinces. As a memento and a prayer for the peace of my grandma Angelina's soul.

This restitution of home, which takes place through and owing to the scents (the ones from childhood, in grandma Angelina's bungalow, which smells of quinces) however, is not only founded on Proust's repository, but it has its authentic origin in this warm region, richly soaked in scents and especially lithesome for their sensual reception. The scent, through the very sensual experiencing it evokes, in an extraordinary way transforms into an ideological, more precisely, patriotic vocative. For Dina, the second restitution of home takes place in the rediscovery of faith, as an essential gesture of existence. It is not by chance that this faith in her is initiated by her destined one, David:

I've told you, everything is a symbol. Everything is a witness of the Creator! The world has been made as a perfect work of love... These are the clues you should follow in the most minute things. You, too, in those rare moments of timelessness, have felt that brightness of soul, that everything is somewhere else... that the most important thing our soul longs for, is somewhere else. The world is the secret of God's love, Dina!... True faith is thirst for God!

Bardzieva's novel is woven throughout with the mode of faith, with confidence in a higher order, discovering the "unearthly glow of all things in this world: the restoration of gentleness, patience, sublime existence", Evidence for this is provided in "the entire life of grandma Angelina, inspired by faith", Father Gregorij, who will reunite Dina and David in love, as well as the concluding sentences in the novel:

The secret of love. The secret of faith. The secret of life. There are no three secrets, darling Dina, the three are only one secret. They are only one name, Christ. I can hear the sound of the wings in the air. The music of Mozart's angel in Casablanca. David, can you hear? Yes. Awake, Dina, you are in the heart of the secret. The voice of the angel of garden, Agatha Rosenblat.

Dina's home, which at the beginning of the novel functions only as a conditional, as a contingent or relative term, turns into its essential form and type at the novel's end. That Home grows into a generic term, into a home – a code of the soul, beside David, in her and his Casablanca. Because, as Edward Said states, in the secular and contingent world, contrary to this, the

home is always provisional. The love between Dina and David, after ten years, experiences its resurrection. Nonetheless, the very love is resurrection. Liturgy, church service, which brings us closer to the most joyous secret of our faith, to the Resurrection, as a code, as an eternal restoration of life in/through love.

“Memory is related to desire” – writes Indian theoretician Arjun Appadurai – “the archives should be viewed as a place designed for creation of anticipated memories rather than official historical records.” The migrants, considering their liminal (neither here-nor there) status, nourish a very specific way of their memories. Considering the traumatic deposit (the loss) which is inherently related – Appadurai refers to this syndrome as “overrated memories”. This is the status of Dina’s memories, in the field of the diasporic narrative which she herself inhabits! Actually, quite comparable to the existential experience of the author of this novel² who can feel on her own skin the dilemma, the query: which presence is more important – the private or the public – the German or the Macedonian?

4. Although this is her first novel, Bardzieva strived and managed to create an all comprising novel or such a one, which by its genre is multiform, and in itself a kind of code. It comprises at least four genre models – pseudo-autobiography, romance novel, Bildungs novel (a novel of growth and maturity), social novel (about a city or environment), pseudo-autobiography (as the author and the narrator are not the same person), philosophical novel with a thesis.

It lucidly touches the subject of homelessness as a post-modern topos, the revalorization and rehabilitation of cultural identity of the disputed countries. Nonetheless, Bardzieva’s novel probes into the transitional drama and fragmentation of the transitional subject (a citizen of a non-existent country). In a number of passages, meta-lingual reflections are initiated to consider issues of the philosophy of creativity. Finally, the point in faith as a code which contains the trinity of life, creativity and life, the novel offers an opportunity for the ideological restitution of a parched world, as our modern world is.

Bardzieva’s novel abounds in topics of current interest. In addition, it contains topics which emanate their freshness, novelty and rarity. This reading will undoubtedly support our spiritual identification, even the transformation of us as a generation that experiences itself in a defeatist manner, as an apparition, an obscene and obscure phantom, a remnant of the non-existent structures of a country, ideology, evaluation standpoint. This is so because this

² In a private email, dated 05/09/2006, Ms Bardzieva says: “I thought my writing about Macedonia had no sense for me, being divided between now and then, in this now Germany, I’m still only silently present, privately-there, not more privately, but publicly, but still (at least I felt) not present”.

work also means conquering such a narrative field, from which and in which the Macedonians can authentically and unobtrusively articulate themselves. Because, as the post-colonial theory of Edward Said says, if you are not present discursively, it is as if you are not present at all. We, as Macedonians, will find this book moving in many ways – it will touch us, fill us with pride and joy, just as it will definitely hurt us with its probing honesty. It is the first time that here, in a novel form, the profound tragedy and challenge of homelessness are dealt with. Primarily as personal, but further as collective, ethno-cultural and transitional homelessness. Homelessness as a norm! In the end, this very homelessness will get together and round up in the utopia of love, in faith as mode – which altogether disarms the sterile cynicism of the modern, deeply wandering, not less self-destructing mind.

Hence the triad of love, dream and faith – united in music (art), in this novel, as an ecriture of the honest to extremes self-quest – has as its final outcome the feeling that “The Snow in Casablanca” is a restoration of the primal, now somewhat forgotten whiteness of the alchemic beginnings, that we here, scarred with history, long for. Bardzieva presents us here with such a gift for mental stimulation, but also with novelesque intonation, that we deserved to have even earlier. Bardzieva’s novel offers that powerful self-recognition and self-healing through the code of the ecriture in which the echo of the distant, but still audible vocals of the divine are heard. The same as the silent, but nevertheless grand victory over the chaos of the material.

5. Although created in the hermeneutical key of the exile in its beginning, in its final part, *Snow in Casablanca* acts as literature of the surmounted, overcome and/or counter-exile. Applying the dictionary of contemporary theory, it might be said that “Casablanca” draws its way from the exiling mode (as a mode of expressed reminiscence or nostalgia for the past) to the nomadic one (as project directed). The sentence “I move house – so I exist” ceases to be (if ever it has been) an equation in Dina’s personal identity. She no longer fears to be/become what she really is!

Although Andrew Wachtel, in the study referred to above, does not mention a single Macedonian writer since post-communist time, I feel it is Bardzieva’s novel that belongs to that group of works that Wachtel refers to as new internationalism. He comprises authors like David Albahari, Drago Jančar, Andrej Makine, Milan Kundera (still, the indicative Dubravka Ugrešić is missing). The new internationalism works have several elements in common: reflexive narration in the first person, the main hero’s leaving and then returning from the West, his/her understanding that the two cultures are complementary (but not identical), after accomplishing a synthesis of both cultures at a personal level.

Dina walks through her trajectory, which begins from the position of a classic foreigner (“fascinated by the other”, “disaffiliated from the native and the new space”) – to be developed later by means of the square principle of auto-biography and reach the position of a modern foreigner in herself (“The foreigner lives in ourselves. He is the hidden face of our identity. The space that devastates our home” – Kristeva, 2005:235). What is particular to Dina is her “ex-patriate perspective of the weak subject”, her perspective is bi-focal, counterpoint, sharpened to the maximum. She is the epitome of the typical Balkan intellectual, who, all this time (at least by his/her own choice) carries the oriental load of traumatic recollections. Or, as Danilo Kiš put it, “the punishment for the leading Balkan intellectuals is non-stop to pull around an old concert piano on one shoulder, and a dead horse on the other”.

6. Still, instead of the conventionally expected rhetoric of accusation, particular to the first stage of imagological decolonization, Bardziewa’s narrator manages to build, content and ideology-wise, a superior, authentic counter-narrative, which successfully overcomes the incorporated prejudices regarding her own (meta)cultural presentation and evaluation. Thus, the very process of her (metaphorically taken, in actual fact our) self-presentation at the same time means the construction of a counter-narrative from a personal point and not only of view, but evaluation too. This novel is especially significant for its explicit and productive re-evaluation of the initial – for us typical – Imagological positions – with a view to a cultural pre-positioning of the hero as an intellectual with more than one home!

PS Reading as a love relationship

If a novel speaks about all facets of love – then reading it must never be different, nor must it betray that Love!

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NATKA BADURINA

VOICELESS WOMEN: THE RIGHT OF REBELLION
IN THE CROATIAN LITERATURE OF THE
19TH CENTURY BETWEEN LIBERALISM
AND NATIONALISM

1. The right of rebellion – honour and dignity

I would like to speak about the right of rebellion as a political concept whose discussion in 19th century Europe was heavily influenced by the French Revolution. Despite the emancipatory enthusiasm that followed the first post-revolutionary period, it declined as early as the beginning of the 19th century: liberalism was inspired by Kant's legalism¹, and new national movements in Middle Europe, like the one in Germany, were filled with enthusiasm for ancient laws². Although it was recognized as a Middle-European type of forging the *ethnic* nation (Stančić 2002), the Croatian national revival does not seem to be deprived of ideas of civic nationalism. Besides, along with the natural right they still insist on existing laws.³ In such a context, statements about the readiness

¹ The Enlightenment view was close to Kant's theories, for example, those of the famous essay *On the common saying: this may be true in theory but it does not apply in practice* (2006a), according to which the right of resistance is in itself contradictory: if it is a right, it is then part of the legal system and therefore it is not a rebellion; if it is a rebellion it then goes against the legal system and it is not a right. The Kantian pursuit of perpetual peace, in another of his famous works (2006b), leads to respect of the laws: there is no happiness without it, and there is no law that could foresee or prescribe the possibility of rebellion against itself.

² At the beginning of the century the national idea was born and promoted by Herder's ideas on national identity as something specific, entrenched in the language and in the culture of every nation. This political idea deals with the particular right of society bound to the ancient laws to which the utmost respect has to be paid – the theme of the ancient laws that is strongly anti-modernist and conservative, is above all recurrent in Romanticism, particularly in German Romanticism.

³ The right they were referring to was initially a positive right based on the history of the independence of the Croatian state. Very soon though, the concept of natural right was added,

to rebel are no more than a literary cliché. On the other hand, the imagined nation in the Herderian sense, might have considered it to rebel, but only if the laws defining the community came to be broken and if it caused the nation to suffer. Moreover, rebellion was only possible against foreigners – priority is given to the community, not to an individual, so there cannot be any rebellion within the community.

These currents had in mind the rebellion of socially or nationally oppressed people, however they did not take into consideration oppressed women. Therefore, I would like to first examine the destiny of women according to the two conceptions – liberal and national – of rebellion. Further, I wish to shift the debate on that urgent issue of feminist thought – that is the realization of the female voice, the woman rebellion – inside or outside the existing systems of political thought.

In the Austrian Empire, Croatia had a very limited autonomy and its aspirations for independence, compared to nowadays, were not any different from many other independence movements that marked the pathway of nations even in more recent times: a liberal enthusiasm at the beginning, which was then followed by a strong nationalistic unification of society. However, what is important for our theme is that in the first half of the 19th century, none of the principles – the illuminist and the nationalist one – considered the idea of a revolt as a possible means to gain independence.

In 1848 the perspective dramatically changed. Amid European revolutions, the Croats sought for a legal way to gain their national targets by remaining loyal to the king and helping him to appease other revolts. In the end, however, they got punished in the same way as the rebels. Therefore, the just/justified rebellion becomes one of the crucial themes of public debate. Generally speaking, authors agree that a rebellion can find its justification in the suffering of the nation. It also means that if a nation is not sufficiently oppressed, it cannot rebel. But how can we measure oppression? When does suffering become intolerable?

This point is never explicitly declared. However, we can deduce it from the political speeches of that time, particularly from the use of the very indicative words of *dignity* and *honour*. We can find them both, for example, in the *Manifest naroda hrvatsko-slavonskoga* published in 1848 by Ivan Mažuranić. He was a liberal thinker and writer, and in the first half of the century he wrote a poem, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*, about the rebellion of Montenegrins oppressed by the Turks, in which some rather truculent verses were dedicated to the oppression

a right that had to be enjoyed both by any single individual and the nation, leaving aside the historical rights. The theory of natural right was at the base of the liberalism current. However, despite the enthusiasm for the French Revolution that had set such liberty ideals to work, 19th century liberalism was explicitly against rebellion.

preceding the revolt. Later, however, as a politician, he was calm, composed and wise. Here is what he wrote in his Croatian political manifesto of 1848, addressing the Austrian dominators:

We invite you to stop oppressing other populations as we are prepared to everything rather than accepting the chains again (...) We shall show you that we are ready to combat (...) We do not wish to fight but if we shall start to, this will be with the purpose of bringing to reality that wonderful idea of humanity (2004:98).

Mažuranić therefore speaks of rebellion in the name of natural right (every nation has the right to freedom), and he presents it according to the Enlightenment (Kantian) vision of transferring beautiful theories into praxis. The speech then proceeds as follows:

(...) as a determined man prefers to die rather than letting his own *honour* be trampled, peoples too, feeling their own *dignity*, prefer to die rather than letting their own national *honour* to be stained (2004:98, italics mine).

The two concepts – dignity and honour – do not belong to the same category of ideas. Montesquieu and other natural law theorists, from whose milieu Mažuranić evidentially speaks, had refused the aristocratic concept of honour by replacing it with the more equalitarian concept of dignity that is innate in each one of us and does not depend on social status. Once again, a distinction was made in the present political theory – following the seminal work by Peter Burger from 1970, and more recently by the Italian scholar Francesca Rigotti (2000), who proposed applying the two concepts from anthropology to make a distinction between “thick” and “thin”.⁴ She suggested that honour should be among the “thick” concepts together with courage, blood purity and attachment to the origin, while dignity would ideally be found among the “thin” concepts such as tolerance, liberty, pluralism and democracy.

Mažuranić, as many other writers of his time dealing with the natural right, democracy, equality and liberty, inevitably had to start with the notion of dignity. However, at the same time, in order to get a larger and more passionate consensus, he had to insert in the discourse of liberty some strong and emotional tones that would have been difficult to find in liberal individualism. He needed

⁴ This distinction was developed by Clifford Geertz and subsequently transferred to the field of political philosophy by B. Williams and more recently also by M. Walzer in the book precisely entitled *Thick and Thin* (1994). Thick concepts, according to Walzer, are those strictly connected to the life and tradition of a specific community and can be fully understood only by the members of this community. Instead, thin concepts are those that are universally valid.

something to “warm up the hearts” and recovered it from the “thick” concepts that had created the feeling of belonging and exclusiveness in the community; such is the concept of honour.

The problem of the concept of honour, from our point of view – and we are trying to see the position of the woman in the national movement – concerns the fact that it implies a particular division of gender roles. Traditionally, honour belongs to men, but it depends on women (cf. Busatta 2006). Men are proud of it and women are its custodians. Men’s honour in a community lies on the female sexual purity and when this purity is contaminated, the honour must be restored at any cost – even that of going against the laws. Therefore, it is not by chance that at the same time in the period in which the political writers started to consider the right of rebellion by using the issue of honour, the theme of sexual violence appears in literature. Such violence finally represents what strict Illyrian legalists and jurists were looking for – an unquestionable justification for collective rebellion. Rape becomes the indicator of “sufficient” suffering, after which the collectivity, hospitable until that moment, peaceful and subservient, can rise up. Rape is the threshold that the guest must not cross. When he crosses it, the collectivity no longer has the duty to respect the law of hospitality.

The same also applies to the specific legalist and political issue of the right of rebellion, which confirms that the role of women in society is at the core of the national-patriotic narration; secondly, the distinctions between the opposite ideologies here start to lose their importance; honour and violence are equally exploited by both of them.

2. Rape and rebellion in the Bible and in the republican tradition

Truly, the connection between hospitality, rape and rebellion dates far back in the history of western culture. In an extremely dramatic way the theme appears in the Old Testament passage about the Levite of Ephraim (*Judges 19*).⁵

⁵ The plot, very briefly told, is the following: a concubine abandons the Levite with whom she lives and goes back to her father’s home. The Levite goes to fetch her and she accepts to go back to him. On their way back, they stop in Gibeon where a man lets them stay. During the night, some citizens of Gibeon knock on the landlord’s house asking him to turn over his guest, the Levite, to rape him. The landlord, in order to respect the law of hospitality, offers his own virgin daughter in exchange to the rapists. However, at that point the Levite pushes his own concubine out the door and the rapists abuse her all night long. At dawn, the woman slumps on the house door-step. Later on, in the morning, her owner opens the door to continue his journey and sees her at the house door with her hands on the door-step. “Get up, let us go!” he tells her, but when she does not stand up, he loads her on his donkey, brings her home, cuts her into twelve pieces and sends them to various parts of Israel. The people are summoned and it was decided to punish the progeny of Benjamin, that is, the inhabitants of Gibeon (therefore waging war against them).

Today there are two basically different approaches to this biblical passage: on the one hand, feminist readings suggest that the model of gender roles has continued until the present days, especially with regard to domestic violence and the hardships raped women meet while attempting to re-integrate into society (Bohmbach 1999); on the other hand, anthropologists point out the variability of gender and sexual practice, that is, the historical and cultural differences between the biblical times and the modern age (Stone 1995). Both approaches are useful to talk about how Romanticism used this biblical passage – take Rousseau. Rousseau wrote an elaboration of the biblical passage in 1762 by intervening exactly on what we consider the specificity of the ancient society described by the Bible, which means only on the aspects that would have been unacceptable to modern morality (cf. the analysis of Rousseau's *Levite of Ephraim* in Banti 2005:119-123). With the sentimentalism introduced in the biblical world, Rousseau did not humanize the text but he only made it more acceptable to the by-then modern reader who, in the end, received the same misogynistic message. Rousseau's *Levite of Ephraim* fits into the pre-revolutionary reflections on the principles of establishing the community and sets the model of nativism Rousseau's thought was to take, and which attached more importance to the patriarchal model of the community based on blood relationship and women's purity. What makes his version of *Levite of Ephraim* notable is that it conceives a sexual dimension of the nativist program within the context of violence, and decides that it is more important to subordinate private interests to the public ones.

Women's sacrifice and public interests put above anything else do not only reflect Rousseau's nativism, but are also part of the republican rhetoric. The classical literature inspired by the republican ideals knows many similar stories – for example, the Roman Lucretia, or Virginia, or other victims of rape whose death made possible the rebellions that led to the abolition of tyrannies and to the establishment of the republic. For the liberal and nationalist traditions the meaning of this story is the same: sexual violence threatens the community, no matter what the principles are on which it is based, and a revenge commonly approved renovates the community – while the sacrificed woman remains lying on the doorstep. Her re-integration into society is impossible and her only honourable way out is death.

We therefore proceed, although along a different pathway, to the thesis of Carole Pateman (2000) – the institution of a bourgeois society is connected to sexuality and violence and the sexual contract is a hidden predecessor of the social contract. The social contract shows to be a contract among free and equal brothers; however it meant their domination over women.

In their political theories, social contract theorists implied the patriarchal system although they did not directly name it and preferred to leave the

details to the capability of persuasion of literates. The scenes of rape in 19th century literature may be read as a series of originary scenes that prove the subordination of woman to man in modern society, a subordination presented as necessary for the common good, both for that of the republic and that of the nation. Here, literature reveals a dimension of social contract theory that would otherwise be hidden – as if the natural law of sub-consciousness came to light in it.

3. Rape and rebellion in the Croatian literature of the second half of the 19th century

In Croatian literature, there are no direct elaborations of the biblical episode of the Levite. Illyrian movement writers were closer to the republican model of woman's purity, and "Historičko ogledalo ženah" (*Danica* 1840:154) has Lucretia as proof that the warring Romans respected women. Of course, in the usual way: "The Roman would glorify Lucretia's purity and suicide as the reason that enabled him to win his republican freedom." After all, biblical and classical models were also that much interiorised through numerous adaptations during European Romanticism that there was no need for any literal references about them in these works. Raped virgins, like cousins of the biblical concubine, entered Croatian literature as part of intercultural influence.

3.1. Mirko Bogović – the first to write on rape and rebellion

When the subject of rape appears for the first time in Croatian literature, it is immediately connected to the most famous mass revolt in Croatian history: the Peasants' Revolt of 1573. Its first literary elaboration was in the form of the tragedy *Matija Gubec, the King of the Peasants* (1859), written by Mirko Bogović. Five years earlier, Ivan Kukuljević (1854) published an article in which he refers to the Revolt, but the larger part of the historical documents were published after Bogović's drama (they were published by F. Krones in 1868; quoted by Rački 1875; and Grafenauer 1974). Kukuljević's *Događaji Medvedgrada* (The Events at Medvedgrad) from 1854 represents the only larger historiographic study Bogović might have used. As there is no mention of Tahi's violent behaviour towards the girls, and due to Kukuljević's account of nobility-serfs relations that was heavily influenced by former historiography writers prone to nobility, we may well say that the Bogović drama structure – construed around the endangered virginity of the country-girls Stana and Mara, whose abduction causes the righteous and pure revolt of the oppressed – breaks the ice, though it may look as a cliché to the modern reader. It seems that Bogović could count on very few sources; therefore he built the entire plot very logically, evidently matching the expectations of the audience and the

predominant ideas about the revolt and gender roles. He must have met the expectations of the audience very well since his narrative structure, which was based on the rape-revolt binomial, will practically remain the same for decades among the various writers that elaborated the theme, for instance, Šenoa, who claimed he had used archive documents as his main source. Moreover, Bogović's narrative structure may have influenced the archive documents published after Bogović's drama: between 1868 and 1883 Krones and Rački published most of the archive documents with serious charges of peasants against Taši who had abducted the girls. It was found that all subsequent interpretations of the sources cited the rapes among the reasons for the rebellion, and therefore could not simply overlook the effects of Bogović's drama.

Bogović's Gubec is a man of justice (*"Pravo nije kad se sila silom/ uzbijati mora nemilice, / Pravo nije, ali – lijeka nije"*, 1968:372) who is trying to appease the peasants as long as Taši's nephew Plovdin abducts Mara, a friend of Gubec's daughter Stana, who then commits suicide by jumping from a cliff. However, Mara is a kind of substitute; originally, Plovdin planned to abduct Gubec's daughter Stana. Plovdin's enthusiasm for Stana at the beginning of the drama is marked by Petrarchian imagery enriched with figures of carnality, which is a little clichéd and awkward: *"Došao sam tu k ujaku svomu/ Da lov lovim i zvijeri da strijeljam, / A umjesto toga mene žarka / Strijela zgodi s očiju te krasne/ Djevojčice (...)/ Kada sam ju opazio danas,/ U nju mi se oči zanijele,/ Za očima srce poletjelo"*: (Bogović 1968:336) Why is Plovdin an oxymoronic Petrarchian rapist, not a cynic who, like Rigoletto, might have composed verses on woman's fallacy?

Stana and Mara embody something that can be called revolutionary Puritanism: a strict and, surprisingly, hierarchical scheme of gender roles accompanied by rebellious egalitarianism.⁶ Historians have found several explanations for the woman's real and symbolic return into the house in the civil period. On the one hand, it was a great effort to put society in order, and to bring order into collective and individual forces with the aim of enforcing the state and its reproductive foundations (Foucault 2001:26-27). In addition to this, other authors claim that liberalism, in order to gain in popularity, had to deploy some more disseminated and acceptable ideology, which modern Christianity certainly is (Banti 2005). Ivo Pederin (1996:23) reminds us that the modern Christian idea of family is discontinuous with the practice of

⁶ The same goes for Šenoa: comparing Šenoa's liberal views with his seemingly emancipated modern girls, I. Pederin has shown that "the woman in Šenoa's work certainly is the corner stone of the house, but in a civic sense she is immature and incapable of living on her own, which is defined by the 19th century marriage laws and by apostle Paul's theology" (Pederin 1996:25).

polygamy of the first Christians, and that it was only later – when civil society emerged – that it was credited with a thousand-year long practice.

In contrast to the feudal libertinism of Tahi and Plovdiv, there is an embodiment of the pure republican fiancée, represented as an ideal object of rape in literature. Moreover, rape can reconfirm her value and beauty, which then creates a model of gender roles which is, as S. Brownmiller (1976:428) showed in her seminal book on rape, highly destructive for woman's identity: the recurring use of clichés of beautiful women victims in high and trivial literature may mislead the reader to conclude that rape itself is a proof of woman's value. From this point of view, Plovdiv's infatuation that inspires him to compose lines on Stana's divine beauty does not only seem to be an awkward and disproportional repetition of the Petrarchian literary cliché, but it may well point to the concurrent connection between woman's submission and her sublime beauty. Woman's passive social role has been compensated through its symbolical character, which is displayed through woman's allegories of the nation and homeland.⁷ Paradoxically, it reminds us of Kantorowicz's theorem on two ruler's bodies. Namely, it seems that women, just like the king, have a profane and a sacred body: their real, profane body can be sacrificed and deprived of heroic death, while the sacred one survives and its symbolical power brings the community together. When this is applied to Bogović's Mara, this *corpus mysticum* is literally brought on stage following the model of theatrical and art allegory of the fairy accompanying Petar Svačić: after her death Mara is a powerful spirit, "a genius in Mara's image", who in the absolute silence of the dungeon, puts a laurel wreath on the head of the asleep Gubec.

3.2. August Šenoa: Jana's double calamity

The second work after Bogović that deals with the same peasants' revolt is Šenoa's famous novel *Seljačka buna* (The Peasants' Revolt) from 1877, where the republican tones are overcome by those of national cohesion. Šenoa's novels had that role of "narrating the nation" that the discursive theories of the nation assigned to the literary genre of novel (Brennan 1997). Despite some differences, the reason for the rape is, however, identical to that of Bogović – Šenoa is said to have deeply studied the archives but, eventually, takes over the narrative structure from his literary predecessor.

Being pure, pretty and naïve, Šenoa's Jana seems to be a predestined victim of rape from the beginning of the novel. In relation to this, Šenoa's novel

⁷ Here is an indicative example: the Liberty figure by Delacroix of 1830 was strongly criticized by his contemporaries because it was too concrete, too similar to a greengrocer girl of dark complexion and even hairy armpits – and therefore inadequate to the role of the symbol.

effectively displays one more aspect of the myth of rape: a suspicion of woman's guilt and her pleasure. Šenoa employs the metaphor of Jana's madness to refer to the exclusion of the raped woman from society, which was shown as early as the Bible through the scene of lying on the doorstep of the home without being allowed to enter it. But there is something theatrical in Jana's madness: she takes over the identity of another legendary woman called Dora, who is a devilish man-eater, a female devil opposed to Jana as an angel. But what was the purpose of her new identity of threatening sexuality? Why did she become an archetype of a lusty woman who puts men into danger? Is it perhaps the myth of rape, which implies female masochism, that is her supposed pleasure? I believe so. Susan Brownmiller (1976:22) mentions another biblical episode (*Genesis 39*) about Joseph and Potiphar, in which the revengeful woman accuses a man of rape on false premises, having accepted it as part of the man's side of the story, i.e. an image of male fear of women's sexuality. It seems that Šenoa's Jana wanted to anticipate such an interpretation of facts. Obviously she was raped, but because of the myth of female masochism, somebody could accuse her of not having suffered enough and for this reason she could be closer to the woman in the legend (which is again a misogynist phantasm) who, instead of suffering, was assaulting men for her own pleasure to the point of killing them. Such a phantasm therefore leads to an identification of roles in sexual crimes in which, in any case, the woman plays the role of being guilty while the man's action becomes of secondary importance; even though she is a victim and apart from what she did, the woman is the one who took the stranger, and she inevitably recalls the fantastic image of a destructive sexuality that is morally unacceptable. It also means that she is not able to suffer enough – and therefore, if sufficient suffering is the condition for the rebellion, it is impossible for her to rebel; she can only represent the means of the other's rebellion.

If we agree with the view that women's masochism represents a neurotic phenomenon created and stimulated by culture, unlike the one that says it is the result of woman's biology (Brownmiller 1976:395), it will be clear that 19th century literature played a big role in this. At the same time, it complied with the needs of the civic community, as one may observe in the auguries of the new age in the works of Richardson or Rousseau. To be sure, such literature does not educate men to rape, but it is by all means harmful in educating women to tolerate rapes: it gives them an opportunity to dream a male fantasy.

3.3. *Marija Jurić Zagorka: Rebellious negotiations*

To these two writers, I should like to add a third controversial writer. At the beginning of the 19th century, Marija Jurić Zagorka, an extraordinary woman – feminist, socialist, rebel, a journalist and writer of serialised literature – decided

to elaborate the old story of the peasants' rebellion and revisit it together with all the misogyny that had piled up along the second half of the 19th century. She composed *Evica Gupčeva*⁸, a drama of explicit socialist and revolutionary ideas. Nevertheless, while the theme of revolt always contained a potential of subversion, rebellion and republicanism, which is true even for Šenoa, who denied any inclination toward the Paris Commune of 1871, by giving the female character a central part in the story, Zagorka obviously did make a substantial move forward. It is a clear indication of her intentions to re-write history from the woman's point of view and give them credit for their influence on national history. So, how did Zagorka's *Evica* "influence" the national his/story? Has it affected the conventional scheme rape – rebellion?

At first sight, Zagorka revisited all the clichés of the subject – *Evica's* mother, years before, had committed suicide to avoid being raped, and *Evica*, being beautiful and chaste, was under the threat of being raped. Her mate Gubec is peaceful and reasonable while she is passionate and impatient. Moreover, *Evica* is directly connected to rebellion as she holds the key of the bell-tower of which the tolling bell is the signal agreed on for the beginning of the revolt. It is as if the writer had wanted to transform a by-then standardised plot into a literary landmark by revealing the arbitrariness and transforming it in some way into its opposite; if women for centuries had been the justifying reason of the revolt, let us give them, so to say, symbolically, the keys of this revolt directly into their hands. In this way, however, the role of *Evica* is no longer passive and the cliché, instead of being transformed into a sign, becomes its opposite. But what happens when *Evica* finally uses the keys and lets the bells toll to mark the beginning of the revolt? One might expect some kind of catharsis, a favourable sequence of events, a history re-written – but none of this happens. The fact that she used the keys she had been entrusted with becomes proof of her guilt in the eyes of her community, and she is overwhelmed with a sense of guilt ("What have I done!").

All Zagorka's literary procedures are based on this principle: she does not revolutionise but overturns the stereotypes from the inside. Her characters are imprisoned in fixed roles attributed to by literary tradition, by society and by discourse. Zagorka's characters go through a series of false dilemmas that reveal to how short an extent they deal with their decisions and to what extent everything was already decided – not by some superior power but by a close network of power relationships that implied only one collocation, only one role in the intrigues. The female protagonist is captured many times and often tied up with chains in accordance with the stereotyped image from serial novels

⁸ The play was never published. The censored copy of the manuscript is deposited in the Institute for the History of Croatian Theatre (Zavod za povijest hrvatskog kazališta).

but in fact, this image reveals her inability of deciding her own identity. Her identity is simply represented by a position within the network of relationships, a position that she does not choose but by which she is called. Her placement is a forced representation of herself and it also includes the unfair accusation of betrayal of which she is accused by her own companions. Apparently, there is everything that was already found in the previous works about the same subject: the model-girl, threatened by others and nonetheless guilty.

Changing costumes, blackmail, secret plans and double eavesdroppers are surely an obligatory part of any trivial comedy of intrigues, but they can be interpreted as Zagorka's view of entangled social roles and the lack of freedom, which was probably enabled by her experience in the feminist struggle at the turn of the century. The discovery that the peasants did not start the rebellion themselves, but that it had been planned by Tahi, suggests Zagorka's pragmatic reflection on the position of subaltern groups. Namely, these groups have no conditions for creating a common consciousness so they might oppose to the ruling elite; the subalterns are unstable identities in need of a master's gaze and a master's definition to find their reflection in it (Gramsci 1971:241). Moreover, Foucault's distinction of the situation of domination and the situation of power may be useful for this interpretation of Zagorka's view (Coole 2006:231). The states of domination are static asymmetries, which do not give way to transcendence of power but merely to the approach to "the situation of power which, unlike domination, opens a mobile and very complex field within which power, freedom and resistance circulate" (Coole 2006:231). Diana Coole applies this to the history of feminism and sees the feminists of the first and the second wave as those fighting against domination "not (as it was often claimed at that time) to become free (asexual, genderless or androgynous) human subjects in some absolute but abstract sense of the word, but to enter the antagonist power play" (232). It seems that Zagorka's vision of society demands that before anything else "unknown heroines" ought to be recognized for their participation in the struggle within power relations.

Evica somehow manages to do so. From what may be the culmination of drama based on the cliché of woman's passion and guilt, Evica finds her way out of the chains and works on her difference, on her response to the appeals of social practice: by refusing to identify herself with the position that had appealed to her, she is no longer a completely compliant body. The second part of the drama sees Evica as a brave and armed initiator of a new rebellion – now she does not need a rape as its cause or justification, she is devoted to the (socialist) revolution in which she wants to play a part worthy of Gubec's co-combatant. With this new role she wants to fight for she does not wish to completely overcome the patriarchal society, but to earn an equal position side by side with men in the international workers' movement.

In Zagorka's play, Evica is privileged to die after Gubec and to speak out the last prophetic words on the stage: "There will be more and more victims, new blood will be shed, and our graves will see the freedom". If we understood Zagorka's art of negotiation within what is already determined, we may not be surprised by the discovery that those were the words Gubec himself told on his way to the scaffold. Therefore, Evica's political activism, which should make a difference for her is, in fact, made possible through the role of the nymph Echo.

4. The case of Verzegnis

If we look for the voice of a different, *women's* rebellion in the 19th century literature, it may sound a little discouraging to notice that Evica's words are replicas of Gubec's words and that they, too, tell of future rivers of blood. This, however, does not mean that such a rebellion did not take place. I will conclude with another story, this time it will be a story from real life.

It happened in 1878 in Verzegnis, a small mountain village in northern Italy. A disturbing case of collective possession involved forty or so women of all ages who started to speak unknown languages and to emit animal sounds (mostly that of the rooster). Evidentially, those women had to express their protest, their experiences, emotions or imagination, and they couldn't express it in a given language. Their behaviour caused complete anarchy in the region and was recorded in all the newspapers, and finally arrived to the Parliament as a question to resolve. What later happened to them was very similar to the case of Salem, but this time – at the end of the 19th century – instead of the church and exorcisms, the final taming of the poor girls was done by medical science interwoven with the new Italian government and national military forces. They brought them all by force to the lunatic asylum where they spent the rest of their lives.

Recently some interesting ethnological and anthropological studies have been dedicated to the case (Borsatti 1989), but in our brief discussion it is particularly important to stress that the women's rebellion here was shown through the bodily expressions of their voices and how, on the other side, the medical approach towards them was concentrated on their bodies too. The doctor who was in charge of resolving the case deeply believed in science and wanted to fight against superstition, but in the end the only thing he could do was measure their heads and the distance between their eyes, of course without listening to their voices. This is why I believe that this story illustrates very well that misunderstanding between the Enlightenment idea and the emancipation of women's voice which I have tried to explain in my lecture.

5. The End: On Women and Peace

In his Paris lectures entitled *Society must be defended* (1998), Foucault has shown that the romantic idea of identity is connected with the constant threat of war. There has been a hidden thread passing through western history ever since the 17th century: the discourse employing the eternal irreconcilableness between the winners and the defeated, between the privileged and the oppressed. It is the first person narrative in the name of the offended, for the defence of their rights and for the setting of the limits of their own patience.

With the emergence of civil society, Romanticism also brought sexual discrimination, which inevitably accompanies the discourse of war. Of course, Zagorka did not have much choice: she had good insight into the repressive power of society over woman's voice. She included her anonymous heroines into the current social, national and romantic history, even though the echo of someone else's words about bloody streams had to be attached to their voices.

Which is then the path of peace, and does it have to do with space for woman's voice?

The Enlightenment way of peace has undergone a lot of criticism, among which the one of postmodern bias criticizes its insistence on the idea of firm identity revealed as the fallacy and the obstacle to peace, while the one from the feminist angle is directed toward the notion of universal man which conceals [the notion of] woman, attached and reduced to it. Feminist critique has pointed out that the enlightenment subject is in fact fragmentary and that what brings it together are its thoughts. It was the new feminism that, quite consistently, sacrificed to this postmodern insight into the demise of identity its own ideas in the master narrative about the oppressed but unique subject – woman (Coole 2006).

Universal concepts and basic values suitable for all people seem indispensable today: apart from defending us from general transitional cynicism, they can primarily be used to avoid too strong an inveteracy, the unison voices of nationalism, and the fetishisms of harmful local traditions, particularly for women. It gives pleasure to think about the society whose policy would agree to thin concepts, and would not resort to rich colours in order to warm up the hearts in the crowd – especially because the heightened atmosphere often makes use of women and the violence toward them.

Among some feminists there are those who are developing a completely new theory toward the actual, corporeal and relational instead of the one toward the general and abstract subject. In this manner, Italian philosopher Adriana Cavarero (2003) has developed her theory about voice – not thought – as the primary manifestation of subject. As soon as the voice emerges, instead of living in intellectual solitude like a metaphysical subject, it couples with the other voice. Cavarero claims that the voice possesses a rebellious character

because it eludes the normativity of language (the voice does not necessarily become the speech), so it is the ideal vehicle for the rebellion. Moreover, it is ideal for the *women's* rebellion, as the law that it eludes is also a patriarchal law that keeps women silent, lets them be sacrificed in the name of rebellions that establish new patriarchal orders, or makes them borrow their husband's words. Speaking about echo, Cavarero rehabilitates the nymph Echo as the one who plays with meaningless rhythmic sounds: Echo possesses a joy of returning to pre-language, and returns voice to the language, as its invaluable non-semantic part. This means that Gubec alone could not utter his own words the way they were uttered by Evica – they had already been affected by her own echo making a difference. And the biggest novelty that Zagorka brings by including Evica's equal voice into the structure of the novella about the peasants' rebellion is that the right to the rebellion no longer calls for woman's sacrifice.

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IVA GRGIĆ MAROEVIĆ

VOICING GOOD HOPE
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DUBROVNIK

Did women have a Renaissance? This question was posed by feminist historian Joan Kelly in an influential (though not infrequently contested) article more than three decades ago (Kelly, 1977). It dealt with a legitimate question, historically, and it provided many important answers. However, in its wish to point out some interesting issues of “new” (as it was called) female subordination, which according to Kelly’s analysis was due to a stricter division between personal and public life in the Renaissance society that arose after the Middle Ages, it (understandably) neglected the possibility of a variety of feasible answers connected to the number of geographical and cultural contexts it could be applied to – outside Italy. Joan Kelly, like many others before and after her, simply did not take into account, when talking about the Renaissance, the concept of “mapping” in its etymological sense.

In the twentieth century, the European Renaissance was amply studied at the international level, including, to some extent, its gendered facets with regard to its original Italian, and then French, Spanish, and English contexts (Zemon Davies, Farge, 1991; Niccoli, 1991; Chedgzoy, Hansen, Trill, 1996; Bianchini, 1996; Elmer, Webb, Wood, 2000, etc.). In the meantime, less prominent settings, though capable of providing differently nuanced examples, remained confined to research within their own linguistic and cultural surroundings (see for example Pavlović, 1955, Foretić, 1980).

Did a republican city-state (not quite comparable to the Italian Renaissance *principati*, whose court life was both described and prescribed by Baldesar Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier*, which still serves as an emblematic work for research in several disciplines) lying on the east coast of the Adriatic, as was Dubrovnik (with a vast majority of Croatian-speaking residents) experience the Renaissance in the full (or conventional) sense of the word? Although the testimonies of its precious trilingualism, including the native tongue, Italian and Latin, are incontestable, its general Renaissance “character” remains a

question answered to some degree differently by Croatian, Serbian and Italian social and literary historians – sometimes depending on their point of view, and sometimes on the cultural segment or aspect studied.¹ If Dubrovnik was indeed a Renaissance city, to what extent were its women included and/or excluded from its economic, cultural and political manifestations? And is there a way, in order to deduce their concerns, to trace their voices down to our time, if they were articulated at all? Unless they have furthermore been submerged – as has so often been the case throughout history – into complete oblivion, from which it is sometimes almost impossible to extract them, at least without falsifying them, even in good faith?

In the field of literature, certainly, and in that of history, women's voices have been sought in sixteenth-century Dubrovnik for almost two centuries now (although, as I hope/fear will become clear in the course of this article, often in an attempt at ventriloquising, manipulating, sometimes outwardly silencing them). Thus, the history of what could be called the "Legend of the Dubrovnik Female Poet" is quite long. It arose, today it seems obvious to me, from the need of Croatian literary history to parallel the Italian situation, where, in the sixteenth century, innumerable poetesses of different upbringing, education, class and social status found a way (in spite of the reluctance of the public sphere to admit them as assertive speakers and the general high level of dependence of women on the patriarchal family and its "supporting services"²), to articulate their voice with reference to love, friendship, social duty, literary style, and their general lot in life. What made it possible for them to write, and be (partly, of course, and always with a price to pay) praised for it, was the highly defined poetic canon based on a somewhat limited stylistic repertoire stemming from the Petrarchan tradition, which preceded the much later demand for "originality". Some of the Italian Renaissance women poets were courtesans (Veronica Franco, Tullia d'Aragona), some grand ladies who partook of public literary life and befriended important men of letters (Virginia Salvi, a star of the Roman literary and social scene and correspondent of Pietro

¹ Contemporary Croatian historian Zdenka Janeković Römer, for example, refers to the end of the fifteenth century in Dubrovnik as the "Middle Ages" (Janeković Römer, 2007:21 and elsewhere; see also Janeković Römer, 1994). Serbian literary historian Svetlana Stipčević insists, on the other hand, on the existence of a Dubrovnik Renaissance, within a European framework (Stipčević, 2004:65).

² This term is my attempt at designating all the situations outside the patriarchal family which contributed to its survival, including the parallel "illegitimate" families (as "sources" of sons, for example, if the "first" or "prime" family did not have any.) The institution of the Italian courtesan (unknown to Dubrovnik, and in fact to most other settings outside Italy), which will be referred to shortly, would certainly be one of the more important of such "supporting services".

Bembo); some were widows who had to carry on the political functions and/or aristocratic images their husbands had left them with (Vittoria Colonna, widow of the marquis of Pescara and Veronica Gambara, widow of the *signore* of Correggio).³ One, Gaspara Stampa, whose collection of poems is today generally seen as the greatest expression of the female lyric subject of the time, was just an atypical daughter of a middle-class family who, through a series of quite peculiar circumstances (of which the premature death of her father was certainly one, though its importance in liberating the family of strict patriarchal rules has so far never been stressed as such by Italian literary historians), escaped marriage and acquired, “happiness” apart, some degree of personal freedom.⁴

What I called the “need” of Croatian literary history to parallel, if not equal the Italian situation of the time, might look like a rather vague concept if one is unaware of the importance of Italian language and literature for Dalmatian culture in the Early Modern period, when it served both as a direct influence and inspiration, a point of reference and a constant reminder of artistic and civilizational goals that served as models for the first attempts at serious cultural achievements in East Adriatic cities.⁵ More to the point, though, it was the literary history of the twentieth century that insisted on the kind of parallels which could confirm the “roots” of what had in the meantime become Croatian national literature as international (European, and, more specifically, Mediterranean), but in no way inferior to other cultures of the same period; on the contrary, “original” when it comes either to the linguistic medium or to specific situational topics, or, sometimes, both. In a national literary history conceived in such a manner – needless to say if we bear in mind the many allegorical figures from other cultures that tied womanhood to fatherland (later nationality) through (often eroticized) bodies instrumentalized to serve an abstract notion – an early female figure become almost a necessity. A thoroughly researched book by Croatian

³ “The women who enjoyed fame as poets before the twentieth century form a curious group.” (Greer, 1995:xi). Other famous Italian names are Barbara Torelli, Laura Battiferri, Chiara Matraini etc. See also Grgić, 1997.

⁴ Italian anthologies of sixteenth-century women poetry started with *Gaspara Stampa e altre poetesse del Cinquecento* by the well-known historian of Italian literature Francesco Flora (Flora, 1962). See also Stampa, 1994.

⁵ When speaking of the Dubrovnik Renaissance, Svetlana Stipčević singles out as key points that characterise it as such the maritime commerce tied to the Adriatic basin, a political system similar to the one of the *Serenissima* (Venice), rule by an aristocratic oligarchy, the elitist character of poetic creation, the influence of the Catholic church, the schooling of young nobleman, and their humanistic education, especially in classical literature (Stipčević, 2004:65).

author Zdenka Marković, the first one dedicated to women who were literarily active to varying degrees in Dubrovnik from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, thus became an unsurpassed reference but, besides inspiring new research by scholars (almost exclusively women), it paradoxically, and in blatant opposition to its own scruples, helped to revive the legend of Cvijeta Zuzorić (Fiore Zuzzeri Pescioni, Dubrovnik 1552 – Ancona 1604), allegedly the first Croatian woman poet (Marković, 1970). So much so that, when, in the 1990s, Croatia become an independent state, not only was the list of literary works dedicated to this incarnation of the Renaissance version of classical *kalokagathia* completed



by new items, but she appeared on the cover of a one-volume history of Croatian literature.⁶ And, even more significantly, the eroticized femininity was further nationalized by Cvijeta's being chosen as one of only five women in the whole of Croatian history to deserve to appear (in a portrait of uncertain attribution) on a stamp issued by the national post office.

Yet, notwithstanding testimonies of her poetic excellence by poets of the time and by historians of the city of Dubrovnik, there is not one line written by Cvijeta Zuzorić that has survived to our time. A poetess indeed she was made to be, albeit (through a voice that comes to us through the broken looking-glass of the authors who wrote about her) in the sense that Germaine Greer, among other authors, gives to this word, contrasting it to the concept of "woman poet". The poetess, according to Greer, insists on displaying characteristics directly associated with conventional femininity. The fact that Greer identifies them primarily not only with delicacy, modesty and hypersensitivity, but also with domesticity, piety and with filial, sororal and maternal affections is probably due to her prevalent use of English examples.⁷ In the Italian, French, and (at least as

⁶ See Jelčić, 1997 (second ed., 2004). Cvijeta's birthday also appears on the list of birthdays of Croatian authors in *Leksikon hrvatske književnosti* (Bogišić, Čale Feldman, Duda, Matičević, 1998:455).

⁷ "The excesses of poetesshood include astonishingly equable though at the same time sentimental poems on all kinds of death, including lingering descriptions of the deaths of infants and small children in which there is never a hint of the agony of child loss which in truth drove some women mad" (Greer, 1995: xv).

subsequently imagined) Dubrovnik context, which is considered – by “official” (not exclusively academic) Croatian literary history – capable of equalling the Italian one, a certain amount of erotic charm is also welcome by critics, provided that it peacefully accepts the tyranny of the (male) gaze. In a novel written by a male author in the form of her apocryphal diary, for example, the protagonist Cvijeta Zuzorić expressly defines her own self as an empty signifier by saying that she is just a “producer of desire” – and is content with such a definition.⁸ Such is the destiny of the “mute” legend of the Dubrovnik poetess (Grgić, 1996), a beautiful body whose image continues to be reproduced and manipulated in a way that serves the master narrative, including the use of signifying procedures that make one think of literary history as prone to pornographic representations.

Disturbing the master narrative both of her time and, additionally (probably, in the view I am trying to promote, even more importantly), of later attempts at the reconstruction, reinterpretation, re-evaluation, representation and re-enactment of the Dubrovnik Renaissance, by substituting if for a distinctly personal narrative is certainly what distinguishes the case of another woman poet of the same era (sixteenth century) and the same place (Dubrovnik, the Adriatic basin and the migrations between its two coasts), Nada Bunić (Speranza di Bona). The complete absence of any pictorial portraits of Speranza di Bona, furthermore, renders her case not only different, but in fact opposite to the previous one. (I will endeavour to show that it could also be interpreted as a case of covert optimism within any attempt to find continuity among female poetic statements in Croatian and/or Mediterranean literature up to the present, statements that can be seen as addressing feminist concerns *ante litteram*).

Until recently known only by hearsay and mentioned by poets and historians exclusively in connection with her younger sister Julija (so far considered a more important poet⁹), Speranza di Bona, thanks to a collection of poems found in 2004 in the Biblioteca comunale of Siena, Italy, preceded by a long prose preface and published (we still do not know where or when, so we go by the year 1569, which appears at the end of the preface) under the title *Difesa de le rime et prose de la signora Speranza et Vittoria di Bona in difesa di suo honore, & contra quelli, che ricercò farli infamia con sue rime* (The defence of the poetry and prose of *signora* Speranza Vittoria di Bona in defence of her honour and against those who tried to defame her with their/her rhymes), now

⁸ See Paljetak, 2004, and, on Paljetak, Grgić, 2005. Recent literary works dedicated to Zuzorić also include plays (Tortora, 2002) and short stories (Stojan, 1995; Mojaš, 1994).

⁹ The most oft-quoted is the testimony in Appendini, 1803. Along with the discussed Cvijeta Zuzorić (Fiore Zuzzeri), and Mara Gundulić (Maria Gondola), the Bunić sisters were allegedly members of the legendary literary Accademia degli Concordi.

appears as the most coherent resistant woman poet not only of her milieu, but perhaps of the whole of the European sixteenth century, Italy included.¹⁰

The observation that Speranza di Bona was coherently resistant and definitely a woman poet (as opposed to poetess) should not be interpreted in an oversimplified manner. A poetess she attempted to be, certainly, when she first sang about her beloved homeland, the city of Dubrovnik, celebrating its beauties and its glory comparable to that of Athens (Bona 1569:23-24). A poetess she aspired to be when she commemorated the visits of great personalities (such as the prince of Molfetta, Bona 1569:34, and Isabella Capua Gonzaga, Bona 1569:35) to the city of Manfredonia (known also by its Antique name of Siponto, which she also used), in the Italian region of Apulia, where her father, like many other Dubrovnik citizens, moved in the hope of prospering as a merchant.¹¹ Speranza di Bona was a poetess in the meaning intended as long as she remained within the Petrarchan style to describe the beauty of her sisters and to lament their death (Bona 1569:23-25, 36-37); a poetess when, in the only love poem included in her collection, she spoke in the voice of a man, a literary character, the Orlando Furioso immortalized by Ludovico Ariosto (Bona, 1569:39-40).

Insisting, in the preface to her collection of poetry, on her chastity, on her obedience to her father and mother, on her piety, denying that she ever took pleasure not only in love but even in poetic creation, she almost attempted to pretend that she would have preferred to remain silent, for she was well aware that the act of writing was clearly an “impingement upon silence”, since the written word “was a material validation of female articulacy” (Wynne-Davies, 1998: xxvi). Obviously aware that she was expected to peacefully endure what was even two centuries later called “the slavery of maidenhood” in the city of Dubrovnik (according to a French visitor to Dubrovnik, Monsieur La Maire, see Marković, 1970), she stressed the seclusion from the public sphere in which she and her sisters lived. The very poems whose authorship she acknowledged were, in her own words, only meant to exist in manuscript

¹⁰ The collection was discovered by the scholar Ennio Stipčević in the Biblioteca comunale di Siena (once Accademia degli Intronati) under the signature 111 Q IV. See also Grgić, Maroević, 2006, and Grgić, 2009. So far the most resistant poetic act of sixteenth-century women poets could be found in a long poem by Italian courtesan Veronica Franco, where she, in a series of *terzine*, threatened to punish her unfaithful lover by castration (Flora, 1962:78-80). No wonder, then, that the famous contemporary Italian feminist writer Dacia Maraini used Franco, as an exemplary figure, as the protagonist of her play which has as its main theme the relationship between female obedience and female rebellion in both the public and private spheres of sixteenth-century Venice (Maraini, 1991).

¹¹ Others, like Cvijeta Zuzorić's father, moved to Ancona, in the region of Marche, for the same reasons.

form and to be read privately by their own family and as a form of family chronicle. In general, she assumed a “feminine” tone which was to imply that she had never aspired to reveal what Germaine Greer calls “the (...) gut truths of womanhood” (Greer, 1995:xv).

However, Speranza di Bona was obviously compelled, both in her introduction and in some of her later poems, by a series of circumstances and an inner drive, to resist the ideal of a poetess by also expressing negative feelings, such as rage, protest and, towards the end, (almost) utter despair. Having been forced to suffer, along with her five sisters, the contempt directed at those women who, after reaching a certain age, remained unmarried, yet rejected or financially unqualified for convent (as the Dubrovnik Republic was known to solve the problem), she was additionally exposed to ridicule, along with her sister Giulia, as a woman literate in Italian, and a literary woman who took herself seriously. In spite of the Dubrovnik’s aforementioned sixteenth-century trilingualism (Croatian, Italian and Latin), women were not supposed to move discursively outside their native tongue (in the same way as they were not supposed to move outside the home physically) into the learned world of foreign languages clearly used for cultural rather than pragmatic purposes.¹² Since a woman’s nature was considered coarsened by learning and her charms therefore diminished to the point of repulsiveness,¹³ it is not surprising that the ridicule and calumny apparently reached their peak, as we deduce from the preface, when she engaged in an open political debate (written, typically for that time, in the form of sonnets) about the European dynasties fit to rule the Mediterranean regions, a debate she conducted with the already mentioned famous Italian poet Virginia Salvi (Bona, 1569:29-31, see also Grgić, 2009).¹⁴

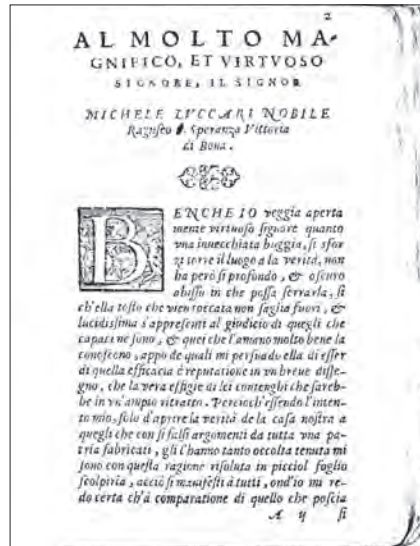
There is no way of saying with certainty what Speranza di Bona’s personal destiny, and that of her poetry, would have been in a different

¹² “‘One tongue is enough for a woman’ was the excuse the blind poet Milton offered his friends for why he would not teach his resentful daughters Latin and Greek, although he had them read aloud to him from the classics without understanding” (Brownmiller, 1984:111).

¹³ “The verbal capabilities of women have been hindered in every age by legal restrictions on higher learning, which go back as far as ancient Greece, by prohibitions on devotional public speech in church, which effectively banned female contributions to thought and doctrine in the world’s major religions, by the infliction of humiliating physical punishment for the use of strong, rebellious language, by wicked ridicule in poems and plays for alleged verbosity, and by imposing in the name of femininity a self-conscious emphasis not on content but on modulation, elocution and pleasing facial expression” (Brownmiller, 1984:115).

¹⁴ It is probably due to the fact that Salvi was born in Siena that we have the sole copy of Bona’s work thus far found. See note 10.

geographical and political setting or under different personal circumstances. Had her father been a noble instead of a merchant, the dominant male hierarchy would have policed her behaviour, perhaps even more carefully in a city-state like Dubrovnik, and publication might have become even less possible.¹⁵ Had she had an understanding husband, on the other hand (a rare, but existing specimen in Dubrovnik, judging by the example of the previously mentioned Maria Gondola), she might have exercised some kind of poetic and/or intellectual activity



alongside him and under his protection. Again, had the six Bona sisters had a brother, he could have been the one to take up their defence in conversation, in writing, and perhaps even in print. As it was, Speranza (probably with the meagre financial support of her father) decided to address the Dubrovnik public in a volume written in Italian, in which she collected not only her own poems, but also (as was the convention of the time) the many poetic responses she received from learned men who showed her nothing but respect. She decided to do away with the calumnies concerning a lack of chastity once and for all. In order to do this, she needed a figure of some social prominence to whom she could dedicate her book, and she chose the Dubrovnik nobleman Michele Luccari, obviously acquainted with the Bona family's distress.¹⁶

In narrating the history of her troubles to Michele Luccari, as I have already tried to show, Speranza di Bona adopted a voice that she knew was expected of her as a woman, a manner used to display modesty not only on the level of subject-matter, by enumerating the virtues of herself and her sisters, but also on the rhetorical level. That is to say, what she repeatedly stressed

¹⁵ "To publish their works also laid women open to charges of immoral behaviour in that, by allowing all men to see/hear their words, they came to be regarded as unchaste" (Wynne-Davies, 1998: xxvi).

¹⁶ The encomiastic sonnets that she dedicated to him and his wife Madalena Luccari, which open the poetic part of the volume, were also part of the conventional *captatio benevolentiae* that was so necessary to the goal.

is the shortness, the brevity of the text she was writing – in the very face of the fact that the text grew to become almost fifty pages long. While this tone could also be regarded as an “eagerness to please”,¹⁷ I rather think that the insistence on this professed succinctness was her pre-emptive defence against the accusation, typically directed at women, of talking too much.¹⁸ Yet this defence, apparently respectful of the definition she was offered as a woman by patriarchal discourse, proceeded at the very moment when she was disturbing the system of its rules; it was her covert resistance, her strategy of questioning the dominant narrative.¹⁹

The points, however, at which Speranza overtly transformed from poetess to woman poet was when she openly called her native town, Dubrovnik, “ungrateful”, “cruel” and “a Spartan republic”. This did not mean that she lastingly adopted another homeland in the city of Manfredonia (Siponto), although it had provided her, at least for some time, with opportunities to be literarily active and recognized as such. In the poetic part of the volume, the parallel treatment of both cities can be traced across distant pages – as Dubrovnik was Athens only to become Sparta, so Manfredonia was initially “virtuous” and “a glorious kingdom”, only to later become “malicious” and “invidious” (Bona, 1569:22, 23, 52, 54). Under the pretext of protecting traditional family values, Speranza di Bona’s enterprise was indeed a truly nomadic one, in that she not only crossed over languages, but also rejected nostalgia for both her native Dubrovnik and her adoptive Manfredonia, consciously accepting the position of an *apatride* – her only nostalgia, perhaps, being for the utopian homeland of writing.²⁰

It is this homeland (certainly not *fatherland*) that Speranza di Bona (Nada Bunić) evoked in her poem addressing the Muses. In it she announced her

¹⁷ “But the ... danger to the traits that men find pleasing had been woman’s own compelling fear” (Brownmiller, 1984:111).

¹⁸ “Loquaciousness in the female sex has been remarked upon, not surprisingly (...) by Aristotle, Aristophanes, Juvenal, the Babylonian Talmud, Swift, Ben Johnson, Shakespeare and Milton. Her silence was counted a virtue by Sophocles, Plutarch, saint Paul and Samuel Johnson. Babblers, tattlers, gossips, chatterboxes, nags and scolds: the descriptions apply to one sex only and suggest a severe defect of character. It is said that women gush (...) run on about insignificant matters, and when entrusted with something important, (...) can’t keep a secret. The din is infernal. What’s a man to do? A popular pub in London, The Silent Woman, named for the Ben Johnson farce, has as its tavern sign a headless female torso, the final resort” (Brownmiller, 1984:111).

¹⁹ Teresa De Lauretis’ observation that women are defined by the patriarchal discourse, but can constitute themselves as subjects only within it seems particularly apt in Bona’s case (De Lauretis, 1996:25).

²⁰ Although theorized by Rosi Braidotti as a post-modern project, and not merely an existential condition, in my opinion Speranza di Bona fully qualifies for the concept of “nomadic subject”. See Braidotti, 1994:1-28, especially the chapter “The Nomad as Polyglot”.

abandonment of poetry (“the reign of the Muses”), for it had only brought her trouble and distress, “maybe because her talent did not match her courage” (Bona, 1569:61-63).²¹ How many potential women poets in Dubrovnik or Italy read this text in the sixteenth or following centuries, we still do not know, for Speranza was long condemned to oblivion (and her voice taken from her in a way essentially different from that used upon the all-too-well-known Fiore Zuzzeri). Yet, the poem was not only an expression of deep concerns voiced by a woman already brutally silenced by her own contemporaries, not only an intimation of her grief, her despair. When she said that her destiny should not in any case discourage others, if they were abler or luckier, we see that it was indubitably meant to be, for other women poets, something more: a signal, a sign, a voice, a token of good hope.

ALLE MUSE.
Muse leggiadre se'l mio basso ingegno
fu troppo audace ue'n chieggio perdono
che da che posi il pie nel vostro regno
in odio ai cielo è a gli elementi io sono
Et si trafitta m'han di fiero sdegno
ch'io vi rifiuto è lascio, Et abandono
ma per l'ingrata in me compensa è noua
non restate però donne a cui gioua .

²¹ For a poetic translation of the entire poem in Croatian see Maroević, 2004.

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MELITA RICHTER MALABOTTA

VOICES FROM THE BORDER AREA: WOMEN'S LIVES OUT OF THE SHADOW OF HISTORY

The border in the title of this paper makes reference to a vast area of the border territory between Italy and Slovenia close to the city of Trieste, an area that historians consider a “mobile-border area”. An intercultural project entitled “From borders to bridges” (*Da frontiere a ponti – Ko se iz meje ustvari most*)¹ has been promoted in this area. It was carried out with the involvement of six upper Italian and Slovene schools of the Trieste region together with the Slovene grammar school (Ginnasio) of Pirano in Slovenia.

I will try to report on some of the outstanding subjects discussed in the interviews gathered by female students, who talked to their own grandmothers with the aim of giving testimony to their rich and singular female life stories within the frame of a “terrible century”, the XX century, generator of two world wars. Their lives as girls, teenagers, young women and mature women flowed on the margins of this dark stage. Their gaze is acute, their memory lively – all these elements contribute to the widening of the historical, literary and sociological knowledge about the life experiences of the women who live or have lived – as marginal and emarginated subjects – in the border areas between Italy and Yugoslavia, and now Slovenia.

These women had never before been invited to talk about their own perception of the political and social dynamics that marked the time and lands where they live or have lived and which have forcibly left scars on their destinies as well as on the destinies of entire communities. Their narrations embrace wide and different periods of the past century, their remembrances take place

¹ This project was promoted by ACCRI – Associazione di Cooperazione Cristiana Internazionale Trieste; CVCS Centro Volontari Cooperazione alla Sviluppo; Associazione Senza Confini Brez Meja. The entire project with interviews of 41 women, an historical framework and sociological analyses, is published in the book “Donne di frontiera; Zenske in Meja” (Women from the Borderland) in the Italian and Slovenian language, edited by Laura Fania Zingirian and Gianluca Lemma, ACCRI, Trieste 2008.

in a multicultural context, on one or the other side of the *mobile border*, once the Austro-Hungarian one, then the border between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, of fascist Italy, or Socialist Yugoslavia, and now the Republic of Italy and the Republic of Slovenia...

The research focuses on connecting the personal narratives and histories of women living in a specific border and multiethnic area to general women's history. It includes one of the pivotal aspects of feminist pedagogy in its analytical framework: how personalized histories are connected to women's experiences and how the narratives about a foremother's life can become a base for empowering both the students who were conducting the interviews and the women whose voices were silenced and whose histories had been neglected by male historians throughout time. As Andrea Petö and Berteke Waaldijk would say: "The history of women was invisible because the official history only described the public sphere while women's history took place in the private sphere, where women had been delegated. Women's stories were not visible, women's stories were not told" (2006:19).

This research shows how history shapes the self and is thus directly related to one's story of oneself.

The voices of autobiographical memory are always a document of the set of historical conditions that made them possible. In her essay, "I Remember, Therefore I Write: The Voices of Contemporary Italian Canadian Women Writers", Spanish scholar Silvia Caporale Bizzini stresses that "telling one's story means that the speaking subject becomes part of the public world through storytelling." Caporale Bizzini (2009) refers to Hannah Arendt's work *The Human Condition* (1998 [1958]), in which Arendt relates "speech" to (political) public "action"; Arendt considers that our humanity is defined by our capacity for telling stories and establishing a biography, words and speech as an act of identitary statement representing the origin and the answer to the question "who am I" (Bizzini 2009:1), i.e. *Who are we?* – my emphasis.

The answer to these questions would not be possible without transferring remembrances from the private sphere to public discourse, without the connection of family memoirs to history and tradition, to women's past, without the association of our autobiographical memory to a determined psychic representation of ourselves. Only then, as Ruth Lister (2003) and John Kihlstrom (2002) point out, this means that the subject is converted into an *active agent* in the process of the re/definition of her/his individuality.

The research *From borders to bridges* gives a wide opportunity to discuss in an interdisciplinary context and/or in an intercultural classroom the concept of identity and community without creating a monolithical discourse around it. It includes a multiple personal perception of women's time and history, and re-evaluates memory, storytelling and their effect on the perception of the Real.

Let me start with some general data about the interviewees. The research started in 2007 and was concluded in 2008. It was based on the oral history method using interviews and an elaboration of the results using sociological and historical analyses. There were 41 interviews that were conducted. The oldest women were born in 1914, 1918 and 1919; the majority of the interviewees were born in the 1920s and 1930s. Only two women were born in the early 1940s, in 1942 and 1943.

By indicating their birthplaces, they mention geographic-cultural entities and state formations that have changed noticeably during their lives, obliging them to re-interpret their own identity and to support it by resisting the forced changes. Their citizenship changed continuously in spite of the fact that the majority of them never moved from their birthplace. This is the history of the borderlands, the history of mythicized Mitteleuropa, of the Balkans; it is our history; a history of shifting territories and identities.

In this contribution, I will report briefly on some of the themes that gave shape to the experiences of the women whenever meeting, cohabiting, in separation, in conflicts and in peace with different ethnic, social, cultural, linguistic, religious and ideological groups.

Main concepts present in the narrations of the grandmothers

The family

From the material gathered, it is possible to deduce that the families of the grandmothers were numerous and extended. It is mostly the type of community family with strong primary links of solidarity, mutual help, participation in the family economy and division of labour.

It is possible to notice that the women who were interviewed did not have much room for free and weighted decisions. The restrictions that they suffered came not only from the social and economic sphere – the majority of the interviewed women had lived in a family considered either poor or of modest economic conditions, with a basic or modest degree of education – but because they had been influenced by the fury of war, of fascism, of the harsh realities of the early stage socialism, which was not at all poor in coercion instruments. Sometimes, for the older women, the wars which left a definitive mark on their lives and the lives of their families were two: WWI and WWII.

The professional occupation of their parents was mostly working in the fields. And women, apart from working in the fields, worked at home. Whenever asked about the work that they carried out in the different phase of their lives, many answered “everything”. This simple word tells us much about the burden of feminine labour in a typical peasant patriarchal family.

The mother

The role of the mother as source of the emotional universe and as transmitter of cultural, religious and linguistic contents acquired a particularly significant importance in the context of the life of a minority, the Slovene minority, in a precise historical moment, fascist Italy, when the use of the Slovenian language was forbidden in public space, within institutions and at school. I report two eloquent testimonies that underline this situation.² In such a context, the family life and the role of the mother as transmitter of cultural identity became decisive:

Our mum used to teach us to read like this: first she read some pages to us in a loud voice, which we repeated. In this way we gradually learned the literary Slovenian language. (1)

I remember that my mother, while she was cooking, used to explain how we should pronounce the letters ž, š, č, h... (34)

School

The research revealed that school, a very important environment for individual growth, was a place parallel and not seldom opposed to the family as well as a sphere where the public and the political domains used to leave indelible traces on the lives of both male and female pupils. The will of the school system was to shape the students on an ideological and identity model, nationalistic and mono-cultural in order to exclude diversities, above all those ethnic and cultural-linguistic. School, therefore, was not only a space for the transmission of knowledge but also a system of exclusion and refusal of the identities and sources of humiliation. It was school that was often experienced uneasily, fearfully and with terror.

Nasty souvenirs... The fascists were terrible: they used to hit us on the head, they punished us. Teacher Manes, who was Sicilian, used to make us afraid. The Italian school was very strict, every day we had to sing the fascist anthem and we were not allowed to speak in Slovenian, only in Italian, otherwise we were beaten. (27)

I didn't go willingly to school. We, kids, spoke Slovenian but it was not allowed. I suffered a lot at school. (29)

In similar testimonies we can recognize the situations of a definite cultural and linguistic uprooting caused by the political context operating on the territory.

² The numbers of the quotes refer to the order of the interviewed women reported in the book.

The efforts by the Slovene families in the Trieste hinterland (Carso) to ensure that their children received instruction in the Slovenian language included an added effort, often a material one, and shows the existence of parallel teaching, as well as built relations between the Slovene minority and the neighboring Yugoslavia.

When the partisans arrived, mister Lojze Kokorovec came to teach us. At Sales, there was this school, in a single room; the inhabitants of the village wanted to have lessons in the Slovenian language (...) Our parents gave him flour so that he could be our teacher; he didn't want money. We helped each other in any way possible in order to be able to have the lessons. (29)

The language and culture of the minority were kept as well at the Slovene church and the parochial chapels.

During the afternoons we used to go to the Slovene parochial chapel to pray in Slovenian. The priest's name was Ivan Drašček. (34)

Other recollections bring to surface the precarious social and environmental conditions where the teaching, learning and everyday life of the pupils took place.

A nasty recollection is linked to the period of when I started going to school and I never had a snack with me. My mum used to prepare sausages and give them to the men who were going to work. There was never anything for me. (32)

Education and gender relations

In order to interpret the importance of education, there are significant differences arising from a network of complex factors. In this paper we can list only some extrapolated from the general context of answers of the interviewed women:

- The educational level of the parents,
- Economic and material resources available to support the children,
- Perception of the importance of education from the point of view of a common destiny and in any case determined and predefined at last in respect of gender,
- Patriarchal values which considered that it was advisable to let male children study while female children were supposed to undertake domestic tasks and prepare their marriages;
- The extreme family need for the children and teenagers to work to provide material help to the family.

After finishing fifth primary class, the girls stayed at home whereas the boys went to a vocational school. (5)

One day I returned home and I asked my dad if it was possible for me to continue studying, I was 14 at the time; he answered that Mundi (my brother) would continue studying because he was a male. And I asked, "And me?" My father answered that his job was not enough to maintain the entire family and that he would have to send me to Trieste to work. (27)

These last two citations demonstrate that in some cases it was the family that blocked education in spite of the intelligence of the daughter and her proved abilities.

Hopes and wishes

What were your dreams when you were young? What were your wishes?

Many women neither remember a world of dreams, nor link them to their own childhood, to their teenage years, and many of them answer on the whole that they *never had any particular wishes*. Slowly, step by step, some of the pieces of that chimerical park surface, where dreams were considered a luxury and where – if there were any wishes - those were cut short, because *it was not possible to dream too much*. A toy, a present for San Nicolò, a present under the Christmas tree, a bicycle...

Very few hopes and wishes for their own future, as if there was a consciousness of a predestined future for women. Not many dreams to change this fate, not many dreams to change the world.

Still, we find meaningful those dreams where the hope of instruction took place.

Madonna! I wanted to become a dressmaker... or a hairdresser...yes, ... In the village there was just one sewing machine. Those who had a mum and dad used to take lessons, my friends used to go sew. I didn't even have this opportunity and I had to work at home. (11)

Often I dreamed of becoming a teacher and to teach youngsters, but there were no such opportunities. At the time, the only ones who were able to study were the well-off people. (12)

When we were at middle school, I fervently wished to go to University which was impossible because we didn't have enough financial means. (26)

Did your dreams come true?

They didn't come true due to misery, poverty, there was no money... My big dream was to make little models, models, models' design, models for dresses. That was my dream but unfortunately there were other more urgent needs. There was no possibility to study because it was necessary to do practical work and I needed to work and I couldn't do the practice. Other times... (6)

Only one of the interviewees interpreted the question about aspirations in a political key:

Obviously, we all had wishes, the strongest one was to be part of Yugoslavia and not Italy. (15)

Inter-ethnic relations

To the question *Would you have married a man of any other nationality or any other linguistic group?* members of both ethnic groups answered prevalently with an “obvious” closure within their own community, a declared closure towards the other.

As an example, we report two brief answers:

Marriage between mixed ethnic groups in the family? – no. (11)

(The marriages) were Slovenian, they weren't mixed. As far as I can remember, it has always been like that. (15)

Many talk about the marriages of the parents and grandparents always belonging to the same ethnic group. There are only a few women who take into consideration the universalism of “love” and there are so few willing to join a man belonging to another ethnic group, nationality or culture. Even religion is perceived as a fundamental element in the marriage and in the choice of partner.

This fact provides us with an identity of the territory where it is not the existence of the mobile border in itself that had marked the life of whole generations of women and of the families, but it is the historical age, marked by fascism or, in other cases, of Yugoslavian Socialism, that had influenced and strengthened the perception of the importance of belonging to a homogeneous national group, the community or religious culture which would reinforce the certain “pure” identities and not the mixed ones. It is as if whole historical periods pushed people to look for protection under the community, biological umbrella, instead of orienting them towards the citizenship of a dynamic and perceptibly mobile society.

We report some answers that demonstrate the above statement:

“No, my mother taught me that I should not marry a man of any other linguistic group because everybody should marry within their own group. The others have different customs and that is not appropriate.
(3)

About marriage

There was a set of questions about marriage, marital customs, about the social conditions of young couples and how they related to the others. We should always take into account the historical conditions working as a determining frame and thus remember that many among the interviewees were married in the 1930s/1940s, in the fascist period, during WWII or in the immediate post-war period. These periods are marked by precariousness, incertitude even when the future perspectives varied a lot from one couple to the next.

Still, the tales about the weddings are rich and detailed:

The party was beautiful even if it was not possible to make miracles happen because the war was just over. For us it was wonderful, everything, from the party to the wedding in the church, the food that included so many cakes as well as hams, etc. Everything was homemade, even the drinks which were water and homemade wine. (7)

All of them remember the wedding dress, many have kept theirs. There are some special situations the dress evokes: some of them made the dress themselves, the shape, how much it was admired and how much it was in relation with the women's situation at the time:

At the time, I was pregnant, I was in my fifth month and it would have been bad taste to have a white dress, nowadays they dress as they want. My suit was grey, with a short jacket and a hat on my head... (3)

The memories of the wedding are kept through photos as well. Almost all of them have pictures of their weddings, the photo per se is protagonist of the subjective memory.

Lodgings

The description of the house brings us back to the time marked by patriarchal practices which foresaw the “migration” of women from the family native home to the home of the groom upon marriage. Most of them followed this non-written rule and they moved to the husband's home, sometimes for a brief period of time, enough for them to find their own lodgings, sometimes “forever”.

However, there are a few cases in which the husband moved to the house of the woman. This act, not common at the time, is considered a transgression:

He came to my home, he was called a “prestopouc” (trangressor). He came here because I didn’t want to go to Caresana. (3)

The common trait of the houses is that they were open to the outside area, they almost always had a vegetable garden which became the salvation for the survival of the family.

The question that followed: *Did you have a room only for you?* was intended to shed light on how much private space these women could have in their lives and particularly at the beginning of their married lives.

No, a place like that was only my bed. (18)

Generally, there is no intimate space, closed to others’ eyes, in the lives of the interviewees. Generally, the modest conditions or poverty did not allow for personal or personalized spaces. The need to share was imposed by poverty but also by the patriarchal rural customs. In any case, it bore no relation whatsoever with the refusal to happiness or to young people’s fantasies, as the following answer bears testimony:

No, no, no. I wish I had one! I used to sleep with my granny and my brother. Sometimes we rented a room to the railway workers who came from Italy. Whenever they were not there, I used to decorate it to my taste, I used to decorate it with flowers, above all in May. I was happy like that. Sometimes it became my room but mainly I used to sleep with my granny and my brother. (3)

Even when a house or a flat were considered nice, big or comfortable, none of the women questioned had a room for herself, a simple corner or any other space considered personal. All the spaces were always shared.

It is not necessary here to put special emphasis on the significance of owning one’s own place or not, of having one’s own rooms for the forming of women’s identity and autonomy. In her fiction *A Room of One’s Own*, through expressing the need for owning one’s own women’s space, Virginia Woolf demonstrates how that concept influenced the development of the tradition of women’s political, literary and other thoughts in England.

Values

In this set of questions, the reflection on the values of the education of women and the times in which their formation took place cannot be absent.

My values were: respect my parents, look after the family, work, enjoy the small, simple things, be kind and tolerant to others. (2)

To be able to manage the house, to know the proper behaviour with men, to be very patient, not go out too much. (20)

Women had mainly to look after the house, after the cleaning because in this way she got ready for marriage. These values changed because nowadays the girls study because if they don't, they won't be able to find a good job. (23)

The times and role of gender

The following question introduces the gap between “then” and “now”, moments often mentioned in the narration. Moments which announce change.

The position of women, was it better or worse?

At the time it was probably worse because women had less rights. Nowadays, women have more freedom in comparison with those times. (7).

The differences between men and women were great. Men gave orders, women obeyed and worked. (12)

Some consider that the current family situation is negative because families are exposed to dissolution, divorce, too much freedom. Above all, there is an underlying negative valuation of women working “out of the home”, having too much free time and “watching too much television”. All these statements have their roots in a patriarchal context and to the values with which these women spent their formative years.

Some other interviewees have memories of times when there was a certain degree of social and gender equality in the villages, perhaps derived from scarcity or even of poverty.

Whoever has lived under socialist rule, speaks of another kind of equality. They remember particularly equal relationships between men and women. To the question about the situation of women under socialism, the general answer is: *Equal to men's*.

Many of the women consider that the division of work according to gender is natural:

A girl/woman, by nature, will never be able to carry out heavy tasks in the same way that a boy/man carries them out. For example, at home the man used to plough the fields, to sum up: he used to find heavy tasks. Women, on the contrary, used to bring the animals that we had at home to graze, they used to bring the firewood, etc. (7)

There is a short and simple question: *Have you ever felt discriminated as a woman?* to which all of the interviewees answered negatively. There is therefore a shared feeling that their women's subjectivity has never been humiliated while it has always been respected, independently of the social conditions in which they used to live. There is just one answer that sheds some shade on this general shared perception:

I have always been treated well. I have never felt discriminated as a woman, but as a Slovene, but nowadays no longer; maybe nowadays I feel discriminated as an old lady on the bus. (14)

Education and women's role models

We were willing to research the other female figures that were present in the lives of the interviewees and how much they may have functioned as "role models" to the young women. Another question tried to establish the degree of education of the female members in the grandmothers' families: *Were there some women in the families who had a better education than you?* To this question the answers were uniform: in the families of our grandmothers there were no women who managed to study to obtain a diploma. The general answers were as follows:

No, in my family there were no women with study certificates. (23)

To the question *Were there any important women who were an inspiration to you, both in the private and in the public world?* the answers were always the same: *there was no such figure.* There was nobody in the female world to whom they could have related to as a muse or model. Generally the interviewees say: *Never! I have never had anybody to inspire me.* Then, slowly, a few cases surface – the figures of the mother and the teacher.

There is only one interviewee that names some public women – outside the national context!

In my life there have been some important female figures but none of them has inspired me. However I had a fascination with the figure of Margaret Thatcher, the Iron Lady, and of Mother Theresa. (26)

To a further question whether they felt that they were the protagonists of their lives, all except one answered "never", "I have never been a protagonist"; "no, I wasn't ambitious".

Sombre times and subjective memories

In most of the stories the women recalled, the majority of space was devoted to the period of the Second World War. It would take another paper to report it properly. However, I will mention some conclusions emerging from their narrations.

There is no doubt that the experience of war is an essential moment in a person's life, it is marked by fear and uncertainty about the future. For the Slovene women, the sombre times of the fascist era and the war time is still clearly impressed in their minds, firstly as language and identity suppression, then as the suppression of civil rights, forced Italianisation and de-nationalization of the Slav minority. Some felt that this was a terrible humiliation and unfairness and found difficult to manage their anger.

They offer a particularly detailed and wide picture of their experiences under fascism, linked to some events situated within the institutions, firstly the schools, or generally in the public and family spheres.

We knew by heart everything referring to Italy but we didn't know that there was any other country apart from Italy. They didn't tell us anything concerning Yugoslavia. We didn't know what was happening around us. The fascist authorities had forbidden the use of the Slovenian language in public and even at home we had to be very careful. My brother and I had to learn Slovenian in secret from our mum who had books at home. We had to bury them in the garden because Slovenian books were forbidden. (1)

There are countless anecdotes emerging from the stories that complete the general picture about the life of the Slovene population under fascism, reflecting the conditions that have deeply marked the experiences of the women who were very young at the time.

There are precise dates registered in the personal memory of many of them, concerning exceptional events that involved the individual, the whole family and the community. The narration then becomes very detailed.

The girls, even if very young, keep in their memory single events of the war that happened to them or to their beloved ones; they remember the curfews, the bombardments, the deportations, the burnt villages, the corpses, the executed. The fear and the terror has marked their mind with boundless cruelty. And the tough memories remain, as one of our witnesses says: *I will never forget it, even if they say that children forget, but it is not true!*

Valuation of the historic times and their actors

Many testimonies, apart from registering the events that have influenced individual and collective experiences, give a valuation of the actors, of the regimes and of the ideologies.

They speak about bereavements and of the suffering caused by the forced displacements that have marked the family life between the two wars; the memories of the interviewees express the heartfelt valuation of the historical conditions and about fascism.

There are some valuations which are very tough but without any hatred.

I do not hate because there was a war and every war causes hatred, because you should defend yourself at any cost and it was very difficult.
(33)

Some try to find salvation in keeping the (childish) perception that this was the “normality”.

Memories related to material objects and photos

Another set of questions helped us to understand how many leftovers from the past are still present in the lives of our interlocutors, what is left of that world that for many was dark and nasty and, at the same time, highlighted by some happy events within a full family life, while for others it has kept lights and shadows in a continuous return and mixture. We wanted to understand which material culture is important for their identity, and generally, which are the objects that people want to drag along in their own lives. Many things disappear, become “gone with the wind”, others are carefully kept. What have our interlocutors kept?

I don't have anything. I never kept a diary. (3)

I still have the skirt (from the wedding) and some photographs. (11)

I kept all the objects which reminded me of somebody. Those are all things that I would find difficult to throw away. (32)

The *photograph* is called the queen of memory. Almost all the interviewed women have kept at least one, the majority has many. There are stories, memories, events far away and close by around the photographs. They devote special attention to the photographs, as to a priceless treasure. It is the treasure of memory.

The photographs are important, a part of me, I keep them in a special box, hidden and I am the only one who knows where it is. (22)

I keep a photo of my father and my mother when they got married in a beautiful frame that I wouldn't give away for anything in the world.
(33)

To the question *Which would be the five most important pictures of your family?* the majority chose images of single members of the family, their parents, husband, children, grandchildren.

Only one woman chose her own picture; and it wasn't a group photo. As if there was a tacit agreement that one's own life and self-representation are not important. As if it wasn't important to keep one's own picture in this historical scene.

Concluding remarks

The voices that we have reported, even if extracted from a much wider research frame, speak to us clearly that the interviewed women do not feel as the protagonists of their own lives or of History with a capital H. They have not shown a great interest or ambition for an active and visible public life; their time flows by silently. However, these women have done quite a lot. They showed the ability to describe and reflect on their life experience differently from the false generalization of large national narratives; they *spoke differently* (Gilligan, 1993) and by doing so, they interacted their private memories into public dialogue. In other words, by the act of telling a story they entered into political accomplishments and revealed themselves *as an agent* (Arendt 1998: 184).

They have given us new knowledge and above all they have made us reflect carefully about our shared and shadowed female history.

Finally, we would like to add some considerations about the female students who carried out the interviews and who became sharp observers and guides in the meanderings of the memories of their foremothers.

I observe her while she is speaking. I observe her face that became sad when she was talking to me about the war and poverty but that became happy afterwards whenever speaking about her marriage and her youth years. (18)

At the end, many of them declared that they were glad to have been able to take part in this project that gave them the opportunity to talk on their own alone with their grandmothers. This way they have learned things that they did not know, they have gathered pieces of family lives that they may have never have suspected; they have thought once and again about their own selves and the lives of their mothers and foremothers and how women's lives could be part of a national history. They have strengthened generational relationships,

relationships full of affection and awareness between grandmothers and granddaughters.

I have always been very close to my grandmother even before the interview because I spend a lot of time with her. However, I believe that this opportunity made us even closer and I am very glad to have had the opportunity to take part in this project. On top of that, I felt very glad for her because for once she was at the centre of attention instead of her children or her grandchildren. At the end of the interview she smiled at me and told me that she felt like the heroine of some novel. (36)

This last sheds full light on the scope of the project “From borders to bridges”, which was an effort to reinforce the subjectivity of women, take them back from the shadows of history, the history which has never asked them anything while exposing them to atrocious restrictions and humiliations. All that we wanted was to empower and amplify their voices, to give dignity to female historical subjects, listen to them and above all make them known to a new generation of young girls and boys of our time.

Finally, according to feminist pedagogy and to Petö and Waaldijk, we consider that “the reflection about the lives of foremothers who may be biologically or metaphorically related to the students, provides an excellent teaching tool. It provides the diverse group with the opportunity to discuss the core issues of writing women’s history: the distinction between public and private lives, historiographical issues, as well as differences in experiences that may be defined nationally, religiously, ethnically, or in terms of class” (2006:12).

At the same time, we consider that this research attempted a subversion of the unilateral teaching model (a mono-directional approach) as through the recollection of the autobiographical narratives of their foremothers students entered the discussion in a classroom not only as learners, but also as ‘authors’, as ‘teachers’.

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CHIARA BONFIGLIOLI

BACK TO BELGRADE, 1978
AN EXPLORATION IN MEMORIES

Between the 27th and 29th of October 1978, the international conference “*Druga žena. Žensko pitanje – novi pristup?*” – literally: “Comrade Woman. The Women’s Question: a New Approach?” – took place in Belgrade at the Students Cultural Centre (SKC). The meeting was attended by eighty participants approximately. The first autonomous second wave feminist event in South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, it is still considered a landmark of feminist history in the region thirty years later. This is demonstrated by commemorative events and publications, such as the 2006 Pitchwise festival in Sarajevo and the thirty-year anniversary conference held in October 2008 at the Belgrade Students Cultural Centre.

The project of the organisers (Žarana Papić, Nada Ler Sofronić, Dunja Blažević, Rada Iveković, Jasmina Tešanović) was basically to expose women’s inequality within socialist Yugoslavia, and this against the official discourse, which stated that women’s equality had been reached through the legal system and the participation of women in the labour market. When inviting foreign guests, the organisers hoped to gather first hand information about the condition of women and the development of feminist ideas in other countries, particularly in Western Europe, where feminist movements (notably in France and Italy) were at their peak.¹

¹ In an earlier draft of this paper, I stated that the main goal of the organisers was to “compare women’s condition in Yugoslavia with the situation in Western Europe”. Rada Iveković commented on this sentence: “I am not sure that our aim was to compare women’s condition in YU to that of Western Europe, as you put it. I think rather that our general assumption was one of an existent and revolting general inequality for women in YU as well as elsewhere. I suppose that our objective was to compare the condition of women and men, and to find some commonalities in other countries with this. We probably didn’t think at all of the different histories we and women from Italy etc. had. It was only at the conference that we discovered in great puzzlement the gap” (E-mail correspondence with the author).

Around thirty foreign participants were invited to the international meeting, and approximately half of them managed to come to Belgrade.²

The list of invited Yugoslav participants included approximately twenty women, mostly from Belgrade and Zagreb, but also from Ljubljana, Sarajevo and other cities of the Federation. They dealt with the theme of sexism and women's lives as sociologists, philosophers, historians, doctors, writers, journalists, artists and art historians. Some men were also present. We should add to this list the regular public of SKC in Belgrade,³ but also the local press, and many foreign women who came even if they were not invited as speakers. The number of eighty people is thus maybe an underestimation.

In this paper I will not deal with the political and theoretical background of the conference, nor with the conference as an historical event.⁴ Instead I will reflect on the operation of collecting and interpreting sources as well as on the possible stories that can be written by gathering women's voices from the past and from the present. The paper addresses methodological issues by presenting the main challenges encountered during the research process. I argue in this paper that the gathering of women's voices is a mediated, fragmentary, non-linear process of interpretation (though only a certain spectrum of interpretations is possible). Historical sources – oral and written – are shaped

² The invitation was sent to very important figures such as Juliet Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham, Simone De Beauvoir, Luce Irigaray. My tentative list of foreign guests who were present is the following: Jill Lewis, Helen Roberts, Diana Leonard, Parveen Adams, Anne Marie Boetti, Chiara Saraceno, Manuela Fraire, Dacia Maraini, Adele Cambria, Letizia Paolozzi, Luciana Viviani, Giuliana Sgrena, Carla Ravaoli, Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, Anabella Miscuglio, Francesca Ponza, Christine Delphy, Françoise Pasquier, Aline Dallier, Naty Garcia, Xavière Gauthier, Catherine Millet, Jacqueline, Ivette, Julie (*from the group "édition des femmes", they weren't using any surname*), Elise Bon, Catherine Nadaud, Nil Yalter, Françoise Collin, Ewa Morawska, Judith Kele, Alice Schwarzer.

³ My tentative list of Yugoslav participants compiled through direct and indirect sources includes the following people: Žarana Papić, Dunja Blažević, Nada Ler Sofronić, Nadežda Čaćinović, Slavenka Drakulić, Lydia Sklevicky, Rada Iveković, Anđelka Milić, Vesna Kesić, Ruža First-Dilić, Gordana Cerjan Letica, Dragan Klaić, Borka Pavičević, Mira Oklobdžija, Slobodan Drakulić, Jasmina Tešanović, Lepa Mladenović, Ljiljana Gajović, Vera Smiljanić, Nada Sponza Mimica, Bojana Pejić, Sonja Drljević, Sofija Trivunac, Božidarka Frajt, Đurđa Milanović, Jelena Zuppa, Vesna Dramušić, Rada Đuričin, Miloš Nemanjić, Živana Olbina, Vesna Pešić, Milica Posavec, Vuk Stambolović, Karel Turza, Ljuba Stojić, Biljana Tomić, Goranka Matić, Ruža Petrović, Katalin Ladik, Zoran Vidaković, Vesna Dražilović, Seka Stanivuk, Mira Zelenika, Ruža Gavrilović.

⁴ For a more extensive discussion on this subject and for further references, see the author's MA thesis *Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the conference "Drugarica Zena. Zensko Pitanje – Novi Pristup?" / "Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach?" thirty years after*. Available online at: <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2008-1031-202100/UUindex.html>

by the specific temporal and spatial coordinates in which they were produced. The singularity of multiple sources and the dialogic process of interviewing challenge the researcher's partial perspective and assumptions.

At the start, my idea was to track the way in which the image of women in the former Yugoslavia changed through time, from a Western perspective. I was not satisfied with the current representations of "the Balkans" found in Western media, nor was I satisfied with the majority of Western feminist scholarly texts dealing with gender relations and feminism in the former Yugoslavia. I found pertinent the analyses of scholars who worked with the concept of *balkanism* – or specific declinations of Orientalism in the Balkan context (Todorova, 1997).

So I started with an "Under Western Eyes" (Mohanty, 2002) approach, attempting to deconstruct the "international" gaze on the Balkans by looking at its gendered and ethnicized representations. I was also sensitive to the specific variations of *balkanism* existing in Italy, as well as to the varieties of "frontier" orientalism located in the Italo-Yugoslav border region (Mihelj, 2009; Sluga, 2002). Moreover, while discovering the rich and challenging texts written by feminist scholars and activists in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s, I felt that they were virtually absent from the "canon" of European women's studies, or at least that they did not get the attention they deserved, despite their richness and radical potential.⁵ I started wondering if it had been otherwise before the Yugoslav break-up, particularly from the perspective of Italian feminism.

How did a transnational feminist exchange look like before the "humanitarian turn" of the 1990s, which led us to see "the Balkans" as a site of violence, victimized femininity and violent masculinity (Žarkov, 2007)? Which feminist practices existed before the "NGOisation" of feminism, particularly in the former Yugoslavia? With these questions in mind, I started exploring the transnational exchange that took place in 1978. Moreover, within feminist writings from the 1990s, this event was represented as a "founding moment" for feminism in the region, without any further description or specification⁶: what happened there? These were the research questions I had in mind while starting to work on my MA thesis.

⁵ For an exception, see Griffin and Braidotti, 2002.

⁶ Also, the meeting of 1978 was sometimes portrayed by the younger generations of feminists as something that belonged to the "intellectual" foremothers of feminism, or to the "theoretical" phase of Yugoslav feminism, which was overcome by the new activist generation of the 1980s. I didn't have enough elements to enter this debate, but I tried to avoid such a clear-cut division. I argued in my thesis that the meeting of 1978 was also an element in the genealogy of grassroots groups in the 1980s and 1990s, and that there were generational continuities, together with discontinuities, even if this hypothesis should be proved further.

Memories

When I started interviewing participants from Belgrade, Sarajevo and Zagreb, the results displaced my initial premises. As Luisa Passerini writes in her study of workers' popular culture under Fascism, "Oral sources refuse to answer certain kinds of questions; seemingly loquacious, they finally prove to be reticent or enigmatic, and like the sphynx [*sic*] they force us to reformulate problems and challenge our current habits of thought" (Passerini, 1998:58). I found that after thirty years the narrations of former participants could not convey all the details I was looking for (who was there exactly, what was debated etc.). I also found that the issue of the Western gaze was not at all central. When asked about the presence of foreign women in 1978, my narrators would answer that this was normal, due to the openness of borders and to the circulation of ideas existing in their country at the time. ("In '78 it was not like that, we travelled freely, we had pretty good standards of living all things considered and you were not so surprised or shocked to see foreigners here (...) It wasn't such a shock. *We were part of Europe at that point, you know, on some level...*"⁷).

In my interviewees' accounts, thus, the meeting of 1978 became a landmark or a nodal point that served to structure the narration in terms of *before* and *after* the radical social changes that occurred in the (former) Yugoslav space⁸: *before* and *after* the Yugoslav Federation and socialism, which coincided more or less with *before* and *after* the war. Moreover, the recollection of subjective experiences was organised around the *before* and *after* of a feminist inaugural event: after this meeting nothing had been the same in terms of visibility in the public sphere and organisation of feminist groups. These were the two most constant types of *framing* present in oral accounts.

Also, the generation of women and men who were present at the conference was later part of the oppositional political scene of the 1990s, so that the conference became retrospectively associated to the anti-nationalist and anti-war stance adopted by many of its participants later in life. The 1978 meeting, thus, stood both as a metaphor of the changes that occurred in the last years and as a founding gesture of all feminist movements to come. This *framing* in terms of *before* and *after* imposed itself to me. The memories did not tell me "what happened", but rather something else and I will come back to this later.

⁷ Sofija Trivunac, interview (Belgrade, 11/2/2008).

⁸ "Changes which may have subsequently taken place in the narrators' personal subjective consciousness or in their socio-economic standing, may affect, if not the actual recounting of prior events, at least the valuation and the 'coloring' of the story" (Portelli, 1998:69).

Archives

Together with the interviews, I searched for archive material in SKC and the Center for Women's Studies, Belgrade to see if I could get a more systematic vision of the debates in 1978. In the SKC's archive and in Žarana Papić's archive I found original transcriptions of the discussions. Slavica, a friend of a friend, came up with an original tape from 1978. Perfect, I thought. But I had underestimated translation problems. The transcriptions were all in the original language, and often the interventions from foreigners had been moved to another file and thus put out of context, again for reasons of translation. My language skills were still poor so I put those documents aside. The tape, to my luck, was in Italian, but only Italian women speaking of their experiences in the feminist movement had been recorded.

My first access to "what really happened", thus, were not the tapes, nor the transcripts but the Italian and French feminists' reports from the time. I discovered that the conference had an extraordinary echo in Western Europe. And for the first time, the foreign feminist press showed the critical, "non-pacified" part of the conference. While in the narrations of local participants there was sometimes an amused vision of the encounter between the foreigners and the locals⁹, the French or Italian press described the meeting in a very critical and sometimes very sceptical tone. The Yugoslav organisers were often described as too confident in official (socialist) discourses and policies and still far from developing an *autonomous* women's movement. So this press material in a way told me *what happened*, but with all the misunderstandings and estrangement of foreign guests, who were mostly not aware of the dissident character of the conference and of the local power dynamics. Reciprocal misunderstandings were also due to the differences in the "feminist language" spoken by the different groups, an issue that I analyse in depth in my research.

Back to memories once again

Knowing that some very polemical exchange took place, I started to interview the international participants. However, international participants' narrations, more than offering details on the event itself, would express general impressions about Yugoslavia in 1978. The accounts of my interviewees opened up a comparison between feminist debates in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia, in relation to their cultural and political *positioning*. For instance, Maria Rosa Cutrufelli felt that in comparison to Italy "it was like going back to the discussions we had eight years before", while Ewa Morawska experienced an

⁹ For a narrativized account, see Slavenka Drakulić, "What We Learned From Western Feminists", *Transitions* 1(1998).

“enormous anticipation” in comparison to the Polish context, where a similar event would have been unimaginable. Moreover, the meeting had a different significance for international guests, precisely because they were guests and thus not engaged in the organisation of a major event in their own country.

So, how to operate a *translation*¹⁰ between the voices from the past and the voices on the past from the present, the archival sources and the memories of participants from different locations? This translation had to be done not only between the voices of women in Yugoslavia and the voices of women in Western Europe, but also between two different moments in time, 1978 and 2008, and the changes affecting the political context in Yugoslavia, but also Italy, France, Poland. Temporal changes occurred not only on a geopolitical level, but also on a personal level for my interviewees. How to put together all these heterogeneous sources, make sense of them and still have an idea of what happened during the meeting?

Examples

I will give you one example, based on one of the most significant episodes that occurred during the meeting. At the end of the second day, as Christine Delphy reported, the foreigners – and the Italians especially – pushed the Yugoslavs to be more explicit about their political positionings. At a certain point, the exchange became heated, and someone from the Yugoslav side replied: “We have no lessons to receive.”¹¹ Carla Ravaoli described the debate as follows:

“Don’t come here to give us lessons, what do you know of our reality?” – was the harsh Yugoslav reaction. “If you continue talking of economic development and self-management, you will get nowhere” – replied the feminists. And they wondered how come they’d been invited.¹²

¹⁰ I refer here to the broader concept of *cultural translation* or *translating between cultures* as developed by Rada Iveković (2005): “an open-ended relational and reciprocal gesture of freedom putting into question the ‘translator’ and the ‘original’ itself”, which the author opposes to the idea of “dialogue between cultures”. The gesture of translation can be described as “a vital form of resistance (through the *differential* critical expression of differences) to the hegemonic lines of imposition of *the* meaning (of a meaning)”.

¹¹ Les Italiennes, beaucoup plus directes que les autres, demandent carrément aux Yougoslaves “qu’est-ce qu’elles comptent faire à propos de ceci ou cela” et “quand vont-elles créer un mouvement?” La dynamique oppositionnelle s’accélère. (...) Les Yougoslaves se sentent poussées dans leur retranchements, sommées de se justifier, mieux, de nous “imiter”, bref, traitées en attardées. Il apparait tout au moins que c’est ainsi qu’elles comprennent les questions qui leur sont adressées quand l’une d’elles éclate: “Nous n’avons pas des leçons à recevoir”. (Christine Delphy, “...de Yougoslavie”, *Questions Féministes*, n. 5 – Feb 1979).

¹² “Non venite qui a darci lezioni. Che ne sapete voi della nostra realtà?” era la dura reazione jugoslava. “Se continuate a discutere di sviluppo economico e autogestione, non approderete a nulla”, ribattevano le femministe. E si domandavano perché mai erano state invitate” (Carla Ravaoli, “Ufficiale ma non troppo”, *Il Messaggero di Roma*, 5/11/1978).

To know what was really said, or at least to approximate it, I had to match the foreign press and the original transcripts and give my own interpretation. This matching, however, was possible only by chance, because one of my Italian interviewees, Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, read to me her original notes taken in 1978. She had kept her notebook and took it out for me. Only in her notes, the intervention which caused this polemical response was made explicit:

Maria Rosa: Then it is the turn of the French women from *édition des femmes*, who say: “to create the publishing house has meant to discuss the circulation of money”. They speak of economic capitalism and of symbolic capitalism, “which appropriate feelings and exists also in socialist countries”. And then one woman says, polemically: “the comrades think that we cannot realise this by ourselves?” To become autonomous subjects, obviously.¹³

In the original transcript, the intervention of the French woman was not reported, but instead there were names and the complete reply allowing me to discover that it came from Rada Iveković:

Jacqueline (France):

Rada Iveković¹⁴: “Sure, that is quite interesting, but I only wonder why the colleague think what they think, why many seem to think that they have to teach us, I mean why they think that we cannot reach these things by ourselves (?)”

In fact, there was no single original source that could be useful in recovering this episode, but many sources with their own specificity. While interviews could not help, a personal archival source from one interviewee allowed me to decode and match other archive material and thus to recreate an approximate – and always mediated – factual reconstruction. The articles from the press helped to put this exchange in a general context, but somehow dramatized the event. Maria Rosa’s notes gave both interventions, but with no names and with her own interpretation (“*To become autonomous subjects, obviously*”).

¹³ “Poi ecco parlano le francesi dell’*Edition des femmes*, che tirano fuori il discorso: creare la casa editrice ha significato porre in discussione la circolazione dei soldi, parlano di capitalismo economico e di capitalismo simbolico, che è quello che si appropria dei sentimenti e che esiste anche nei paesi socialisti. E c’è una che dice, polemicamente: le compagne pensano che noi non possiamo arrivarci da sole? Evidentemente, ad essere soggetti autonomi.” (Maria Rosa Cutrufelli, interview, Rome, 19/03/2008)

¹⁴ “Sigurno, to je svakako zanimljivo, ali ja se samo pitam zašto kolegica misli kao sto ~~one~~? se čine da mnoge misle da nas one mogu naučiti, naime zašto one misle da mi same do nekih stvari ne bismo same mogle doći” (Original transcript, SKC Archive; one word is illegible).

The transcripts were helpful in setting the record of the actual words and in recovering names, but alone they wouldn't have spoken, especially because Jacqueline's voice was missing. The transnational meeting in Belgrade, thus, produced a variety of transnational sources, mediated by a series of translations. Maria Rosa's notes were themselves the result of different translations from one language to another, and from one medium to another; I re-established a chain of translations, of which I also became part.¹⁵

Myths, facts and memories

If archive material can help us in recovering some facts, interviews are indeed often about something else. As Alessandro Portelli writes: "Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did" (Portelli, 1998:67). Let's take another episode that occurred during the 1978 meeting and repeatedly mentioned in the foreign press. A male sociologist from Belgrade – very talkative, and with a beard¹⁶ – had to stop his speech after the protests of foreign guests, who were used to the practice of women-only groups. Christine Delphy wrote that all foreigners, and Italians in particular, raised their voices against the sociologist, who was forced to shut up, at the great embarrassment of the Yugoslav organisers. This is a documented event. However, without the interviews we would not know that some local women were also very happy and enthusiastic about what happened. An interviewee told me:

The third turning point for me was Christine Delphy, when Delphy told a man: "You can walk out, you stop now". There were a few men participants who wanted to be cleverer than us. This was a young leftist sociologist. He wanted to tell us, he went on and on and on, and Christine just said "you know, you just stop now", or "you can even walk out" ... something like that. It was a huge scandal! (*she laughs*) The daily *Politika* wrote: "feminists have thrown men out of the conference"¹⁷

In Lepa Mladenović's account, it is Christine Delphy herself – the heroine of her narration – who chased out the sociologist. Lepa's narration does not completely correspond to reality, and it is exactly the non-

¹⁵ Jacqueline and Rada in Belgrade (speech) / translator in Belgrade (speech) / Maria Rosa's notes in Belgrade (text) / Maria Rosa reading her notes to me in Rome thirty years later (speech) / me writing it down (text). Languages: French and Croatian/English/Italian/Italian/English.

¹⁶ The sociologist is Slobodan Drakulić.

¹⁷ Lepa Mladenović, interview (Belgrade, 4/2/2008).

correspondence or distancing “between fact and memory” which makes us aware of what Portelli calls “the active functioning of collective memory” (Portelli, 2007). As he demonstrated in his work, “the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that ‘wrong’ statements are still psychologically ‘true’ and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts” (Portelli, 1998:68).

Memory, thus, becomes a significant historical fact in itself, and it is often expressed through anecdotes or myths. Christine Delphy – who in her article blamed the Italian group for the protest – came to embody female reappropriation of male space in Lepa’s narration. Nil Yalter, in her admiring account about the Yugoslav organisers, told me that they even managed to bring “Australians” to Belgrade, while to my knowledge there were none. The shared intensity of certain micro-events hasn’t been forgotten, such as the evening time spent in Belgrade restaurants.

Here we find a conjunction between the personal and the collective, between the discursive context and the political subjectivities of the participants. This open-ended dimension of oral history has to be taken into account while looking for “what really happened.” While the archive can somehow tell us what happened through various mediations and interpretations, the interviewee needs a space to position herself or himself in the present in relation to the past. (If this space is missing, the risk is to have interviewees feeling treated like a “spomenik” (*monument*), as one woman said while answering a phone call in the middle of our interview).

Conclusion

At the start, I made the hypothesis that Westerners’ gaze on former Yugoslavia had changed over time, in ways that had modified the possibilities of knowledge production, even within transnational women’s studies. But by trying to prove this I realized that my gaze was also external and situated. Present and past voices tell much more. What is most important, they tell *their stories in their own terms*¹⁸, despite and against the researcher’s assumptions.¹⁹

¹⁸ See Anderson and Jack (1991).

¹⁹ “We felt, without being able to articulate it because we were not prepared for it, that Western feminists wanted us to comply to their terms, their analysis, their political language, and to recognize their experience as ours. They were ‘normalizing’ us, we felt. It was totally unexpected. At that time, neither we nor they knew anything about the subjectal positioning or about perspective... They as us believed in ‘objective’ one-dimensional history. Nobody knew anything about oral history either. You are bringing into this debate instruments that sprang up later in theory or in theory available in feminist reading.” (Rada Iveković, email correspondence with the author).

Moreover, the practice of oral history opens up a “confrontation of different partialities” – including my own partiality as narrator²⁰.

I hope that at the end of this long journey made of constant translations (space/time/languages/sources/voices) I’ve been able to give an account of the shared intensity of the transnational feminist *encounter*²¹ of 1978, without flattening the singularity of personal memories. Hopefully in my MA research I’ve managed to prove that the Yugoslav women who organised the meeting had a critical, dissident position, and were radical *in their own terms*, despite the perplexed gaze of the foreigners. Also, I’ve argued that this critical positioning has been foundational for feminist movements in the following decades. I have tried to show that the phenomena that have invested Yugoslavia were part of larger globalised changes that have occurred since 1989, changes that have also affected the practices and theories of feminism in Eastern and Western Europe.

In the end, the act of recovering past and present *voices* carries the responsibility of transforming them into a text, by recovering mediated written sources, or by translating oral ones into a written page. I have tried not to lose the accent, the rhythm, and the volume contained in these voices. However, there are no “pure” voices and, as Joan Scott writes, “to rest content with any identity – even one we have helped produce – is to give up the work of critique” (Scott, 2006:395). To recover the feminist past represented by the *encounter* of 1978 is not enough. This *encounter* is so meaningful precisely because it is still a site of memories and of subjective investments, a point of departure to re-activate a transnational feminist critique of the present.

²⁰ Alessandro Portelli writes: “Oral history has no unified subject; it is told from a multitude of points of view, and the impartiality traditionally claimed by historians is replaced by the partiality of the narrator. ‘Partiality’ here stands for both ‘unfinishedness’ and for ‘taking sides’: oral history can never be told without taking sides, since the ‘sides’ exist inside the telling. And, no matter what their personal histories and beliefs may be, historians and ‘sources’ are hardly ever on the same ‘side’. The confrontation of their different partialities – confrontation as ‘conflict’ and confrontation as ‘search for unity’ – is one of the things which makes oral history interesting” (1998:73).

²¹ Sarah Ahmed writes: “Encounters between embodied subjects always hesitate between the domain of the particular – the face to face of this encounter – and the general – the framing of the encounter by broader relationships of power and antagonism. The particular encounter hence always carries *traces* of those broader relationships” (2000:8).

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IVA BULIĆ

WOMEN DRUMMERS: RECLAIMING THE PAST, LOOKING TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Women drummers? At first glance, it may seem that women didn't and don't play drums. Incited by comments and common thinking that the drum is a male instrument, I decided to write about "female drumming". One part of this paper gives a selection of available ethnomusicological resources about different traditional drumming practices, women drummers and musicians in general. The second part is research that I have conducted among male and female drummers in Zagreb. The main goal of the research was to offer an analysis of the gender relations inside the Croatian musical scene. Since "the nature of the social gender structures affects female performance forms, which in return reflect and symbolize those structures" (Koskoff 1995), the theoretical and methodological frame of this work, research and material analysis are based on a gender perspective in ethnomusicology and feminist theory, methodology and epistemology. The very choice of this topic and methodology is a reflection of my own activist, feminist and drumming engagement, as well as an attempt to silence the prejudice that women can't play drums well and that it is an instrument played exclusively by men in the past.



Context of the female performance and its prohibition

Reading ethnomusicological resources on different cultures, we will notice one thing in common: men mostly play, women dance and sing. The fact is that women musicians were an exception to the rule, as is mostly the case even today. But an additional problem is the fact that there are no written recordings

about these exceptions, and thus the fragile continuity of women musicians is being seriously endangered and suppressed. Older ethnological resources that do mention women musicians speak of people's attitude towards them: "people think that it is not decent for girls and women to play the instruments" (Kuhač 1887/ 41:12 in Ceribašić 2004). Women musicians were often described as shameless or man-like women. The custom of female players, showing up in the public, was considered a disgrace. Ceribašić says that the phenomenon of female musicians was thought of as a one-time only, funny replacement for a missing musician (...) or her position as a musician was seen in playing children's and handy instruments. The phenomenon of the female player was "only a temporary situation and short escape from a well-regulated system" (Ceribašić 2004:159). Throughout many cultures and different periods, performing on instruments was completely forbidden to women. The reasons for such prohibitions surely cannot be explained by the same traditional reasons because they belong to the different traditions of each culture but the very prohibition itself tells us that these traditional societies share the same patriarchal attitude towards women in the context of musical performance. Such was the case in the first centuries in Europe, where all night vigils in honour of the dead were taking place, resembling the still very powerful pagan cults. During these vigils, women stayed awake dancing and playing drums, so the priests complained of the debauchery of these ceremonies. In the third century, the church banned women from participating in vigils. "Because drumming was recognized as an ancient source and symbol of the power of female technicians of the sacred, drumming was banned (Redmond 1997:141) (...) Christians are not allowed to teach their daughters singing, the playing of instruments or similar things because, according to their religion, it is neither good nor becoming."¹ (Redmond 1997:141) Despite these strict prohibitions and prosecutions, the tradition of women who play drums survived for centuries.

Ellen Koskoff (1995) explores the different social and cultural contexts in which women play instruments. Thus, she notices that women musicians are, compared to men, often put in a sexual and/or socially marginalized context, considering them children's or amateur performers. Each context hides in itself a certain gender ideology. Societies with softer boundaries between the public and the private domain have more female instrumental performances and are more appreciated than in those societies in which the boundary between the public and private is stronger. "The descriptions of the people and cultures of Temiar, Aborigines and various African societies confirm it" (Koskoff 1995:124). In societies with such gender ideology, the woman's social status is more valued,

¹ Commandments of the Fathers, Superiors and Masters, 576 AD; in the 13th century the Church forbade women to "dance in pagan fashion for their dead and go to the grave with drums, dancing the while" (Redmond, 1997:152).

women have more economical and political power as well as sexual freedom. The healing and initiation rituals, and those with reversed gender roles, where female power is the most visible and the most effective, give women the most opportunities to show themselves as musicians. Despite the idea that women played drums little or not at all, to list all the examples of female drumming from past times to the present in this paper is impossible, because, surprisingly, there are so many.

Ancient Israel and Turkey-secular contexts

The articles “Of Drums and Damsels” by Carol Meyers (1991) and the book *When the Drummers Were Women* by Layne Redmond (1997) were especially inspiring for this research. Both works provide information about the very strong tradition of women drummers in the East Mediterranean, Middle East and North Africa in both secular and religious contexts. Researching the music tradition of ancient Israel, Carol L. Meyers found information about women’s performance traditions that are contradictory to contemporary understandings of drums and gender. She discovered terracotta figures from the Iron Age that represent women drummers as well as several Biblical passages about women who play drums. The music of the Middle East and Israel was rhythmical and not harmonious or melodious, so the drum was the most important instrument. Women drummers thus had the leading role in Israeli music tradition, most likely in the whole East Mediterranean and further. As ethnomusicologists have shown (Abrahams 1968; Joseph 1980 by Meyers 1991), performance contains a general rhetorical power. According to this, the Israeli players of the *drum-dance-song* genre had control and prestige to a great extent, at least temporarily, as much as the performance had the potentiality of subversion.

Writing about women’s performance practices in Turkey, Ursula Reinhard states that “most women accompany their singing playing *delbek*² or *def*. (...) When men need the instruments they are equally happy to play on a pot and pan” (Reinhard 1990:101). However, in the rural areas of Turkey it is still a disgrace for a woman to perform publicly and in case she breaks this rule, she is expelled from the community. This being so, the only women who can perform publicly are Roma women, because they are already “outside” the community and therefore have nothing to lose. Since Roma people are not considered full members of the community in rural Turkey, Roma women are not subjected to the obligations and restrictions by Islam customs. Roma women musicians were often akin to male musicians. But, their social statuses were not nearly the same. During wedding preparations in which music is crucial to most important parts

² The *delbek* is a type of frame drum.

of the ceremony, deals concerning musicians were negotiated only with men. Their availability, price and accomplishments were taken into account while women musicians were automatically taken for granted in the deal, with no expectations for their performance. This clearly shows that despite the same work they do, their social status is lower.

Sacred drumming

Barbara Tedlock, researcher and anthropology professor at New York University, is the author of the book *The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine*, which brings proof of the importance and primacy of women in the shamanic traditions of North Asia and elsewhere, from the Neolithic Age to today (Noble 2005, [http.](http://)). Researching archaeological and history resources related to shamanism³, she contradicts the prevailing anthropological view that shamanism has been primarily a male vocation. Shamanic lineage even today goes back through their mothers' clans. Knowledge of healing plants, menstrual cycles and the art of giving birth are just some of the things she writes about when she explains the existence of shaman women from the earliest ages. I found more and more both popular new age and scholarly literature about the existence and tradition of female shamanism, of which many live and work today in South and North America, northern Europe and elsewhere (see Harvey 1979, Kendall 1985, Deusen 2001).

The drum is one of the oldest and most widespread musical instruments. For at least 3500 years (since 3000 B.C.E. to 500 C.E.) it was the primary percussive instrument, and it was played almost exclusively by women! The ceremonies of the oldest religions developed around performances on the *frame drum*. These oldest religions were based on the admiration of female goddesses: the Mother Goddess, since Palaeolithic times, which later developed into many forms of female deities of many cultures: the Egyptian goddess known as Hathor, Isis, Sekhmet, the Sumerian goddess Inanna, Istar in Mesopotamian culture, Anat and Atagatis in ancient Syria, Astarte in Kanaan and Israel, Aphrodite in Cypress, Athena, Cybele, Rhea, Demeter, Artemis, Ariadne and Persephone in Anatolia, Asia Minor, Crete, Greece and Rome. Often the goddesses themselves were depicted as holding a drum in their hand. For what was considered the magical ability of giving birth, creating life, women were the first technicians of the sacred, practitioners of rituals as priests. Sacred drumming was one of their main skills and a powerful means of connecting the community and

³ As the drum takes an irreplaceable place in the phenomenon of shamanism so shaman women represent our first drummers ever. The drum repeats the primal sound of creation and leads one into ecstasy. The drum carries a shaman into the "world's centre", making shamanic flight and contact with the world of spirits possible. The drum represents the microcosmos.

transfiguration of the individuals. In a Sumerian text from 2380 B.C., we find the name of the first female drummer (and drummer in general) written down in history. That was Lipushiau, high priestess on Uruk and spiritual leader of the Ekishnaugal temple in the city Ur. In Egypt, the images of women playing frame drums as they received the deceased frequently decorated the walls of tombs, and frame drums have been found among the deceased's burial goods.

The Dionysos mysteries were led by the priestesses in Delphi for more than a thousand years. These mysteries had the reputation of drunken, sexual orgies, although the word 'orgy' meant "secret rites" and their aim was the ecstatic transformation of the consciousness. The priestesses would leave town in secret at night, to the hills and woods, and along the sacred path performed their secret dance to the beat of their drum. Dionysos and Cybele priestesses were called maenads, which meant a mad woman. They were depicted in their ecstatic passion for the connection with the Divine, dancing with drums with their hair loose, holding a snake in their hands.

Change or return of the tradition

The Amazones, The Women Master Drummers of Guinea are a splendid example of the change of the centuries-old tradition which prohibited the playing of *djembe*⁴ drums to women in Guinea. This taboo was not easy to break. The founder of the Amazones, Mamoudou Conde, wanted to add seven women players to a group of seven *djembe* masters but that idea was met with shock and objections. Besides the arguments that a tradition cannot be changed, there were arguments that women who had never played *djembe* could not reach the level of excellency. Mamoudou obtained permission from the oldest and most respected members of the community to bring women into the *djembe* group. The Amazones became powerful, beautiful women masters and represent an example of the social-cultural and economical departure from the tradition. The need to justify, in order this act gets accepted, motivated the National Director of Culture to write a legend about the last wish of the late *djembe* master Noumody Keite. In his legend, Noumody Keita appeared in his wife's dream asking her to take his *djembe* and gather six young women and start playing the *djembe*, promoting love, hope and peace to the world (Dioubate, [http.](http://)).

There are different factors that affect the change of the tradition inside music practices. Wars, the change of ruling regimes positively or negatively affect the social power relations, which then reflect on the (im)possibility of women's public performances and departure from traditionally assigned roles. In the article by Cynthia Tse Kimberlin (Kimberlin: 2000), we find out about the change of women's social status and role in Ethiopia, which had affected their

⁴ An African drum.

music practices. The change happened after the Eritrean-Ethiopian War was held for Eritrean independence. In the revolutionary year 1974, the government invited women to fight, educated them and trained them for the army, because there weren't enough men. Soon after that there was a law on women's education, ownership and participation in all public businesses. Before the Revolution, women were not professional musicians and were not encouraged to perform either publicly or in private. The public performance was connected exclusively to prostitution. Women in the army started performing in women's and mixed bands and were a part of the army "cultural troops". Since then, women came out in the streets playing drums for referendums and festivals. Ethiopian and Eritrean women can now play drums that were, till then, men's exclusive right and a symbol of manhood.

Finally, it was important for me to note down as many women's drumming practices as possible, whatever they may be. The New Age context of playing in the drumming circles, which spread to the West and which is very popular among women, is one of those contexts. Maybe in these drumming circles can we recognize some similarities to, or at least attempts of "modern shamanism" and ritual drumming. It is significant that such practices belonged primarily to the women's domain and that today, through new age trends, women make and maintain this spirituality of "the modern times" (see Kuzman-Šlogar 2006, Jamal 1988, Harding 1976).

The research

I talked to six female drummers and three male drummers using the technique of half-structured, open interview, which leaves the possibility for expressing free thoughts. My interviewees are mostly young people who mainly share a similar culture, belong to the same age group, have a university education and live in Zagreb. By analyzing the interviews, I determined the contexts in which those opinions and experiences developed. The research offers possible answers as to why there aren't more women drummers on the music scene, reveals the thoughts of the musicians, their performance experiences, cooperation with colleagues in the band, reactions of the audience, etc. The interviews were an attempt to find answers to questions like: *Is there a difference, and why, in male and female drumming and what is it? Why do more women not play drums and why do men prevail on the music scene? Do men and women have the same feeling for rhythm? How do audience expectations of women and men drummers differ? Is there a difference in the meaning of drumming for women and men? How do you feel while drumming?* and similar questions.

One can notice that both male and female drummers used sex/gender stereotyping in the interview while describing "male" and "female" ways of

learning rhythms, playing, etc. These “male” or “female” ways of behaviour is what sociologist Inga Tomić-Koludrović (1996:332-334) suitably calls “cultural genitals”, no matter whether they come from personal experience or are socially imposed and accepted. She claims that “the rigidity of ideological and stereotypical concepts of ‘maleness’ and ‘femaleness’ are an indication of modern societies repression.” Here is a short and revised summary of the answers, which seem to justify the term “cultural genitals”:

MEN (DRUMMERS)	WOMEN (DRUMMERS)
less <i>feel</i> for rhythm	better, <i>natural feel</i> for rhythm
physically stronger, more energy	physically weaker, less energy
ambitious	lack of ambition and self-confidence
aggressive playing	more diverse, ‘gentle’ playing
proving and competition	enjoyment, cooperation
social support	social critique, degradation, objectivism
musical career	lack of free time
music industry supporting men	lack of women role models in music

In asking why there aren’t more women drummers or musicians in general, I was given the answers that mostly connect to the lack of women musicians to their sex/gender and to the stereotypical female gender role. Even today, at a time when women are vastly represented in the media (but are represented through the male gaze⁵, which is one of the signs of the same problem), women face all kinds of difficulties and prejudices while attempting to share the public stage with their musician colleagues⁶. The power structures are easily noticed, and men, as well as in other social domains like politics or economy, strongly resist allowing women to reach positions of power. Because, standing on stage, in front of an audience, is in itself a certain type of power. To show your skills, be publicly recognized, have the skills of entertainment, manipulation and subversion definitely means having a certain power.

One of the main problems that young women face is that most people living in Croatia still believe in the patriarchal model in which the woman’s

⁵ The *male gaze* expresses an asymmetric (unequal) power relationship between the viewer and the viewed, i.e. man imposes his *unwanted* (objectifying) gaze upon woman

⁶ We can’t say that women are lacking in the music industry, on the contrary, sometimes it seems as they are dominant there, however that is just the case at first sight. They are usually singers, not musicians, and as such, often it is their sexuality that keeps the audience attentive, and not their musical skills. We understand the real power relations only when looking at the entire industry, managers, producers, club owners and others, mainly men, who dictate the success and profit of the music artists.

first function is that of a mother, carrier of family life, while the public sphere, whether political or music, belongs to the man. Apparently, it is difficult for women to reach the music scene because they don't have enough time to be professionally involved in music, because of "female" jobs like housekeeping and raising children. Marija, one of the interviewees, told her brother that she hadn't been admitted into a band and he comforted her with the words: *Marija, first of all, bands mostly do not take women because a woman gets married one day, gets pregnant and has to leave the band.* She continues her story explaining: *By the time she learns everything (in the band) she has to leave it. And besides, we have more work to do, besides a job, at home we have to cook and clean and we do not have as much (free) time as men do.* (Marija) Nina has the same opinion: *I guess a woman at some point in her life turns to family, children.* (Nina) In case she does gather her own energy, steps out of the given everyday life, a woman usually faces a lack of understanding from her milieu that objects and comments this 'deviation.' The starting position for men and women, in the world of drumming particularly, is not the same, so it is not surprising that their results are not the same as well. Jana says it like this: *The other thing is that boys who play an hour or half an hour don't feel guilty because they didn't wash clothes, feed the children, take the dog for a walk. Women have more work to do than men.* (Jana)

Ivona and Jana noticed that one of the reasons why women avoid the public music scene is hidden in the different meaning and aim of playing for men and women. Ivona, except for being in a band, teaches playing the *djembe*, and she noticed an important difference that girls and boys show towards their playing. The boys' ambitions are visible at the very start, which results in an aggressive playing and a competitive relationship towards their colleagues, personal imposition, and as a consequence to all that, faster improvement and eventually the organisation of a band and public performances. Women proved to appreciate some other, more 'personal' playing experience, drumming at home or among friends, in nature, than playing professionally and in public. Offering an explanation to the same question, Darko stressed the fact that in some cultures it was men who traditionally played, but also today's chauvinistic and patriarchal worldview which through upbringing and the media contributes to the fact that very little women play drums. *It's a fact that there are more men players on all instruments(...) First of all, as far as that is concerned, I am a total feminist (...) The reason why there are more men than women playing drums, could be that men, in some historical period, like everything else, took over. I think in general, f*ck it, we live in a chauvinistic society, patriarchal, which reflects in everything and so does on music too. Starting from upbringing to media and everything else. It affects all aspects of life.* (Darko)

Bruno emphasized the lack of women's tradition, female confidence and a belief that it is a male instrument as well as the physical constitution of the

drummers as possible reasons why there aren't more women drummers. The same arguments were used when it was said that women play differently from men. *Maybe there is a certain amount of fear (...) if they can do it (...) Maybe it is connected in their minds with something saying that is a male instrument, a man's job. It is probably on a subconscious level (...) My feeling would be a lack of confidence (...) Because it seems in history that there hadn't been many women drummers although some of those who existed were excellent. (Bruno)*

Compared to the two men, none of the girl drummers said anything about the female physical constitution as a possible reason why women don't play the drum. Their thinking, as well as Darko's, is not concerned with physiology but social conditions. When I asked Rina why there aren't



more women drummers, she said there are several reasons, but that it is mostly the result of a milieu which sneers at girls who try to play them. *I think there are many reasons (...) but mostly because everybody laughs at you. If you start something, they think it is just a phase. If some boy tries, people won't think it's strange, the milieu will affect the girl more. And then it is difficult to continue, I think it is the most difficult to make the first step. (Rina) And in our society, to a 45-year-old woman, who comes to the djembe course, has a feeling for the rhythm and succeeds in letting herself go and feeling good, it is hard to explain to her milieu why she wastes time drumming. Why do you need this, you are a serious woman, what has got into you, and why do you bother when you won't do anything ambitious with it? (Jana)*

Despite their departure from the socially imposed gender role, ruling social stereotypes, lack of role models and forgotten tradition, the imposition, aggression and competition of men drummers and 'bad' physical predispositions, luckily, the few of them reach public stages after all. What happens to them then, what experiences do they go through and how do they manage to survive in those small, temporary positions of power? When the audience sees a woman drummer on stage, the reactions and comments are inevitable, sadly, often sexist. The girl drummer is objectified as no other band member, and besides her physical appearance, she has to be careful of her behaviour as well. In some cases, flirting with the audience is what is naturally expected of her, because she is a woman and, in a way, that is a recognizable

and accepted behaviour for women in public (as opposed to aggressive and inconsiderate behaviour). In case she doesn't behave in her assigned role and breaks these unwritten rules, she becomes socially sanctioned by taking from her that little piece of power she gathered. In stating one of her reasons for leaving the rock music scene, Joan Jett, member of the band *The Runaways* says: "I think The Runaways were just too honest. Girls act like that – girls drink, girls smoke and girls swear. If it would have been an all-guy band no one would have given a shit."

Darko also gives us an example of sexist objectification. Again, it is the drummer's physical appearance that is the most important. He says that such an attitude is a matter of the general mentality of our society. *There was this band (...) in which a girl played the drums ...and she played it well, no difference, male or female (...) but at their concerts, it was always, like, a woman playing on drums, it was looked at as something unusual, oooh, let's go watch Aigi Luigi, the girl on the drums, and she is pretty and plays well, oooh great. Positive reactions? Yes, positive, but not fair to her. People come to watch the band because of her, and not their music. So, maybe that's one of the things, that people will first look at the girl on the stage, judge her, that's the overall mentality, see how's she dressed, and then, if they know something about music, will listen to her. (Darko)* Nina said something similar: *Most of the attention is directed at me, purely physical, I do not think anybody listens to me there. (...) They complain I do not 'seduce' while I am on stage. (Nina)*

Castiglione's book⁷ from the 16th century about acceptable social behaviour, which was very influential for centuries later, says among other things this about women musicians: "It is not seemly for a woman to handle weapons, ride, play tennis, wrestle and do many other things that are suited to men... The musical instruments that she plays ought to be appropriate. Consider what an ungainly thing it would be to see a woman playing drums, fifes, trumpets; and this because their harshness hides and removes that suave gentleness which so adorns a woman in her every act." Thinking about the description some of my drummers used, it seems that an image of socially imposed 'female behaviour' is still very active in the production of social gender relations in Croatian society. When thinking about women drummers, Kristijan says: *I always liked to see a woman playing a flute or violin, while singing, dancing. Playing drums? If it is physically demanding, it doesn't look nice. She needs more physical strength and it doesn't look nice on a woman, when you see all those muscles and tension, somehow it is as if it turns her into a man (...) She keeps her femininity while playing some other instruments. (Kristijan)*

⁷ Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 1528.

The existence of such thinking makes us think how much have gender relations really changed on women's behalf, when knowingly or unknowingly, she doesn't satisfy the 'ancient' criteria of appearance and behaviour.

The lack of women drummers today can be explained by taking into account several factors women in Croatian society face:

- 1) Social conditioning by the lack of understanding and opportunities for women's drumming activities a) a preconception that playing drums opposes the gender role, obvious through the stereotype that the drum is a male instrument and that playing drums makes a woman ugly; b) having women do housekeeping and raising children and believing that because of this their professional career would 'suffer', and thus limiting the anticipated women's music capabilities and ambition.
- 2) Prejudice about the physical and intellectual abilities of women musicians expressed by the biological deterministic argumentation claiming that women do not have enough physical strength or the right constitution needed for top-level drumming combined with contradictory opinions that women "feel the rhythm better".
- 3) Music (and human) devaluation of women on stage expressed by the male gaze which judges and subjects them to being a sexually desirable or undesirable object.
- 4) The lack of women performers is also the result of the competition and other practices that don't take into account the particularity of women's experience and performances, as well as discrimination and domination of men in the overall music industry.

Despite all these things, I am pleased to say that I continue my drumming, and occasionally perform publicly. It is not only me, but many energetic girls that I know and play with in Zagreb, who took drums into their own hands and continue to defy the prejudices and stereotypes, benefiting from and enjoying in its ancient healing power⁸ and secret sanctity, thus reviving women's spirituality.

⁸ The *djembe* is called a healing drum.

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SANDRA PRLENDA

VOICES OF RESISTANCE,
VOICES OF DIFFERENCE

The post-graduate courses in Dubrovnik are imagined as a place of lively discussion and encounters of leading theoreticians and researchers on the one hand, and students and junior researchers at the beginning of their scholarly work on the other, thus developing into a real place of learning and intergenerational support. Often discussions after the lectures and oral presentations of student projects during the course probe and deepen several key concepts that, passing through the raster of concrete and different research topics and approaches in new turns, acquire other meanings, direct towards new readings and lead to new interpretative outcomes. Common threads that were discussed in the *Feminisms in a transnational perspective* course included concepts of home, borders, location, politics of hope, as well as the concept of voice as the primary medium of resistance and female difference.

We started off with the beast. This was a metaphor born from Eve Ensler's presentation on the first day, a painful story of the horrors of femicide happening in the Congo, and of the efforts and activities of the V-Day campaign to help clinics where the bodies of thousands of raped Congolese women have been treated. They became the main target of attacks by armed para-military gangs which use violence against women to drive out the local population in order to better exploit the country's minerals indispensable for the growing global market of electronic gadgets. Staying within the dialectics of light and darkness, we followed Irena Ateljević's presentation immersed in the optimistic light of moon energy that is quietly changing the world. The contrast of these two images of the world immediately provoked the question of the possibility of their interpretative reconciliation. Is there something wrong with our sight or our hearing, we asked ourselves – like the hero of Anitta Kynsilehto's joke – because we hear one thing and see another. In fact, a world that is globalised and recolonised by neoliberalism, including colonised subjectivities (such

as the success stories of educated immigrants as researched by Anitta, or the pseudo-emancipatory motion pictures of women-oriented TV shows), is like a captured beast that is raging and kicking, wiping out everything around it with its tail – yet counting its final hours. Irena Ateljević is of the conviction that the silent revolution of cultural creatives is bringing forth a new transmodern paradigm, one that offers numerous examples of mutually different, but directionally the same efforts. It is believed that these efforts, along with the postdisciplinary shift, will lead to the point where we recognise the collective nature of our human contradictory mind and realize that we share a sense of mutual bonding with the world (worldliness) and humanness – which are the terms postcolonial writers often use instead of globality and humanity. Even though various jargons still divide scientific and cultural communities, and the feminist struggle for clarification of hidden meanings of disciplinary terminologies remains of paramount importance, it is as if the frequencies of transmodern movements in the world are being progressively harmonised until the produced synchronicity shifts that long-awaited paradigm for the better.

Voices of difference are voices of resistance and subversion. Counter-narratives go against the grain of dominant discourses – they disturb them by their own existence. The otherness of feminist discourse, contained within it as soon as it is established against the narrative mainstream, is a source of anxiety for some, especially in the competitive system of disciplined science. But that is a risk worth taking, as bell hooks and Biljana Kašić warn us. To know that we are part of the chain that connects us all can give us a momentary sense of security, much needed in the torn apart world where an act of resistance is in fact an act of our survival. It may seem that an isolated feminist critique will not change much in a short time, but the circles that expand after a pebble is thrown always disturb the main flow. The moment when we will redirect the flow reinforced by other counter-narratives, is perhaps still far away, but *it goes beyond my own existence*, as Biljana Kašić says. By consciously choosing feminism as a place of belonging and voicing out, we are consciously positioned as “bodily footnotes within the master narrative” and take on the responsibility for our own voice, in the same manner as Mima Simić did by coming out in front of TV cameras (which she talked about at the seminar). Renata Jambrešić Kirin also reminded us that the act of feminist thinking is not a question of the applicability of already given systems of thoughts and disciplinary methodologies, but an act of processing questions and doubts. As feminist thinkers we belong to the republic of words, to the global feminist project, as well as to collective (hi)stories, but we should always be aware that, being spokespersons of those collective projects, we cannot control the fate and lives of our words and our texts. With so many possible horizons of interpretation, we can only control our bodies and our ethical decisions about which intellectual projects, research paradigms, civic

actions and associations we will join. By voicing ourselves, we will invoke the voices of other figures of resistance and thus strengthen our own position; we will reach out to them when we feel the need for a stable ground.

We seek security on the unstable ground of the clearings of ever growing non-places, in the illusion of freedom offered to us by the capitalist/American continuous transcending of borders (which was discussed after Silvana Kosanović's presentation about the construction of gender in Westerns), or in the postmodern clean-up of disciplinary truths (which I myself evoked). We will not find it in our father's home, this we have to leave, as Iva Grgić Maroević insists. It is necessary to think of (your) discipline as a troubled home, a place where your father is the king, where he exerts his power without paying attention to what is sacrificed along the way. Therefore we need to leave it; we need to embark on an adventure of interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, or antidisciplinarity. Or be engaged in smuggling, hacking, subverting disciplinary truths and jargons, translating our feminist concerns into the language of the matrix and confronting it with the devastating conclusions – this was the second tactic that we sometimes used to advise students from more rigid academic cultures from the global south (for example, how to present research on symbolic violence against women as discourse analysis). The institutionalised and cognitive violence of the global north sometimes manifests itself differently, but without a doubt the beast is the same. Some subversive voices have been hijacked by those in power in the media and commercialised to the extreme, warns Ulla Vuorella, from hip-hop fashion brands and popular culture (the subject of consumption studies, also developed in Finland), to donor regimes of truth, and to the simulated emancipation messages in the show *Sex and the City*, where, as Iva Grgić Maroević again points out, women are given all freedoms but one – the freedom not to shop. Mima Simić called attention to the scarcity of gay and lesbian voices in the Croatian public, about the strength of popular culture that sometimes borrows them, but also about the problematic portraying of lesbians as victims as the only mode that the mainstream public can accept (as in the movie *Fine Dead Girls* by Dalibor Matanić).

We came back to the topic of home many times. Laura Huttunen's presentation on Bosnians in the Finnish diaspora oriented us towards assumptions about the nomadic position of woman – as Iva Grgić Maroević points out, a woman is always an immigrant. Her position in Bosnia and in Finland is in fact similar, because in traditional cultures women are anyway married into another village, passing from the father's house into the husband's and in-laws' house, where she is always a stranger. The difference between house and home is also evident in the terminology used: men are house-builders, women are home-makers. We also discovered the practice of building large empty houses in one's homeland as a marking of territory and

proof of success in the space between Italy and Serbia, as described by Melita Richter Malabotta's narrated experiences of being a cultural mediator. The nostalgia that men experience is nostalgia for lost power, while women deeply feel the loss of freedom of movement of the body. The in-betweenness is for some women a privilege and a choice, as Rada Borić concluded in this part of the discussion.

In the end, we could not forget that for many women the most dangerous place is still the (father's) home, especially after Azza Kamel's presentation about the efforts of Egyptian women's organisations for the suppression of genital mutilation in a country where it is almost systematically enforced. Women's patriarchal complicity in that crime, just like colonial complicity, represents an instance of borrowed power that perpetuates a practice that we should ridicule, as Ulla Vuorela suggests, as being sheer superstition. Imagination and artistic expression in creative writing, acting and film workshops (called *Creative in the Shadow*), organised by Egyptian activists, help girls and young women to heal the wounded soul and let talented voices come out beyond silent survival.

During the course we relied upon the definition of voice as suggested by anthropologist Liisa Malkki and presented to us by Laura Huttunen, namely, that voice is the ability to establish narrative authority over one's own circumstances, and the ability to claim an audience's response. Thus defined, the concept of voice was shown to be interpretatively extremely productive, and made possible the full realisation of interdisciplinarity that was set by the course's format, as well as of the key notions of feminist pedagogy. What is difficult to express in text, especially in text about the discussions and focal points of the course, is the feeling of connectedness between the course participants with global sisterhood, but also with the objects of our study. Emotional learning and experiential and bodily knowledge were this time actually fulfilled as a goal. Or, in the words of a female drummer interviewed by Iva Bulić, *when I'm (we're) drumming, it's as if I'm (we're) aligning myself (ourselves) with the axis of the world.*

Short biographical information about the authors:

Dr Irena Ateljević is Associate Professor within the Socio-Spatial Analysis Group at Wageningen University where she teaches in the International Environmental Science Masters program. She completed her PhD in human geography, an interdisciplinary field bringing together political economy, sociology, anthropology and gender studies perspectives. For the last 16 years she has conducted numerous projects in New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, China and Croatia on issues of the cultural politics of sustainable development, particularly focused on gender and race inequalities in the peripheral communities of the world. Whilst she has published numerous books and articles on the subject, she has 'translated' her academic work into personal dedication to action research and social activism focused on human development potential and women's empowerment.

Natka Badurina obtained her M.A. in Philology from the University of Zagreb. She has been a researcher at the Department of Languages and Civilizations of Central and Eastern Europe at the University of Udine, Italy since 2002. Her research deals with the topic of historicism in Croatian literature, investigating it anew in a historical, anthropological and sociocultural key, and with gender policy in Romantic literature. She is a translator and also interested in the theory of translation, particularly in its postcolonial bias, with regard to the complex relation between Croatian culture and its European matrix. She co-edited the book *Hrvatska-Italija: stoljetne veze / Croazia-Italia: a rapporti nei secoli* (1997).

Chiara Bonfiglioli holds an MA in Gender and Ethnicity and is currently a PhD student at the Research Institute for History and Culture, Women's Studies Programme, University of Utrecht. Her current project deals with women's left-wing political mobilisations in Italy and former Yugoslavia, from the early Cold War period to second wave feminism in the 1970s. Research interests include the history of feminism, anti-racist theories and practices, movements for global justice, oral history, post-socialist and post-colonial studies and critical theory. She has been active with alter-globalization and anti-racist networks in Italy and France, such as Tavolo Migranti dei Social Forum Italiani and Indigènes de la République. She has published on the French debate of the Muslim headscarf and co-edited the anthology *La Planète Altermondialiste* (Paris, 2005).

Rada Borić, MA, is a feminist linguist and activist. Program director at the Centre for Women's Studies in Zagreb and lecturer and trainer on feminist issues. Former program coordinator of the Centre for Women War Victims and spokesperson for women's human rights internationally. Regional coordinator of V-day, global movement to end violence against women and girls. Co-director of postgraduate course on a Transnational Feminist Perspective at IUC Dubrovnik and writer of numerous texts on feminist issues. Co-editor of the book *The Suitcase: Refugee Voices from Croatia and Bosnia* (California University Press, 1997). Wrote the first Finnish-

Croatian-Finnish Dictionary and was awarded (by Finnish president Tarja Halonen) the Order of the Knight of the White Rose of Finland in 2007. Currently working at the European Women's Lobby in Brussels as consultant on gender policies on violence against women.

Iva Bulić graduated ethnology and cultural anthropology and English language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. She also completed the women's studies educational program at the Centre for Women's Studies. During that time, she participated in various workshops and seminars including the feminist postgraduate seminar in Dubrovnik and the Roaming Anthropology seminar in Belgrade, as well as different dance and drumming workshops. She contributed to CWS activities as a course assistant, an office manager, a web editor, an organizer of the drumming workshop for girls and an associate on different projects. She currently works as an English teacher in primary school, translates and plays drums with her friends.

Eve Ensler is a playwright, performer, and feminist activist. She is the award-winning author of *The Vagina Monologues*, which has been translated into 45 languages and performed in over 112 countries. Eve is also the founder and artistic director of V-Day, a global movement to end violence against women and girls. She is the recipient of many awards including the Guggenheim Fellowship Award in Playwriting, and has received numerous honorary degrees. Eve's other plays include *Necessary Targets*, *Conviction*, *Lemonade*, *The Depot*, *Floating Rhoda and the Glue Man*, and *Extraordinary Measures and The Treatment*. Her play, *The Good Body*, debuted at ACT in San Francisco and was followed by a run on Broadway and a national tour. In her book of essays *Insecure At Last: Losing It in a Security Obsessed World*, she questions the notion of security, demanding a shift in the traditional paradigm.

Dr Iva Grgić Maroević teaches theory and history of translation and feminist translation studies at the Department of Italian Studies, University of Zadar. A translator herself (of Pirandello, Woolf, Maraini and others), she has published numerous texts in the fields of Italian literature, translation studies and women's/gender studies. She is the editor of the Virginia Woolf editions published by the Centre for Women's Studies, where she has also lectured. She has edited and co-edited several collections of papers on translation-related topics, and is the author of two books: *Osman and His Doubles. A Translation Study* (Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2004) and *Poetics of Translation in the Twentieth Century* (Zagreb, 2009). She is currently president of the Centre for Women's Studies in Zagreb and president of the Croatian Literary Translators' Association.

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Dr Biljana Kašić is a feminist theorist and activist. She has a Ph.D. in political sciences, even though her professional life is at the same time a meeting and crossing place of disciplinary areas (history, sociology, philosophy, art, political sciences). From 1995 to 2005 she was coordinator of the Centre for Women's Studies – Zagreb. She works and teaches at the University of Zadar (Department of Sociology) and as a guest professor at various universities worldwide. Her fields of interest include feminist epistemology, postcolonial theories, women's culture of resistance, theories of identities, and ethics. She has published numerous studies and articles related to these themes.

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Melita Richter Malabotta, MA has lived in Trieste, Italy from 1980, where she works as a sociologist, as a university professor at the University of Trieste, and as a publicist and cultural mediator in the educational sector. Author of numerous sociological articles concerned with the creation of new state-nations and nationalism in the Balkan area, European integration, transfrontier cooperation and gender question. She is co-author of the book *Conflittualità Balcanica – Integrazione Europea*, 1993 and editor of the book *Le guerre cominciano a primavera. Soggetti e identità nel conflitto jugoslavo* [Wars Start in Springtime: Subjects and Identity in Yugoslav Conflict], 2003. Member of the ATHENA – Advanced Thematic Network in European Women's Studies, the working group "Travelling concepts", co-author of the booklet *Common Passion, Different Voices: Reflection on Citizenship and Intersubjectivity*, 2006, as well as the co-author and editor of the forthcoming book *Teaching with the Subjectivity. Travelling Selves for Feminist Pedagogy*, 2009.

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Dr Ulla Vuorela is professor of anthropology at the Department of Sociology and Social Psychology, University of Tampere. She was the first holder of the Finnish Minna Canth Academy Professorship, a five-year grant for research in women's studies. Her programme entitled "The Rich, the Poor and the Resourceful, Aspects of Gender in a Postcolonial Post-Development Context" produced a number of important studies and doctoral degrees. She is closely linked with the Christina Institute of Women's Studies at the University of Helsinki and the Dept. of Women's Studies at the University of Tampere. Research interests: theory of transnationalism, transnational families and postcolonial studies with a special focus on gender in Africa, Pakistan and Japan. She co-edited the collection *The Transnational Family* (London, 2002).

