

**PROMIŠLJANJE SJEVERA I JUGA U POSTKOLONIJALNOSTI.
RADOVI S POSLIJEDIPLOMSKOG SEMINARA, IUC DUBROVNIK
28.5. – 1.6.2007.**

**RETHINKING NORTH AND SOUTH IN POST-COLONIALITY.
PROCEEDINGS OF THE POST-GRADUATE COURSE, IUC DUBROVNIK
MAY 28 – JUNE 1, 2007**

Izdavači/Publishers:

Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb
Za izdavača: Ivan Lozica

Centar za ženske studije, Zagreb
Za izdavača: Sandra Prlenda

Biblioteka/Series: Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi, knjiga prva / Feminisms in a transnational perspective, volume one

Uredništvo biblioteke/Editorial board: Rada Borić, Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Biljana Kašić, Sandra Prlenda & Ulla Vuorela

Uredile/Edited by: Renata Jambrešić Kirin & Sandra Prlenda

Transkripcija/Transcripts: Iva Bulić

Preveli/Translated by: Iva Bulić, Ivona Grgurinović, Merima Ibrišimović, Miroslav Kirin, Tihana Rubić, Anđelka Rudić

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Lektura/Proofreading: Patricia Lucija Tomasović

Lektura engleskih tekstova/English proofreading: Susan Jakopec

Korektura/Corrections: Sandra Prlenda & Patricia Lucija Tomasović

Naslovnica/Cover design: Kristina Babić

Grafička priprema/Layout: Susan Jakopec

Naklada/Printed copies: 500

Tisak i uvez/Printed by: KB tisak

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ISBN: 978-953-6020-48-5

ISBN: 978-953-6955-17-6

CIP zapis dostupan je u računalnom katalogu Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu pod brojem 668579.

Objavlivanje ove knjige omogućili su Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske
i Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske.

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Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku
Centar za ženske studije
Zagreb, lipanj 2008.

Seminar *Promišljanje sjevera i juga u postkolonijalnosti* dio je planirane trogodišnje suradnje četiri institucije, svake godine s drugom temom, pod zajedničkim naslovom *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi*. Poslijediplomski seminar, organiziran pri Interuniverzitetkom centru u Dubrovniku, namijenjen je mladim znanstvenicima/ama i studentima/cama poslijediplomskih studija s interesima iz područja ženskih studija, antropologije, transnacionalnih i postkolonijalnih studija.

The course *Rethinking North and South in Post-Coloniality* 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.

Interuniverzitetki centar Dubrovnik

Kodirektorice seminara:

Rada Borić, Centar za ženske studije, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Ulla M. Vuorela, Sveučilište u Helsinkiju i Sveučilište u Tampereu, Finska

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

Inter-University Center Dubrovnik

Co-directors:

Rada Borić, Centre for Women's Studies, Zagreb, Croatia

Renata Jambrešić Kirin, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia

Ulla M. Vuorela, University of Helsinki & University of Tampere, Finland

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Prikazani rezultati proizašli su iz znanstvenog projekta (Rod i nacija: feministička etnografija i postkolonijalna historiografija), provedenog uz potporu Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske.

Nacionalna zaklada za razvoj civilnog društva (institucionalna potpora)



"Tiskanje ove publikacije omogućeno je na temelju financijske potpore Nacionalne zaklade za razvoj civilnog društva u skladu s Ugovorom broj 421-02/06-PP-6/13. Mišljenja izražena u ovoj publikaciji su mišljenja autora i ne izražavaju nužno stajalište Nacionalne zaklade za razvoj civilnog društva. Nacionalna zaklada za razvoj civilnog društva, Zagreb, Kušlanova 27, <http://zaklada.civilnodrustvo.hr>"

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Course program

Monday 28-05-2007

- 09.15-11.15 RADA BORIĆ, *Centre for Women's Studies, Zagreb, Croatia*
Welcome address; Short self-presentation by all participants
- RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN, *Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia*
Rethinking North and South in Post-Coloniality:
Introductory Remarks
- 11.30-12.15 ELISSA HELMS, *Central European University, Budapest*
Gender, Orientalism and Balkanism
- 12.15-13.00 Discussion moderated by RADA BORIĆ and
JASMINA HUSANOVIĆ
- 17.00-19.00 Guided sight-seeing tour

Tuesday 29-05-2007

- 09.15-10.00 STEF JANSEN, *University of Manchester, UK*
The Frajer and the Father: Cross-national Recognitions of
Masculinity After the Bosnian War
- 10.00-10.45 JASMINA HUSANOVIĆ, *University of Tuzla, Bosnia-
Herzegovina*
Feminist Aspects of the Postcolonial Imaginary of Bosnia
- 11.00-13.00 Discussion moderated by INES PRICA (Institute of
Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, Croatia) and
SANDRA PRLENDA (Centre for Women's Studies, Zagreb,
Croatia)
- 16.30-18.30 BRANKA GALIĆ, *University of Zagreb, Croatia*
Sexism and Religiosity in Croatian Society
- Discussion on the topic: Postcolonial Imaginary of Bosnia
and Croatia
- Short presentations by ANDREJA MESARIČ,
SYNNOVE BENDIXSEN and EMILIA KORYTKOWSKA

Wednesday 30-05-2007

- 09.15-10.00 ULLA VUORELA, *University of Helsinki and University of Tampere*
Famylscapes and Transnations. Tensions Between Being Mobile and Staying Put
- 10.00-10.45 LAURA HUTTUNEN, *University of Tampere*
Undoing, Redoing and Transforming Homes: Belonging in Bosnian Diaspora and Beyond
- 11.00-13.00 Discussion moderated by ELISSA HELMS and BRANKA GALIĆ
- 16.30-18.30 Discussion on the topic: Transnational Family
Short presentations by ANNA MATYSKA, TATIANA TIAYNEN, SARALEENA AARNITAIVAL, ANĐELKA RUDIĆ

Thursday 31-05-2007

- 09.15-10.00 MELITA RICHTER, *University of Trieste, Italy*
Travelling Subjects Along the (Im)migration Paths
- 10.00-10.45 ELIZABETA ŠELEVA, *University of Skopje, FYR Macedonia*
Anxiety of Location: The Discourse of Home(lessness)
- 11.00-13.00 Discussion moderated by BILJANA KAŠIĆ (Centre for Women's Studies, Zagreb) and ULLA VUORELA
- 16.30-18.30 Discussion on the topic: Travelling Subjects in Postcoloniality

Short presentations by KHALID ABOUEL-LAIL, MALIN BJÖRK and SALLA JOHANNA TUORI

Friday 01-06-2007

- 09.45-11.00 SLAVICA STOJAN, *Institute for Historical Sciences Dubrovnik*
The Renaissance Women of Dubrovnik
Discussant: NATKA BADURINA, *University of Udine, Italy*
- 11.15-13.00 Final discussion moderated by RADA BORIĆ and ULLA VUORELA

Evaluation of the course

Free afternoon and departure
-

RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ-KIRIN

UVOD: PROMIŠLJANJE SJEVERA I JUGA U FEMINISTIČKOJ GEOGRAFIJI

Za samo koju sekundu ili dvije iz istih postkomunističkih šipražja, poput šume koja hoda, izaći će neki posve drugi ljudi, ovjencani doktoratima snažnih naslova *Understanding Past – Looking Ahead* (...) Bit će to snažna, mlada vojska budućih menagera, organizatora, experata, operatora, stručnjaka za kulturni management, za *disaster* management, za tranzicijski, politički i ekološki management, za management života (Ugrešić 2004:279–80).

Potaknuta literarnom slikom Dubravke Ugrešić o hodajućoj šumi-vojsci mladih ljudi “iz postkomunističkih šipražja” koji preplavljaju međunarodno tržište rada i savršeno se prilagođuju potrebama globalne privrede i zapadne akademije, ponovno sam se sjetila teškoća konceptualizacije lokaliteta/mjesta/doma u društvenoj teoriji. Između kritiziranog esencijalističkog razumijevanja doma kao *ukorijenjenosti* i vezanosti (*rooting*) te postmodernog preferiranja tranzitnog i mobilnog (*shifting*) *smještanja-pozicioniranja*,¹ u tradicijskom imaginariju postoji i treći modus pre/bivanja, metaforički prikazan slikom hodajuće šume, stabala u pokretu. Taj pučki prikaz “revolucionarne prirode mnoštva” (Hardt i Negri 2000:394)² – energije mnoštva u autonomnom kretanju – izraz je otvorenosti

¹ O vegetativnim metaforama koje opisuju (ne)mogućnost uspješna preseljenja i “ukorjenjivanja” egzilanata i migranata inspirativno je pisao još Vilém Flusser: “It can happen that the expelled becomes conscious of the vegetable, almost vegetative aspect of his exile; that he uncovers that the human being is not a tree; and that perhaps human dignity consists in not having roots – that a man first becomes a human being when he hacks off the vegetable roots that bind him” (2002:107). Izazove i opasnosti te duboko ljudske mogućnosti opisao je i Shakespeare u *Macbethu*: “Tko može šumi, drvetu zapovjediti/Da žile iz tla iščupa?” (prijevod Josip Torbarina).

² “Autonomous movement is what defines the place proper to the multitude. (...) A new geography is established by the multitude as the productive flows of bodies define new rivers and ports. (...) Through circulation the multitude reappropriates space and constitutes itself as an active subject. (...) The multitude is not formed simply by throwing together and mixing nations and peoples indifferently; it is the singular power of a *new city*” (Hardt i Negri 2000:397).

društvene imaginacije nepovlašteni prema utopijskom i fantazmagoričkom prostoru, prema revolucionarnom prevratu poznatog svijeta u kojem se ruše podjele između povlašteni i obezvlašteni, animalnog i vegetativnog, živog i neživog. "Šuma" samopokrenutih ljudskih resursa proizvod je modernih strahova od daljnjeg osiromašivanja, gubitka statusa i provincionalizma, prije nego straha od masovne smrti na bojnopolju – što u usmenim pričama ta slika najčešće simbolizira: oživljenu mrtvu vojsku. U postjugoslavenskom kontekstu, doduše, obilje kulturnog i iskustvenog materijala hrani obje vrste strahova, tjeskoba i internih balkanskih zazora od onih lociranih dalje na šumovitom istoku i jugu Balkana, u "srcu tame", u bosanskom "tamnom vilajetu", u gorskim skrovištima ratnih zločinaca, u albanskim planinskim enklavama u kojima je "vrijeme stalo", a antropolozi su uvijek dobrodošli. Atributi što ih Ugrešić pridaje mnoštvu mladih, ambicioznih i prilagodljivih pojedinaca koji s jugoistoka Europe kreću prema sjeveru i zapadu, čini mitsku figuru "pokretne šume" prikladnom ilustracijom postkolonijalnih identiteta – mimikrija, autoironija, otpornost, ustrajnost, sposobnost prilagodbe, ali i otpora postindustrijskom "managementu života" – u čijem je temelju kapitalistička "ideološka iluzija da su svi ljudi zamjenjivi" (Hardt i Negri 2000:395). Autoironičan naputak za optimistično samopozicioniranje *Understanding Past – Looking Ahead* možemo razumjeti i kao *plaidoyer* za promjenu antropološke paradigme istraživanja Balkana i zemalja nastalih raspadom Jugoslavije: od "antropologije suza, straha i očaja" prema antropologiji nade.³

Ideju da se započne novi krug feminističkih seminara u Dubrovniku predložile su na terasi jednog od njegovih hotela Rada Borić i Biljana Kašić, a kristalizirala se na krajnjem sjeveru Europe, između Tamperea i Laponije, u heideggerovskom šumskom domu Ulle Vuorele u Karkku.⁴ Između dubrovačkih

³ Antropološku radionicu imena *Towards an anthropology of hope? Comparative post-Yugoslav Ethnographies*, namijenjenu doktorandima i mladim istraživačima "iz regije", na Sveučilištu u Manchesteru (9. – 11. studenoga 2007.) organizirao je Stef Jansen (usp. Potkonjak 2007).

⁴ Najzaslužnija za realizaciju te ideje je Rada Borić, voditeljica bilateralnoga hrvatsko-finskog projekta *Gender, Nationalism, and Citizenship: South-North Comparative Analysis* (2005-2007), dobra poznavateljica prilika u obje akademske i feminističke zajednice s malo neposrednih kontakata. Tijekom studijskog boravka u Finskoj (27. siječnja – 3. veljače 2006.) suradnice hrvatskoga projektne tima: Rada Borić, Biljana Kašić, Snježana Vasiljević i Renata Jambrešić Kirin bile su u radnom posjetu Odsjeku za ženske studije na Sveučilištu Tampere te dvama cijenjenima (i rodno kompatibilnim) helsinškim sveučilišnim institutima: Kristiina institutu za ženske studije te Aleksanteri institutu – finskom centru za ruske i istočnoeuropske studije. U Aleksanteri institutu 1. veljače 2006. prezentirale su svoja dosadašnja istraživanja i spoznaje na panelu "Between the Balkans and the EU: Gender Perspective from Croatia". Ulla Vuorela, u ime četveročlane finske projektne skupine, priredila je 29. siječnja 2006. radni sastanak u Karkku.

palača, finskog *high-tech* sveučilišta u Tampereu i drvene kuće – radne sobe, grupica je žena odlučila spojiti teorijske i etičke postulate transverzalne feminističke politike, metodologiju feminističke pedagogije i svoju intelektualnu radoznalost: što se događa s epistemološkim konceptima kad iz velikih zapadnih akademija putuju do znanstvenih zajednica na europskoj periferiji?⁵ Složile smo se da između hrvatske i finske recentne *g-lokacije* na europskoj karti postoje dodirne točke, da u nacionalnim naracijama postoje sličnosti (oba su “mala naroda” oblikovala svoj identitet pod stalnom prijetnjom asimilacije od moćnih imperijalnih susjeda te potiskujući posljedice građanskog rata) i da je postkolonijalna teorija iluminativna za njihovo razumijevanje, da treba istražiti zašto se dio postjugoslavenskog izbjegličkog vala zaustavio na finskom sjeveru, da se, bez obzira na privrednu razvijenost i pravnu uređenost finskog društva, prioriteti feminističkog djelovanja uvelike preklapaju.

Paralelni i divergentni procesi *skandinavizacije* i *balkanizacije* oblikovali su se na otporu hegemoniji kršćanstva, kapitalizma, prosvjetiteljstva i tehnološke superiornosti što je poticala ostatak Europljana da se smatraju civilizacijskim modelom za ostatak svijeta. Izvor frustracija i trauma u tim rubnim područjima presezanja interesnih zona leži podjednako u osjećaju zanemarenosti, nedostatnog interesa velikih sila kao i u (štetnom ili blagotvornom) iskustvu njihove stvarne političke, ekonomske ili kulturne “kolonizacije”.

Snažna potreba za preispitivanjem odnosa feminističke epistemologije i postkolonijalne teorije dolazila je izvana, iz potrebe da kao žene preispitamo naracije koje nas inkorporiraju, način proizvodnje znanja i vladajućih “režima istine” te dominaciju “raspršenih, rasutih hegemonija” (Grewal i Kaplan 1994), koliko i iznutra. Naime, poslije povratka iz Helsinkija, Tamperea i Karkkua u svoje pretrpane urede i satnice, teško smo odolijevale mješavini i promjeni osjećaja, od (feminističkog) entuzijazma do stanja koje Paul Gilroy naziva “postkolonijalna melankolija”. Ukratko, postkolonijalna je melankolija “mješavina krivnje, poricanja i smijeha”, struktura osjećaja tipična za vernakularnu kozmopolitkinju koja je naučila “tu tešku lekciju ambivalencije i strpljivosti” (Bhabha 2002:24), posebice za onu koja nasljeđuje balkanizam kao diskurs “pripisane ambivalentnosti” (Todorova 1997:17) i koja trpno melankolično stanje neprestano pretvara u vehemenciju redefiniranja i opserviranja vlastitoga shizoidnog jastva.

⁵ Treba reći da su finska (poput drugih skandinavskih) sveučilišta odavno odustala od etnocentričnosti te da su otvorena za *treći svijet* i *drugu Europu*, za gostujuće znanstvenike iz cijelog svijeta. Sredina koja je svoju geografsku marginu pretvorila u stjecište znanstvenih i društvenih ideja, breme građanskog rata i povijesnog naslijeđa u imaginativnost postkolonijalnog projekta, a krutost religijske i humanističke tradicije u sjeni velikog imperijalnog Drugog u vrhunski modernistički (re)dizajn prostora, znala je prepoznati važnost promicanja ravnopravnosti spolova u privrednim, političkim i akademskim strukturama.

Koja je adresa “doma” za transnacionalne obitelji?

Ako metaforično prisvajanje postkolonijalnog stanja za bivše socijalističke zemlje nije korektno “ponajprije zbog *pravih* postkolonijalnih naroda”,⁶ traženje epistemološkog oslonca u teoretičarima postkolonijalizma to svakako nije, posebice ako se želi razumjeti praksa istočnoeuropskih intelektualaca i političara da nekritički prihvaćaju dijagnoze o “stanju u regiji” kao devijaciji zapadne/europske norme liberalne demokracije, ne istražujući uzroke i opće posljedice novih oblika biopolitičke moći koju proizvode korumpirane vlade i postindustrijska privreda, a rezultat kojih je trgovina ljudima, “rastuća nejednakost koju potiče turbokapitalizam” i destrukcija “nekoć ponosne države blagostanja” (Gilroy 2004:149).⁷ Korisnost postkolonijalne teorije i transnacionalnog feminizma za razumijevanje toga “nasilnog spleta biopolitike, kapitala i tijela, gdje smo svedeni na ‘goli život’ i gdje je moderna kategorija građana radikalno razrušena” na primjeru suvremene Bosne i Hercegovine kao egzemplarnoga neokolonijalnog “prostora izuzeća” analizirala je u svom izlaganju, i u ovom zborniku, Jasmina Husanović.

Kao feministkinje znale smo da nema mjesta za rezignaciju i da u teorijskoj refleksiji moramo početi od najbolnijih posljedica “reorganizacije roda kao sastavnice globalne strategije kapitalizma” – od feminizacije siromaštva kao polazištaza svaku drugu diskriminaciju,⁸ od fundamentalističkih obrana “ženskog”

⁶ “In contrast with the ‘West-Orient’ situation, I am convinced that in the West – BEE [Broader Eastern Europe] – relation the *informational inequality* was even the opposite. Broader Eastern Europe, as a half-periphery of the West has a very long tradition to acquire knowledge about the Western (cultural, political, economical, technical, etc.) patterns. (...) Furthermore... BEE was the first region which realized how important it is to influence (or to manipulate) the Western images about itself. (...) [T]he Balkans in the early 19th century began to affirm their Europeanness, and to try to more share the Western-type knowledge. Although this process was not free of traumas, sometimes shocks..., it was not the same as the ex-colonial territories catastrophes, when they had met with the ‘white man.’ The ‘colonialism’-metaphor in the case of BEE is unfair - mostly because of the *real* postcolonial peoples” (Dupcsik 2001:37–8).

⁷ Posljedica su tih procesa i novi “regresivni” tipovi ženskih migrantskih identiteta, o kojima je pisala Rosi Braidotti: “nevjesta poštanskom narudžbom, ilegalna prostitutka; žrtva ratnog silovanja koja traži politički azil u Europskoj uniji i ne uspijeva ga dobiti jer silovanje ne daje status političke izbjeglice; kućna pomoćnica s Filipina koja je zamijenila poznatiji lik... djevojke au-pair” (1999:46). Prema podacima talijanskog Caritasa za 2002. godinu, od 227.249 prijavljenih talijanskih kućnih pomoćnica njih pola bile su Filipinke, za njima slijede žene iz Perua, Šri Lanke, Rumunjske, Poljske, Hrvatske i drugih zemalja izvan EU. Melita Richter nas upozorava, slijedeći G. Campani, na opću tendenciju prema kojoj “on one hand, there is a movement of European women towards managerial highly qualified jobs; on the other hand immigrant women are confined to the bottom of the economic scale”.

⁸ Krajnje negativnu sliku utjecaja neoliberalnoga kapitalizma i nedovršene demokratizacije u društvima u srednjoj i istočnoj Europi dao je Sam Vaknin, dugogodišnji

ponosa i integriteta nacije koje najčešće provode “nacionalne elite integrirane u kulturu transnacionalizma” (Shohat 1998:47) do širenja konzumerističkih “normi eurocentrične estetike” koje “prodiru čak i u intimnost samosvijesti ostavljajući teške psihičke posljedice” (ibid., 27) na neeuropske žene.

Naime, na tri planirana seminara *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi* (2007. – 2009.) odlučile smo povezati različite feminizme kako bismo analizirale nove aspekte otjelovljenja, imaginiranja i reprezentacije orodjenih identiteta koji se mijenjaju s društvenim modusima egzistencije: od obitelji do građanske/državlanske pripadnosti, posebice tamo gdje je iscrtavanje, redefiniranje i učvršćivanje propusnih granica europske tvrđave najintenzivnije: na njenim sjeveroistočnim i jugoistočnim rubovima. Netransparentni protok kapitala i trgovine ljudima te jeftinoga “fluidnog rada”,⁹ zbiva se na osi jugoistok-sjeverozapad Europe, u smjeru suprotnom od postindustrijske “geografije siromaštva” koja se od 1980-ih počinje iscrtavati unutar vodećih europskih država. Naime, kako su najvažnija industrijska područja u Velikoj Britaniji i Njemačkoj počela propadati, krenulo je veliko putovanje radnih mjesta i ljudi prema jugu (u Njemačkoj poznato kao *Nord-Süd Gefälle*). Poslije pada željezne zavjese, društveni, politički i moralni aspekti novog utvrđivanja europskih

ekonomski savjetnik makedonske vlade, koji na temelju statistika smatra da su žene “the prime victims of the historical process of transition”: “They saw their jobs consumed by male-dominated privatization and male-biased technological modernization. Men in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are three times more likely to find a job; 60 to 80 percent of all women’s jobs were lost (for instance in the textile and clothing industries; and the highest rates of unemployment are among middle-aged and older women (...)) The only ray of light is higher education, where women’s participation actually increased in certain countries. But this blessing is confined to ‘feminine’ (low pay and low status) professions. Even in feminized professions (such as university teaching), women make less than 20% of the upper rungs (eg. full professorships). Studies have shown that, with rising costs, women’s educational opportunities decline. (...) The day of CEE feminism will come. But first, CEE has to become more Westernized” (2000, http).

⁹ Prema McClintock, “while some countries may be postcolonial with respect to their erstwhile European masters, they may not be postcolonial with respect to their new colonizing neighbours” (1995:13) To posebice vrijedi za prekogranične socioekonomske procese u području Alpe-Adria, gdje se interesi bivših kolonizatora i sadašnjih poslodavaca u potrazi za jeftinom radnom snagom u kućanstvu (njegovateljice, kućne pomoćnice) podudaraju. Neobičnu povijesnu zgodu *Aleksandrinki* – oko sedam tisuća slovenskih odgojiteljica i kućnih pomoćnica koje su bogate europske obitelji nastanjene u Kairu i Aleksandriji upošljavale između 1869. (nakon otvorenja Sueskog kanala) do 1960-ih zbog njihove reputacije urednih i pouzdanih žena u domaćinstvu – možemo usporediti s današnjom situacijom potražnje “fluidne”, jeftine a “kvalitetne” ženske radne snage. Natpis na nedavno postavljenoj spomen ploči Aleksandrinkama u Kairu glasi: “This plaque is in memory of the fate of the Slovene women, les Goriciennes, les Slaves, les Slovenes. For an entire century they come to Egypt as wet nurses, nannies, cooks, governesses and seamstresses. With their earnings they saved their families and homesteads from ruin” (Novine *Večer*, 10.01.2007.).

granica potvrđuju, naime, *liminalni*, a ne *marginalni* položaj jugoistočne Europe “na raskrižju svjetova, historija i kontinenta”; *liminalan* po sebi je “oblik središnjosti... biti između (tamo gdje se preklapaju) dvije ili više domena” (Flaming 2000:1232). Taj *liminalno-središnji* prostor u kontaktnoj zoni Zapadne i Istočne Europe nakon njena ujedinjenja poticao je neokolonijalne procese: uvoz “divljega kapitalizma” i osvajanje novih tržišta, kao i transfer znanja, vještina i kompetencija (uključujući feminističke ekspertize).

Transnacionalizam je u sklopu seminara promatran prije svega kroz fenomen transnacionalnih obitelji, tamo gdje se javna i privatna sfera preklapaju. Riječ je o socijalnim i simboličnim mrežama koje predstavljaju “opasnost” za nacionalnu državu jer su “okrenute prema naprijed i prema van, sasvim drukčije od dijaspore koja postavlja društveni imperativ povratka na mjesto podrijetla” (Ulla Vuorela u ovom zborniku), a unutar kojih se oblikuju hibridni, mimikrijski i višestruki identiteti. Oni koje nije moguće adekvatno razumjeti ako se zapadnjačke naracije nacionalne, kulturne i povijesne homogenosti uzimaju za neupitnu normu, a sociološko razumijevanje prisilnih i dobrovoljnih migracija/egzila koji *volens nolens* rezultiraju stanjem dobrovoljne ili “prisilne transnacionalnosti” (Al-Alli 2002:115) ustupi mjesto slavljenju mobilnosti, fleksibilnosti i protočnosti.¹⁰ S druge strane, antropološko istraživanje pripadnika povlaštenih “imperijalnih i transnacionalnih elita s bogatstvom simboličkoga kapitala” pokazuje da i oni pojedinci iz obitelji koje su u nekoliko generacija iskusile relativno širok raspon kozmopolitske mobilnosti i životnoga stila, imaju osjećaj “inherentne osobne i obiteljske prikraćenosti” i diskontinuiteta koji, čini se “prihvaćaju manje-više filozofski” (Vuorela). A osnovne je parametre (često nepodudarnoga) filozofskoga, književnog i feminističkog razumijevanja prikraćenosti i probitka, zaštićenosti i tjeskobe zbog stanja udomljenosti i neudomljivosti (*homed and unhomed*) u suvremenom svijetu, u kojem se paronomastički združuju “*the house and the chaos*”, u svom radu analizirala Elizabeta Šeleva. Promičući osnovni feministički stav da je “dom ipak nešto složenije i ozbiljnije od malenog idiličnog Candideova vrta” i da metafora doma ima veliku manipulativnu moć u konzervativnim diskursima (od ultranacionalističkih, religijskih do konzumerističkih), Šeleva je pokazala kako za mnoge – ne samo povlaštene, transnacionalne migrante – dom “postoji samo u području virtualnog, kao neiscrpiva čežnja,

¹⁰ “Location is so important for the immigrant. Firstly, I would say it depends on the starting point and the point of the arrival as cardinal points in the migratory project, and the distance in between; from where are the people coming, are they located close or far from their homeland. The distance determines the arising of the illusion of double belonging and of the belief to be able to live in both spaces – “here” and “there” (Richter). Samo oni migranti koji relativno često posjećuju svoje bivše domove pokazuju kako je ipak moguće “povezati dva odvojena segmenta migracijskog projekta” (ibid).

kao važan energetska i motivacijski naboj”. Njezino ključno pitanje – *Koja je adresa “doma” zvanog Makedonija?* – vratilo nas je na endemski, “ugniježđeni” balkanski euroorijentalizam u kojem lančano negativno mapiranje bliskoga “drugog” (kao orijentalnog/bizantinskog/balkanskog/azijatskog) upozorava na immanentni problem samodefiniranja, dočim se pozitivni balkanski identiteti često etnografski realiziraju u mimikrijskim ili kriptomanifestacijama.

Bosna u središtu feminističke etičke geografije

Osnovni je cilj seminara razmjenjivanje znanja i iskustava između renomiranih predavačica, istraživačica i aktivistkinja s mladim znanstvenicama, studenticama i zainteresiranim sudionicima koji dijele zanimanje za ženske i rodne studije, transnacionalne i kulturalne studije, postkolonijalnu teoriju i antropologiju. Da bismo omogućile kreativan prostor za diskusiju, seminarski rad i studentske prezentacije u radionicama, slijedimo feminističku pedagogiju koja promiče “alternativno znanje, estetiku i društvene odnose” (Shohat 1998:41), transnacionalnu, transdisciplinarnu i transgeneracijsku komunikaciju među ženama u svrhu njihova osnaživanja za “kulturnu proizvodnju unutar akademskih disciplina” kao i za sociopolitičko djelovanje. Radionički, dijaloški i pregovarački karakter seminara koji omogućuje svim sudionicama da istupe s “alternativnim pripovijestima razlike, kulture, moći i djelovanja” (Mohanty 2003:247) dočaran je ovdje objavljenim izborom iz diskusija, kojeg donosimo, zbog nedostatka sredstava, samo u izvornom, engleskom obliku. Iz istog razloga jutarnjim diskusijama nisu pridruženi transkripti popodnevnih radionica, na kojima su se diskutirali referati, teme magistarskih/doktorskih radova te dosadašnja istraživanja studenata i studentica. Raspon njihovih interesa bitno je obogatio seminar intelektualnom radoznalošću i spremnošću mladih za pun angažman u transnacionalnom svijetu, svjesni ograničenja i mogućnosti što proizlaze iz njihove društvene i osobne pozicioniranosti. Njihova su se istraživanja kretala od analize strategija samodefiniranja i samopredstavljanja muslimanskih migrantica najmlađe generacije u zapadnoeuropskim gradovima (Synnove Bendixsen) do promišljanja praksi pokrivanja kako ga interpretiraju muslimanke u Sarajevu (Andreja Mesarić); od transnacionalnih praksi novih “mješovitih” brakova između građana starih i novopridruženih članica EU (Anna Matyska i Tatiana Tiaynen) do doprinosa volonterki međunarodnim mirovnim pokretima u Palestini (Anđelka Rudić), od uloge jedne ženske NGO mreže u EU (Malin Björk) i Finskoj (Salla Johanna Tuori) te jedne finske feminističke mreže za žene koje traže posao (Saraleena Aarnitaival), do ženskog političkog aktivizma u bivšim socijalističkim zemljama (Emilia Korytkowska) i uloge tradicijskih folklornih praksi u životu egipatskih žena (Khalid Abouel-Lail).

Premda smo u svom pozivu istaknule da nas zanima transnacionalna logika pojačana kretanja ljudi, identiteta i simbola, cirkuliranje stručnog znanja,

profesionalnih usluga i humanitarne pomoći u globalnom kontekstu u kojem se čini da su tenzije na osi sjever-jug važnije od polarizacije istok-zapad, posebice da nas zanima feministički udio u moralnim diskursima *kontrainperija* na rubnim dijelovima europskoga kontinenta; značajan dio pristiglih prijava i održanih referata fokusirao se na istraživanje sociokulturalnih politika reprezentacije suvremene Bosne i Hercegovine (i njene dijaspore) na temelju dominantnih atributa muškosti i ženstva asociranih s (geografskim, etničkim, religijskim/sekularnim i moralnim) obilježjima kolektivnih identiteta. Tri autorice (Elissa Helms, Jasmina Husanović i Laura Huttunen) i autor (Stef Jansen) slijedili su zahtjev Ch. T. Mohanty za temeljitom, detaljnom analizom nasuprot monolitnim i esencijalističkim kategorizacijama žena (npr. reprezentacije *pokrivenih muslimanki* nasuprot *europeliziranim ženama*) i muškaraca (putem patrijarhalnih figura oca i *frajera*). Helms je analizom medijskih sadržaja i javne komunikacije upozorila na prakse “orođivanja balkanističkih i orijentalističkih konstrukcija” unutar suvremene Bosne i Hercegovine te kako su “esencijalizirane koncepcije rodne jednakosti, ‘emancipacije žena’ i seksualne moralnosti često bile sredstvo kroz koje su se prikazivale relativne prednosti i nedostaci ‘istoka’ i ‘zapada’”. No, čak i oni koji su putem svojih rodnih režima (samo)reprezentacije promovirali “zapadne” vrijednosti “nisu nužno isključivali patrijarhalnu hijerarhiju ili androcentrični pogled”. Jedini dosljedan glas protiv te redomestifikacije patrijarhalnoga “balkanskog mentaliteta” bili su istupi aktivistkinja ženskih nevladinih udruga. No, kako je pokazao Jansen, žilavost i vitalnost patrijarhalne matrice posebice je dolazila do izražaja kod oblikovanja nove-stare normativne muškosti u poratnoj Bosni na temelju “izvedbene kompetencije” dvije sociokulturne uloge koje hegemoniziraju muškost: uloge oca, “osoba koja kućanstvu osigurava sredstva za život kroz odnose patrijarhalnog srodstva”, i uloge *frajera* – “stilizirani subjekt heteroseksualne želje”. Njegov je zaključak kako reprodukcija hegemonizirajućih (patrijarhalnih) obrazaca upravlja onim što se naziva “normalnim životom” i “konsolidacijom rodnih razlika” ne ostavljajući mnogo mjesta za “nova iskustva društvenosti” i “alternativnu” (antinacionalističku, pacifističku) muškost. No, dovoljno je pogledati pripadnike iste bosanskohercegovačke sociokulturne zajednice kako u dijaspori traže nova, “alternativna” uporišta za konsolidaciju svojih ratnim iskustvom “iščašeni” (etnonacionalnih, socijalnih i rodnih) identiteta. Svojom analizom autonarativa dvaju pripadnika bosanske dijaspore u Finskoj (žene i muškarca), Huttunen utvrđuje da oni dijele neka opća iskustva prisilnih migranata – doživljaj doma kao (geografski i kronološki) podijeljenog mjesta; “duboko ukorijenjen osjećaj nesigurnosti”, intenziviran gubitkom “kuće, položaja u lokalnoj zajednici i najbližih” kao i “iskustvom otuđenja, isključenja i neuspjeha na koje su poslije doseljenja u novu zemlju nailazili”; nostalgično sjećanje na komunitarni život u prijeratnoj Bosni kao nedostignut ideal

“autentičnog” života u zajednici; strah od “osvajanja” javnog prostora u novoj sredini. Premda je i tu riječ o strategijama “neodlučne dijaspore” čija konačna odluka o ostanku ili povratku ovisi o “dinamici promjena u oba mjesta, u Finskoj i u Bosni”; o uspostavi prava, pravde i etičkih normi u bosanskom društvu. Naime, bez društvenog angažmana onih koji u Bosni i Hercegovini zagovaraju politiku nade, “otpora i mašte”, solidarnost te ideale pravde, “prošlost i sadašnjost nastaviti će na poprilično nasilan način proganjati budućnost” (Husanović).

Prkoseći europskoj tvrđavi feminističkom transverzalnom politikom

I stavovi izneseni tijekom diskusija potvrdili su da se većina sudionica, umjesto da slavi transnacionalne mogućnosti za višestruke identitete i mnogostruke lokacije, vraćala konkretnim problemima onih najnepovlašćenijih sudionika transnacionalnih praksi koji pate od teškoća reguliranja birokratskog statusa, fizičke separacije, tjeskobe, stalnih dvojbi i nemogućnosti odlučivanja o svom životu; te opetovano navraćala Bosni kao najboljem testu za društvene teorije i njihov istraživački instrumentarij (cf. Doubt 2003).¹¹ I premda se čini kako su nastojanja diskutantica da rasvijetle naoko sporedne elemente tropa, prikaza i predodžbi, literarnih, publicističkih, etnografskih i vizualnih reprezentacija Bosne i njenih građana i građanki manje važna, upravo “uspostava simboličnog prostora kroz koji bi zajednica mogla ponovno imaginirati i rekonstruirati samu sebe” (Husanović) jedini je način da se iznutra konsolidira Bosna nezamislivih gubitaka, uništenoga društvenog poretka, razlomljenih, paralelnih stvarnosti i neokolonijalnog protektorata (usp. *Diskusija* 167-172). Isto tako, naizgled sitničava unutardisciplinarna rasprava o načinima “promašene” i “uspješne” performativne prezentacije antropoloških rezultata metode sudioničkog promatranja (Jansen – Ines Prica) govori da svako posredovanje “ekspertnog” uvida i “neposrednog”, “lokalnog” i “domaćeg” znanja nije nevinna ni benevolentna transakcija jer upravo znanstvenici moraju prodrijeti u sklop sociolingvističkih i kulturalnih konvencija, stereotipa, mentaliteta i svjetonazora koje svojim tekstovima razotkrivaju koliko (nerijetko) i reproduciraju.¹² Čak i one discipline koje

¹¹ “Da li sociologija može egzistirati kao validna nauka o društvu, ako ignorira jednu, možda čak, najalarmantniju i najtežu temu svog vremena? (...) Greška je pretpostavljati da događaje u Bosni ne mogu razumjeti oni izvan nje. Takvo stanovište je nezdravo i za Bosnu i za cijeli svijet... Ako nezamislivi, beskrajni zločini predstavljaju događaje koji se opiru diskursu, onda jedino što možemo učiniti je promatrati te događaje kao da se dešavaju u carstvu prirode, a ne u sferi društvenog života” (Doubt 2003:10).

¹² Kako upozorava Fred Pfeil, ideja homogenih *strategija identifikacije* već sama po sebi “reproduces that ‘simplicity of essences’ and ‘leveling of differences’ within subordinated groups that has historically been wielded by hegemonizing oppressors with such signal success” (1994:209).

po definiciji trebaju objelodanjivati i tumačiti “site-specific” prešutna znanja, utjelovljena iskustva i orodene percepcije, teško se mogu osloboditi konstelacije diskursa “u kojem se iskustvo *artikulira* kao takvo i postaje ga moguće *artikulirati* riječima” (Pfeil 1994:211), posebice tamo gdje domaći, *insajderski* glas pokušava artikulirati ono o čemu je teško raspravljati (iskustvo traume i gubitka) nasuprot ekspertnom pogledu koji klizi po površini kulturnih praksi i slika (Sandra Prlenda; usp. *Diskusija* 210-220).

Nova, ambivalentna iskustva dislokacije mogu se artikulirati zahvaljujući novim pojmovima (*diasporic identities, transnational affiliations, virtual ethnoscapes* i sl.) koji katkad kriju opasnost od “herojskog pojednostavlivanja i ideologizacije”, ali pojedinačna iskustva prije svega ovise o useljeničkoj legislativi i međunarodnom pravu, o diskriminatorским birokratskim procedurama određivanja prava (dvojnog) državljanstva, azila, radnih dozvola, privatnog vlasništva te “limitiranja” broja članova useljeničke obitelji. Pritom treba imati na umu da ne postoji mjesto bez transnacionalnih momenata u povijesnoj naraciji nacije i obitelji, bez planske ili nasilne kolonizacije stanovništva i premještanja pojedinaca, te da se relativno uspješnija akulturacija žena iz bivše Jugoslavije u novim zajednicama i sredinama može objasniti njihovim povijesnim i kulturalnim naslijeđem; žena je najčešća ta koja se “mora prilagoditi novom životu u novoj obitelji i novoj zajednici” (Borić). Dakle, iskustvo pripadanja (i otuđenosti) još je važno u suvremenom svijetu, ali u odnosu na obvezanost budućnošću, a ne prošlošću jer većini ljudi mjesto “kojem bi se mogli vratiti nije ono isto” koje su napustili (Vuorela; usp. *Diskusija* 259-262).

Multikulturalnost ili pak *conviviality* samo su neke pomodne riječi koje opisuju idealno stanje, prihvaćanje “pridošlica kao mogućeg obogaćenja” u smislu “Levinasove filozofije *zajedničke promjene* tijekom procesa imigracije” (Richter). U stvarnosti, malo je otvorenih sredina koje “prihvaćaju drugost kao obogaćenje društva”, a mnogo više situacija “društvene nejednakosti i deprivacije”, nadzora i kontrole za imigrante unutar odvojenih “etničkih zajednica i monokulturnih društava” (ibid.). Tamo gdje ih se optužuje za zlorabu gostoprimitstva, kriminal, rast nezaposlenosti i slabljenje nacionalnog identiteta, teško je pronaći alternativu za paradoksalnu zajednicu “stranaca koji su pomireni sa samima sobom do te mjere da se prepoznaju/priznaju kao stranci” (Kristeva 1997:294), a posebice pomoći onima koji “žive i dišu stigmatu” kolektivne memorije ropstva, rasne diskriminacije, progona i pogroma (Šeleva). U takvom svijetu pitanje “postoji li dom iz feminističke perspektive” (usp. Kašić 2007), tj. postoji li feministička lokacija u kojoj je moguće stvoriti “siguran dom za različitost”, “prostor emocionalnog znanja i feminističkog jezika” (Shohat 1998:13), “od gubitka stvoriti dom” (Borić), nije izgubilo na aktualnosti (usp. *Diskusija* 283-291).

Seminar je kako izlaganjima tako i odabranim teorijskim tekstovima iz čitanke¹³ ohrabrio kritičko i transverzalno feminističko čitanje “neoimperijalnog stanja”¹⁴ i njegove popratne konceptualizacije s posebnim naglaskom na potrebu vremenskog i prostornog, antropološkog i feminističkog redefiniranja postjugoslavenske lokacije s pomoću novih paradigmi. I to onih koje umjesto predrasuda balkanizma i euroorijentalizma otvaraju prostor za razumijevanje višestrukosti i kontingentnosti sociokulturnih procesa u sadašnjosti shvaćenoj kao “prošla budućnost”, ali i predmet bogate buduće regionalne “historije žena”. Kao što nam je pokazalo izlaganje povjesničarke Slavice Stojan¹⁵ o ženama u renesansnom Dubrovniku (vidi Stojan 2003), a što je posebice istaknula i Natka Badurina u svom komentaru, kad nisu bile zarobljenice svoga (aristokratskog ili samostanskog) kućnog svetišta, to jest prepuštene borbi za građansku egzistenciju (nasilju, svađama, stigmatizaciji i diskriminaciji), žene su bile važni akteri procesa sociokulturnog prevođenja između *visoke* i *niske*, pravne i pučke, lokalne i *tudih* kultura. Pa ako žene u najljepšoj jadranskoj tvrđavi (autokratskog slobodarstva) nisu imale renesansu, neke od njih su se izborile da svoje javno mišljenje, porugu i prosvjed strukturama moći izvikuju ispod prozora kneževe palače. Kao što napominje Badurina, recentne metodološke promjene u istraživanjima povijesti žena pokazuju kako su politička pitanja krucijalna za raspravu o prošlosti, kao i budućnosti svakog ženskog projekta.

Ideologizirani i problematični pojmovi poput tranzicija, emancipacija/regresija, socijalizam/postsocijalizam, feminizam/postfeminizam, otvaraju se novom promišljanju u trenutku kad se u središte analize postavi dis/kontinuitet

¹³ U čitanci s radnim materijalom za sudionike/ce okupile smo radove autora: Ch. T. Mohanty, Th. Faist, D. Zarkov, X. Bougarel/G. Duijzings/E. Helms, J. Chambers-Letson, K. E. Fleming, S. Green, D. Bryceson/U. Vuorela, N. Al-Alli, S. Ahmed, S. Jansen, D. Duhaček, R. Iveković/J. Mostov, M. L. King.

¹⁴ Poslije optužbi radikalnih feministkinja iz Trećeg svijeta za eurocentrizam, kapitalizam i heteroseksizam među pripadnicama “Western-based global sisterhood that has been blind to the privileges it has derived from its comfortable station on the neoimperial pyramid” (Shohat 1998: 11), feministički je projekt temeljito redefiniran kao “policentričan, multikulturni feminizam”. Jedna je od njegovih osnovnih karakteristika nastojanje “to treat time palimpsestically, beyond the binarism of good modernism/bad tradition (or vice versa), it also does not have to choose between the false dichotomies of ‘good’ local and ‘bad’ global (or vice versa)” (op. cit.: 52). Iscrpnu feminističku kritiku postkolonijalne teorije u smislu da njeno težište “is shifted from the binary axis of power to the binary axis of time which does not distinguish between the beneficiaries and the casualties of colonialism” ponudila je Anne McClintock u uvodniku zbornika *Imperial Leather* (1995).

¹⁵ Referate Slavice Stojan i Branke Galić (empirijsko istraživanje stavova građana o seksizmu i religioznosti u hrvatskom društvu) nažalost nismo uključile u ovaj izbor jer nisu slijedili osnovnu temu i koncept seminara, no živa rasprava koja ih je pratila potiče nas da o (nelinearnoj i decentriranoj) europskoj povijesti žena i seksizmu/religioznosti razmišljamo kao o temama nekog od idućih seminara.

proizvodnje rodne razlike u društvenom simboličkom poretku.¹⁶ Rijedak primjer kontinuiteta autonomnog djelovanja na temelju pozitivnog prihvaćanja ženskog identiteta intenzivna je međunarodna i domaća aktivnost feministkinja regije koje se opiru kako neoliberalnom kapitalizmu i njegovoj komodifikaciji patrijarhalne žudnje tako i paternalističkom odnosu (pojedinih) zapadnih kolegica, sponzorica i savjetnica. Vrijednost je ovog seminara što stvara preduvjete za drukčiji odnos utemeljen na međusobnom poštovanju, ravnopravnom dijalogu i kritičkoj svijesti. Čini se da je za one koje tek čine prve korake u znanstvenoj zajednici prožetoj feminističkom etikom najatraktivniji zadatak opisati “kako su ljudi na različitim mjestima i u različitim životnim okolnostima međusobno povezani svojim otporom društvenim formacijama suvremenoga kapitalizma” (Grewal i Kaplan 1994:5), a pritom izbjeći zamke homogenizacije i fetišiziranja takvih svakodnevnih vernakularnih “alterglobalističkih” taktika otpora. No nije jednostavno istodobno se priklanjati taktikama izigravanja i otpora moći, a računati na g-lokalne resurse koji sponzoriraju akademske skupove u elitnoj svjetskoj turističkoj destinaciji. Nada da će se feministički seminari u organizaciji četiriju partnerskih institucija (dvije iz Zagreba i dvije iz Finske – Helsinkija i Tamperea) nastaviti odvijati planiranim ritmom i redosljedom izmjene koordinatorica vođena je jednom mišlju. Naime, da samo njegovanje (utopijskoga) feminističkog prostora za istinsko autorefleksivno razumijevanje i dijalog stvara poveznice između lokalnog i globalnoga konteksta ženske borbe i principijelne intervencije u geopolitičku realnost u potrazi za mogućnostima novih savezništava.

¹⁶ Paralelne procese koji se odvijaju uzduž graničnih područja što se protežu od sjeveroistoka (Baltik i okružje) do jugoistoka (Balkan i okružje) s posebnim naglaskom na “kruženje novca, roda i seksualnosti”, istraživat će znanstvenici, mahom antropolozi, sa sjevera i juga Europe unutar istraživačke mreže *Remaking eastern borders in Europe: a network exploring social, moral and material relocations in Europe's eastern peripheries* čije je aktivnosti osmislila Sara Green sa Sveučilišta u Manchesteru. Ideja te “združene europske istraživačke akcije” (*European concerted research action*) jest kombinirati “praktična i teorijska specijalistička istraživanja da bi se prepoznala složenost onog što se zbiva u svakodnevnici, neformalnih procesa na granicama tijekom razdoblja transformacije” (2008:3).

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ELISSA HELMS

LJUBI SE ISTOK I ZAPAD:
ROD, ORIJENTALIZAM I BALKANIZAM U
BOŠNJAČKIM DISKURSIMA¹

“Ljubi se istok i zapad”



Slika 1. “Ljubi se istok i zapad”, *Dani*, 04.01.1999., naslovnica.

U siječnju 1999. na *billboard*-plakatima i tramvajskim postajama u cijelom Sarajevu pojavila se provokativna slika. Na njoj su bile dvije mlade žene: jedna, s crnim muslimanskim pokrivalom za glavu, smiješila se drugoj, odjevenoj u crveni grudnjak i kapu Djeda Mraza, dok je ona grlila “Muslimanku” i ljubila joj nos. Sliku je pratio natpis koji se igrom riječi poigravao revolucionarnom pjesmom iz Drugoga svjetskog rata – “Ljubi se istok i zapad”.² Plakat je bio reklama za najnoviji broj nezavisnog časopisa *Dani*, a slika je bila njegova naslovnica.

Sliku je taj antinacionalistički sekularni časopis napravio kao odgovor islamskim nacionalistima i njihovu pozivu na zabranu popularne proslave Nove godine i njena poznatog simbola, Djeda Mraza, kao neislamskih. Taj su napad vodili “panislamisti” iz vodstva, i oko njega, Stranke demokratske akcije (SDA), istaknute bošnjačke stranke koja je 1990. došla na

¹ Ovo je skraćena verzija rada objavljenog pod naslovom “East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina” objavljenog u časopisu *Slavic Review* 67(1), proljeće 2008.

² *Dani*, 4. siječnja, 1999., naslovnica. Izvorna pjesma počinje stihovima “Budi se istok i zapad!”

vlast u Bosni i Hercegovini (dalje u tekstu: Bosna ili BiH) u vrijeme raspada socijalističke Jugoslavije.³ SDA i njeni savjetnici u vjerskom establishmentu dominirali su naporima definiranja bošnjačkoga nacionalnog identiteta, zagovarajući vodeću političku i kulturnu ulogu islama u populaciji koja je uključivala velik broj ateista, sekularista i “Muslimana” koji nisu praktični vjernici.⁴ Njihovi prigovori proslavi Nove godine nisu se temeljili samo na otporu kršćanskom kalendaru i sličnostima između Djeda Mraza i svetog Nikole već i jednako snažno na vezi blagdana sa socijalizmom. Kao i druge socijalističke države, Jugoslavija je uspješno inkorporirala božićno drvece i svetog Nikolu u redefiniranu sekularnu proslavu Nove godine.⁵ U očima panislamista, dakle, bošnjački je identitet trebao biti izravno suprotstavljen socijalizmu, sekularizmu i kršćanstvu. Nadalje, kako sugerira i naslovnica *Dana*, na tu se kontroverzu gledalo kao na dio borbe između istoka i zapada, tradicije i modernosti, islama i Europe.

Ono što je posebno vrijedno spomena u vezi s tom fotografijom jest to da su te dihotomije prikazane putem rodne reprezentacije – žena, što često biva slučajem. Dok su znanstvenici na svjetlo iznijeli diskurzivno i političko djelovanje takvih predodžbi unutar i prema Balkanu s pomoću koncepata kao što su orijentalizam i balkanizam, na često pojavljivanje rodničkih reprezentacija u toj regiji nije se obraćalo previše pozornosti. Ako poklonimo pozornost rodu, možemo primijetiti neke nedavne pomake ne samo u orijentalističkoj i balkanističkoj retorici već i na globalnoj razini.⁶ Dijelove BiH s muslimanskom većinom – koji se zamišljaju kao da premošćuju povijesne rasjede istočne i zapadne kulture, religije i civilizacije – uzimam kao produktivno mjesto za promatranje tih promjena, istražujući specifične oblike koje preuzimaju u tom posebnom okruženju. Etnografskom analizom medija, političkih i “svakodnevnih” diskursa, pokazujem kako različite orodene rekonfiguracije

³ Pojam “panislamistički” uzimam iz opisa Xaviera Bougarela o utjecaju te skupine na ono što je postala SDA (Bougarel 1997:533).

⁴ SDA su osnovali panislamisti okupljeni oko pokojnog Alija Izetbegovića, ali baza stranke obuhvaćala je urbane intelektualce, prijašnje mreže Komunističke partije i sekularnije Bošnjake (Bougarel 1997). Mene ovdje zanima prije svega vrijeme rata pa do kraja 2000., kad su panislamisti dominirali vodstvom SDA i konzervativnim (vjerskim) artikulacijama bošnjačkog identiteta. Od tog se doba ravnoteža između religijskih i sekularnih nacionalista redistribuirala kroz nove političke stranke i institucije, ali rasprava o položaju islama se nastavlja.

⁵ Redefinirani Djed Mraz i novogodišnje drvece (koji su sami po sebi ponovna pridavanja značenja starijim poganskim simbolima) pomaknuli su fokus s vjerskog praznika na onaj sekularni koji su mogli slaviti svi u duhu socijalističkog (multietničkog) “bratstva i jedinstva” (Sklevicky 1990).

⁶ Rasprave o turskoj autentičnosti, na primjer, vrte se oko ženske odjeće i često se izražavaju pojmovima istoka i zapada. Vidi posebno Navaro-Yashin 2002.

istoka/zapada, islama/Europe, tradicije/modernosti ponovno afirmiraju takve dihotomne reprezentacije, maskirajući kudikamo veću složenost globalne, regionalne i lokalne dinamike.

Simboličke geografije i Bosna

“Zapadne” sile i lokalni akteri u konstruiranju nadmoćnog Zapada i nazadnog Istoka prizivali su dobro utvrđenu simboličku geografiju istočne Europe i Balkana, nešto slično djelovanju orijentalizma kao što ga opisuje Edward Said.⁷ Kako bi objasnila specifičnosti reprezentacija o jugoistočnoj Europi, Marija Todorova uvela je pojam balkanizma kao oznaku izvedenog, ali posebnog projekta konstruiranja Balkana kao “drugog unutar” Europe, više nazadnog i primitivnog “ja” nego stranoga “drugog” (Todorova 1997; Fleming 2000). Nadalje, dok je Saidov orijentalizam vezan uz izravnu zapadnu kolonizaciju (i njenu povijest), balkanizam je bio izgrađen na puno difuznijim i neizravnijim odnosima dominacije i podčinjenosti vis-à-vis “zapada”. Međutim, posebice ako je subjekt islam ili muslimani, europski ili ne, zapadna se dominacija priziva i konstruira u odnosu na Balkan *jezikom* orijentalizma (Bakić-Hayden i Hayden 1992:3; Fleming 2000). Ključno je, dakle, sljedeće, kako kaže Katherine Fleming, “kad se odvoji od tih [kolonijalnih] struktura, orijentalizam gubi velik dio svoje jednosmjernosti (kao diskurs koji je Zapad nametnuo Istoku) i umjesto toga postaje ugrađen i internaliziran i na Istoku i na Zapadu. Ili (...) usvajanjem ‘orijentalističke’ retorike od Istoka i Zapada, granice između dviju kategorija počinju se zamučivati” (Fleming 2000:1224). Upravo ta zamućenost ili dvosmislenost, rođena iz liminalne pozicije “između polova” Istoka i Zapada, Balkancima, a posebno Bošnjacima i Bosancima, daje mogućnost da mogu preokrenuti, izazvati i transformirati takve okvire.⁸

Ključno je napomenuti i poseban obrazac “ugniježđenog orijentalizma” u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, u kojoj su pripadnici jedne nacije pokušavali prikazati sebe kao superiorne/zapadnjačke/europske, dok su svoje južne i istočne susjede odbacivali kao pripadnike inferiornog, orijentalnog “istočnog” (Bakić-Hayden 1995; vidi i Patterson 2003; Razsa i Lindstrom 2004; Živković 2001). Te formulacije slijede općenitiji obrazac društvenih distinkcija, ono što socioligvisti zovu fraktalnim rekurzijama, u kojima se suprotstavljeni parovi poput Zapad/Istok, europsko/orijentalno, muško/žensko, javno/privatno mogu javljati unutar jedne polovine širega suprotstavljenog para, stvarajući beskonačne mogućnosti ponovnog pozicioniranja unutar kategorija superiornosti i inferiornosti, poput

⁷ Said 1978. O zapadnim konstrukcijama te regije, vidi Goldsworthy 1998; Todorova 1997; Wolff 1994. O “lokalnim” diskursima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji vidi Bakić-Hayden 1995; Bakić-Hayden i Hayden 1992.

⁸ O dvosmislenosti u simboličkoj geografiji Balkana vidi Green 2005.

onih povezanih s Istokom i Zapadom.⁹ Kako islam i veza s otomanskom prošlošću zauzimaju najniže stepenice hijerarhije ugniježdenog orijentalizma, bosanski Muslimani često bivaju smješteni izvan simboličnih granica Europe i Zapada. Sami su se Bošnjaci na različite načine pokušali oduprijeti takvim negativnim prikazima, odražavajući promjenjivost dihotomnih okvira.¹⁰ Ipak, kako i ovdje pokušavam pokazati, oni umjesto odbijanja polarizacije Istoka i Zapada teže pomicanju valencija ili granica takvih dihotomija kako bi odgovarale određenim političkim ciljevima.

To vrijedi i za pokušaje postavljanja hibridnog identiteta. Argumenti koji govore kako su nacionalne razlike nepomirljive i kako je, s tim u skladu, funkcionalna bosanska država neodrživa, često reproduciraju huntingtonovski stav o "sukobljenoj" europskoj (kršćanskoj) i islamskoj civilizaciji, gdje Srbi i/ili Hrvati brane europskost od tuđinskih Muslimana.¹¹ Suprotno tome, oni koji podržavaju ideju multietničke ujedinjene države često su naklonjeni slikama Bosne kao mosta ili raskrižja između Istoka i Zapada.¹² Te metafore često iznova prizivaju Bosanci koje sam upoznala tijekom svog istraživanja kad pokušavaju objasniti bilo što, od politike, religije, etničkih odnosa pa do statusa žena u BiH. Kao što je rekla Pamela Ballinger u slučaju istarskoga "hibridnog" identiteta, iako se taj stav može mobilizirati u podršku multietničkom društvu – u ovom slučaju, bosanskoj državi – i/ili etničkoj toleranciji, on isto tako učinkovito učvršćuje ideju o odvojenoj i različitoj istočnoj (islamskoj) i zapadnoj (europskoj) civilizaciji (2004).¹³

⁹ Vidi npr. Gal 2002; Gal i Kligman 2000; Irvine i Gal 2000. Kritiku potraži u Green 2005:128-58.

¹⁰ Vanjski pristaše Bosne pokušali su rekonfigurirati balkanistička mapiranje: u svojoj tvrdnji kako bi zapadne vlade trebale intervenirati i pomoći Bošnjacima ili ujedinjenoj BiH, naglašavali su ratnu štetu počinjenu u kozmopolitskom Sarajevu, čiji stanovnici kao da izgledaju i ponašaju se "poput nas" bijelih Europljana/zapadnjaka, a ne poput "pravih" Muslimana.

¹¹ Napominjem kako je "islam" često suprotstavljen "Europi" prije nego analognom vjerskom pojmu "kršćanstva", implicirajući vezu – za neke pozitivnu, a za neke negativnu – "Europe" sa sekularizmom i "islama" kao totalizirajućeg opisnika "orijentalne" kulture. Ipak, takve formulacije rekonfigurirale su čak i Huntingtona, smještajući pravoslavne države na stranu "zapada" radije nego uz bok islamskim državama i "ostalima". (Huntington 1996).

Primjere potražiti u Hayden 2000; Jansen 2003. Te su formulacije i orođene: Jansen je pronašao Srbe koji su strahovali kako će Muslimani zaključati srpske žene u hareme i oploditi ih muslimanskom spermom te obrezati srpske muškarce (219).

¹² Ove metafore impliciraju različite stvari i imaju različite povijesti, istraživanje kojih premašuje opseg ovog rada. O "raskrižjima" vidi Moranjak-Bamburać 2001. O mostu vidi Bjelić 2002; Bougarel, Helms i Duijzings 2007:1-2; Green 2005.

¹³ Važno je napomenuti kako se "multietničko društvo" i "etnička tolerancija" nužno ne preklapaju; bošnjački nacionalisti podržavaju i jedinstvenu bosansku državu.

Nadalje, te rekonfiguracije – poput različitih izraza nacionalizma u službu kojih su često prizivane – nerijetko se postižu rodnim reprezentacijama, posebice žena, čime se nastoji oprirodniti razlike i legitimizirati hijerarhije.¹⁴ U bivšoj Jugoslaviji kao cjelini i nacionalistički i orijentalistički/balkanistički opisi oslanjali su se na rodne reprezentacije, često prizivajući, za različite svrhe, bosanske žene ili rodne odnose među Bošnjacima.¹⁵ Međutim, gotovo da nije bilo osvrta na to kako se one doživljavaju ili kako odjekuju u samoj BiH.

Ovaj članak, dakle, ocrtava oblike koje ta praksa preuzima kroz prizmu roda i iz perspektive samih Bosanaca. Moj je cilj najprije upozoriti na učestalost kojom se diskursi o etnonacionalnom i državnom identitetu konstituiraju oko rodnih reprezentacija te, nadalje, pokazati kako takav pristup osvjetljava neke nedavne pomake u širim orijentalističkim i balkanističkim reprezentacijama – pomake koji ovise upravo o prikazima roda i seksualnosti. Te ću pomake opisati jedan po jedan.

Orijentalizam: Iako Said to nije analizirao, iz njegove se građe jasno vidi kako je orijentalizam ispunjen reprezentacijama roda i seksualnosti (Abu-Lughod 2001; Lewis 1996; Nader 1989). Drugost Istoka konstruirana je putem slika “devijantnoga” eroskog ponašanja i primamljive, nesputane ženske seksualnosti – iako često unutar zidova zloglasnoga harema (El Guindi 1999; Said 1978). Muslimanski vjerski vođe, s drugima u postkolonijalnom svijetu, preokrenuli su tu rodnu opoziciju i umjesto toga opisivali opasnosti dekadentnog Zapada gdje se muslimanskim vrijednostima često prijeti otvorenim prikazivanjem ženske seksualnosti i seksa izvan patrijarhalnog braka (Nader 1989). Nadalje, kao što su primijetili Neil Macmaster i Toni Lewis, zapadne su se orijentalističke predodžbe od dekolonizacije često mijenjale. Dok je Said opisivao istočnu prijetnju koja se prenosi slikama nekontrolirane ženske i (feminizirane) homoseksualne muške seksualnosti, politička prijetnja muslimanskog svijeta sada se prikazuje prije svega putem slika strogo *kontrolirane* ženske seksualnosti: “hiperpokrivene” žene u velovima što je potpuno obavijaju (Macmaster i Lewis 1998). Praćeni “ratom protiv terorizma” koji predvode Amerikanci i sve jačim osjećajima protiv muslimanskih imigranata u Europi (ugrađenima u vlastitu simboličnu geografiju koja uključuje istok/zapad, ali i sjever/jug), takvi su prikazi postali još vidljiviji alati političke retorike:¹⁶ žene u *burkama* i drugim velovima koji

¹⁴ U opsežnoj literaturi o rodu i nacionalizmu vidi npr. McClintock 1993; Mosse 1985; Yuval-Davis 1997. O rodu kao “naturalizirajućem” okviru vidi Scott 1999.

¹⁵ Za analize o nacionalističkim reprezentacijama vidi npr. Kesic 2001; Korać 1998; Žarkov 2007. O orijentalističkim opisima vidi npr. Kesic 2002; Žarkov 1995 i Žarkov 2007.

¹⁶ Izgleda da su se i reprezentacije homoseksualnosti pomaknule: iako su muslimanski neprijatelji i dalje feminizirani, kao u objavama da su neki otmičari 11. rujna imali homoseksualne tendencije, talibansko strogo *kažnjavanje* homoseksualnosti navodilo se kao dokaz barbarstva tog neprijatelja.

ih potpuno obavijaju korištene su kako bi simbolizirale brutalnost islamskog režima i nazadnost “muslimanske kulture” te, na posljeticu, opravdale vojno djelovanje (vidi npr. Abu-Lughod 2002; Cloud 2004). Suvremeni bosanski diskursi oslanjaju se na sličnu ikonografiju pokrivenih i ugnjetavanih žena kako bi izrazili strah od političke prijetnje islama.

Balkanizam: Kako kaže Todorova, jedna od stvari po kojima se balkanizam razlikuje od orijentalizma način je na koji je rođen: suprotno feminiziranim, erotičnim prikazima Orijenta, balkanistički su diskursi bili izrazito neseksualizirani i muški, dok su žene bile gotovo nevidljive (1997:15). Ta je tvrdnja možda pretjerana s obzirom na to da postoje dokazi kako su i muški i ženski putnici na Balkanu donosili opise lokalnih žena, obično kao iscrpljene teškim životom i radom te u potpunoj suprotnosti s krhkim zaštićenim idealom viktorijanske ženstvenosti.¹⁷ Međutim, dominantna figura balkanističkog diskursa bila je ona neurednoga, nasilnog seljaka upletenog u krvne osvete i pobune (vidi Bjelić i Cole 2002; Bracewell 2003; Todorova 1997). Ipak, bosanski slučaj u tom smislu odražava pomak; dok predodžba balkanskog muškarca ostaje primitivna i nasilna, njegovo se nasilništvo sada češće naznačuje preko žena koje zlostavlja, preko nasilja u obitelji ili (posebno u slučaju srpskih muškaraca) etničkog čišćenja i ratnog silovanja (vidi Bjelić i Cole 2002; Bracewell 2000; Helms 2006; Iordanova 2001; van de Port 1998; Živković 2006).¹⁸ Žene, kao stvarne i percipirane žrtve tog nasilja tako postaju više (i ponovno) vidljive u reprezentaciji Balkana, kako na “zapadu” tako i na samom “Balkanu”. Doista, slike bosanskih žena, posebice Muslimanki, kao žrtava ratnog silovanja počele su simbolizirati viktimizaciju Bosne u cjelini (Helms 2007; Žarkov 1995; Žarkov 1997).

Etnografski pogled na diskurs

Moja se analiza temelji na etnografskom terenskom radu provedenom u proteklom desetljeću nakon završetka rata u Bosni, uglavnom 1997. i 1999./2000., u sklopu kojeg sam istraživala predstavljачke strategije i djelovanje aktivistkinja (Helms 2003). Ovdje predstavljena građa odražava interakciju s tim aktivistkinjama i drugim Bosancima obaju spolova u nizu okruženja. Često, ali ne uvijek, moja prisutnost kao “zapadnjakinje” budila je usporedbe između Istoka i Zapada

¹⁷ Paralelno uloga zapadnih žena u konstruiranju orijentalizma, kako su o tome raspravljali npr. Lewis 1996, zapadne žene poput Rebecce West i Edith Durham imale su značajnu ulogu u konstrukciji balkanističkih predodžbi, većinom u putopisima. Vidi Allcock i Young 2000. Za povijesne reprezentacije balkanskih žena vidi npr. Bakić-Hayden 1995:921; Bjelić i Cole 2002; Djajić Horváth 2006. Ovaj rad sugerira kako je potrebna daljnja analiza za preciznije utvrđivanje povijesnog orodivanja balkanističkih diskursa.

¹⁸ Kako pišu Bracewell 2000 i Žarkov 2007, feministkinje su također pridonosile toj esencijaliziranoj predodžbi nasilnih, seksualno agresivnih balkanskih muškaraca.

(različito definiranih), jednako kao što je i žarište mog istraživanja – žena – često usmjeravalo temu razgovora na rodna pitanja (vidi Helms 2005). Međutim, te su se teme često pojavljivale same. Uključila sam i primjere javnih govora i tiskanih medija namijenjenih prije svega bosanskoj publici, kao zaštitu od učinaka moje prisutnosti u svakodnevnim razgovorima i zato što medijskom i političkom diskursu pristupam kao dijelu etnografskoga konteksta.¹⁹ Međutim, ideje, retorika i vizualni tropi o kojima se ovdje govori bili su dio globalnih kretanja u kojima su sudjelovali Bosanci.²⁰ Iako analiziram način na koji su oni artikulirani te kako su preuzimali specifična značenja u različitim kontekstima, želim upozoriti i na načine na koje se širi simbolizam Istoka i Zapada odražava i oblikuje kroz te specifičnosti. Nadalje, ne želim tvrditi kako su dihotomni okviri sveprisutni, nego je moj cilj istražiti kako je rod mobiliziran u tim diskursima koji su se, ipak, pojavljivali s osobitom učestalošću.

Istraživanje je bilo koncentrirano u gradovima s bošnjačkom većinom, Zenici i Sarajevu, gdje su SDA i druge bošnjačke stranke dominirale politikom i vlašću većinu vremena poslije raspada Jugoslavije. Uprkos teritorijalnoj razdvojenosti etnonacionalnih skupina koja je rezultat “etničkog čišćenja” tijekom rata, područja s bošnjačkom većinom zadržala su veće “manjinske” populacije (Srbe, Hrvate i “druge”) nego područja pod srpskom ili hrvatskom kontrolom. Multietničku bosanskohercegovačku državu podržavaju svi stanovnici područja s bošnjačkom većinom, ali zbog različitih razloga, kao što sam već naznačila. Međutim, konsenzus o obliku koji bi bošnjačko i/ili bosansko društvo trebalo imati nije bio tako široko prihvaćen, posebice u smislu javne i političke uloge islama i vjere općenito. Ta su pitanja bila dijelom općenite brige za politička i gospodarska kretanja koja su postala posebno važna poslije ratnog nasilja, nesigurnosti postsocijalističkih transformacija i zapadnih intervencija, što su sve bili razlozi koji su raspravu o identitetu doveli u prvi plan.²¹

Časopis *Dani*, pozicioniran kao sekularan i antinacionalistički časopis koji podržava multietničku državu, priziva bit tih rasprava slikom dviju žena koje se ljube. Ako se vratimo naslovnici “Ljubi se istok i zapad”, odmah ćemo shvatiti kako šminka i crveni (seksi) grudnjak zapadnjačke žene signalizira

¹⁹ Vidi npr. Gupta 1995:385-86. Kao što kaže Sabina Mihelj, balkanistički diskursi u medijima ne mogu se tretirati kao uniformni, čak i u jednoj zajednici, i produktivnije je istraživati ih s istraživanjem o konzumaciji medija (Mihelj 2008).

²⁰ O načinima na koje diskursi i tekstovi cirkuliraju i na koje se inkorporiraju u lokalna značenja na određenome mjestu, vidi Gal 2003.

²¹ Stef Jansen zabilježio je slične učinke u svakodnevnim diskursima stanovnika Zagreba i Beograda, slijedeći Michaela Herzfelda koji kaže kako je takva preokupacija među običnim ljudima s njihovim mjestom u široj geopolitičkoj shemi stvari odraz izrazito nesređenih vremena. Vidi Jansen 2002 i Herzfeld 1997.

esencijalizirani Zapad, kojeg se jedni boje, a drugi ga priželjkuju zbog njegove veze sa seksualnom slobodom, posebice s vidljivom ženskom seksualnošću.²² Žena koja je označena kao istočnjakinja slično predstavlja aspekte Istoka i islama koji naizmjenično izazivaju strah i divljenje, a otkrivaju se njezinom pokrivenom glavom i islamskom odjećom. Za neke je pokrivena žena pobožna i čista, simbol moralne nadmoći Istoka. Drugima pak njezina marama označava nazadnost, neznanje, ugnjetavanje žena te, konačno, inferiornost Istoka. Stav časopisa jasno se iskazuje rodnim aluzijama. Zapadna žena prikazana je u muškoj ulozi, usprkos svojoj istovremenoj seksualiziranoj ženstvenosti. Viša je (i svjetlokosa), pokreće zagrljaj i poljubac, dok je istočnjakinja (tamne puti) niža, odjevena u odjeću koja uvijek označava ženstvenost te se, uz mek osmijeh, pasivno prepušta utjecaju. Poruka koja se prenosi jest: iako se elementi Istoka mogu tolerirati, čak i prigrliti kao sastavni dio “našeg” identiteta, Zapad je i dalje dominantan, poželjniji.

Pa ipak je atmosfera te slike izrazito zaigrana, sugerirajući podsmijeh prema onima koji izražavaju strah od “istoka” ili “zapada”. Doista, sekularne urbane Bosance (poput novinara u časopisu) zagolicala je nostalgичna referenca na socijalistički kič, ali i službeni ateizam i “bratstvo i jedinstvo” među etnonacionalnim skupinama koje ti simboli prizivaju. Jedan je par u kasnim dvadesetima uz kavu zaneseno govorio o naslovnicu jer je ismijavala vjerske nacionaliste i apsurdnost njihove kampanje protiv Djeda Mraza. To odbacivanje “ekstremnih” islamskih stavova, s podrškom multietničkoj (sekularnoj) BiH, bilo je zajednička oznaka kozmopolitizma te pripadnosti Europi i “zapadu”. Međutim, kad sam o slici razgovarala s mladom (pokrivenom) ženom naklonjenijom fundamentalističkoj islamskoj struji, uozbiljila se i rekla: “Mi znamo tko su naši neprijatelji.” Poruka *Dana* doista je shvaćena kao provokacija, pa i u stranci SDA, čiji su vođe napravili pritisak na oglašivačku tvrtku koja je postavila plakate da otkaže ugovor časopisu *Dani*, čime su se njihovi oglasi učinkovito uklonili iz javnog prostora.²³

Pomicanje konfiguracija “istoka” i “zapada”

Neki bošnjački nacionalisti, poput “ne-zapadnjački” pozicioniranih nacionalista i vjerskih vođa, na sekularni ne-islamski “zapad” gledali su kao na moralno

²² Na manjoj slici u časopisu ova žena drži nešto što nalikuje na čašu pjenušca, koja je primjerena proslavama Nove godine, ali i u suprotnosti s islamskom zabranom alkohola, a za ženu jasan simbol modernosti i odbijanja starijih rodnih konvencija među svim etničkim skupinama u BiH.

²³ Senad Pećanin, “Uz ovaj broj”, *Dani*, 1. veljače 1999., 2. Vođe SDA uskoro su odustali od protivljenja Novoj godini nakon što ga simpatizeri stranke u redovima više sekularno orijentirane javnosti nisu prihvatili.

iskvaren, neproduhovljen i osuđen na samouništenje.²⁴ Bit te opasnosti sažeta je u brizi za obitelj, seksualnost i reprodukciju (vidi npr. Bracewell 1996; Gal 1994; Heng i Devan 1992; Kligman 1998; Yuval-Davis 1997); žene se smatra primarno odgovornima za opadanje stope nataliteta u zemlji, a homoseksualnost posebno snažnom prijetnjom koju predstavlja "Europa". Bošnjački nacionalisti i vjerski vođe upozoravali su i protiv etnički "miješanih brakova", posebno u slučaju Muslimanki koje su zbog udaje za nemuslimane sa svojom djecom "izgubljene" za vlastitu vjeru i naciju. Jedan od najistaknutijih protivnika miješanog braka, Džemaludin Latić, poistovjetio ga je u vrijeme rata s "europskim satanizmom", zabludom starih komunista koji su zaboravili "mahalu s Majkom i džamijom u sredini" iz koje su potekli.²⁵ Vođe islamske zajednice poticali su bošnjačke žene da rađaju više (bošnjačke) djece "za Bosnu"²⁶ te da se pokriju na islamski način, dok su "zapadnjačku" mini suknu nazivali prijetnjom jedinstvu i kontinuiranom postojanju bošnjačke nacije i muslimanske vjere. Zapad je tako demoniziran u korist idealiziranog Istoka.

Drugi su pokušavali pomiriti prednosti "istoka" i "zapada" u jedinstveni, bosanski hibridni oblik, nešto kao u slučaju poljupca s naslovnice *Dana*. Takav je osjećaj stajao iza česte upotrebe metafora – mostova i raskrižja – o Bosni kao susretištu dvaju različitih "svjetova". Za ženu i obitelj to je značilo uzimanje najboljih aspekata Istoka i Zapada, kao što mi je objasnila novinarka koja je radila za islamsku zajednicu: bosanske su žene imale koristi od zapadnjačkih modela u smislu visoke razine obrazovanja i položaja u plaćenim poslovima, ali su zadržale "istočnu mudrost" poštovanja majčinstva. Prema tome, "bosanske su žene uspjele očuvati porodicu i ući u parlament", dok su se zapadnjačke obitelji, zajedno s društvom, raspadale. U isto vrijeme, tvrdila je, bosanske su se žene oduprle nekim patrijarhalnim muslimanskim praksama, poput poliginije.²⁷ Bila je zadovoljna svojim položajem u tom međuprostoru, ali bilo je jasno da je i dalje zamišljala dva sukobljena svijeta. Takve su reprezentacije bile sveprisutne i često su ih simbolizirale ženske figure. U obraćanju glasačima

²⁴ Takvi su stavovi najdostupniji onima na dnu balkanističke ili orijentalističke hijerarhije iako se oblici koje preuzimaju razlikuju ovisno o tome o kojoj se hijerarhiji govori. O srpskim opomenama protiv "trulog Zapada", vidi npr., Čolović 2002:39–47 (Čolović 1997, 2000); Živković 2001. O dvosmislenijim pozicioniranjima u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji vidi npr. Razsa i Lindstrom 2004 i Jansen 2002:52. Iako su rijetko analizirane kao takve, rodne i seksualizirane reprezentacije također su bile prisutne u takvim diskursima, najdramatičnije kad su hrvatski pisci prokazivali Europu kao "kurvu"! (Buden 2000).

²⁵ Džemaludin Latić, "Bezbojni", *Ljiljan*, 10. lipnja 1994., 40. Vidi i Hadžić 1996.

²⁶ Latić N. 1993. 'Pobjeda ili časna smrt!' [intervju s dr. Mustafom Cerićem] *Ljiljan*, 29. rujna, 1993, 6–7. Vidi također Jansen i Helms 2008.

²⁷ Ovo nije u potpunosti istinito, s obzirom na to da postoji povijest poliginije, neslužbeno čak i u socijalističkom razdoblju, na krajnjem sjeverozapadu BiH.

sarajevskoga kantona uoči lokalnih izbora 2000. SDA je postavila seriju *billboard*-plakata koji su obećavali “Sarajevo lijepo kao Sarajke”. Plakati su suprotstavljali anonimne djevojke odjevene u modernu zapadnjačku odjeću s otomanskim (“istočnim”) arhitektonskim karakteristikama grada (dok su se muškarci u istoj kampanji pojavljivali kao kandidati u odijelima s imenima i prezimenima). Na jednom od plakata simbolična je funkcija žena bila osobito eksplicitna: plakat je prikazivao mladu ženu u hidžabu i drugu kojoj glava nije bila pokrivena – isti onaj klišej koji se izruguje na slici “Ljubi se istok i zapad”.

Trećima je “istok” prije svega prijetnja, nešto od čega se Bosanci i Bošnjaci trebaju distancirati pod svaku cijenu. To je bila reakcija na optužbe srpskih i hrvatskih nacionalista koji su tvrdili kako bosanski Muslimani potiču “fundamentalizam”, ali i reakcija što je postala još aktualnija poslije 11. rujna i pokretanja američkog “rata protiv terorizma”. Ali, islam u Bosni nije bio ona “loša” vrsta islama, govorili su mi stalno, to je europski islam, blag, tolerantan prema različitima i, iznad svega, islam koji poštuje žene. Dokaz da je Bosna zapravo europska trebalo se naći u moderno odjevenim mladim ženama na ulicama bosanskih gradova, koje su često pokazivale dosta gole kože. U svjetlu tih percipiranih napada, male, ali vrlo vidljive skupine tzv. *vehabija* ili neosalafista i fundamentalista koji su odrastali oko preostalih boraca džihada kao i humanitarci s Bliskog istoka i iz južne Azije, a koji su privlačili sljedbenike u Bosni, doživljavani su kao posebna prijetnja (vidi Bougarel 2005). Muškarce je bilo lako primijetiti s njihovim nepodrežanim bradama i kratkim hlačama, ali žene s *nikabom* preko cijelog lica i crnim rukavicama bile su te koje su pobuđivale najviše zabrinutosti. “Ta vrsta islama”, rekli su, “nema veze s Bosnom.” Usto, mnogi su ljudi (netočno) tvrdili kako neke muslimanke u Bosni možda pokrivaju kosu, ali lice nisu nikada.²⁸ Nezavisni mediji objavili su nekoliko priča sa sugestivnim slikama žena u nikabima, pa čak i afganistanskim burkama na naslovnici, što je upozoravalo na “budućnost pod nikabom” kao ne samo zlokobnu za žene nego i kao političku prijetnju cijelom društvu.²⁹ Dakle, granice Europe ponovno su bile iscrtane dalje na jugu, uključujući i Bosnu i bosanski islam, ali isključujući Muslimane izvan Europe kao manje civilizirane, manje moderne.

Rod se koristio i za (ponovno) stvaranje i učvršćivanje balkanističke hijerarhije. U svakodnevnom sam razgovoru često bila upućivana na

²⁸ Muslimanske žene, uključujući i one u urbanim područjima, vrlo su temeljito pokrivala lica, doduše na drukčiji način, prije nego što je socijalistička vlast 1950. zabranila velove za lice (*zar* i *feredža*). Vidi Penava 1981; Radić 1995:216.

²⁹ Npr. *Dani*, 30. ožujka 1998., naslovnica “Novo lice Sarajeva”; Vildana Selimbegović, “Budućnost pod nikabom”, *Dani*, 3. listopada, 2000., naslovnica i 38–39; Jelena Padovan, “Ko i kako obrezuje žene? Nema toga u Bosni?” *Start Bosne i Hercegovine*, 7. studenoga 2000.: naslovnica i str. 32.

“patrijarhalnija” društva na jugu i istoku gdje se prema ženama odnosilo brutalno. Crna Gora, Kosovo i Albanija bili su omiljeni primjeri. Katkad se činilo kako sam povrijedila nečiji nacionalni ponos već time što sam obratila pozornost na rod u BiH – zašto sam se “uhvatila” njih kad je situacija bila puno gora kod *onih drugih* primitivaca u blizini? Nadalje, kako je “balkanstvo” povezano i s ruralnošću (Jansen 2002:48; vidi i Allcock 2000:234-238; Ballinger 1999; van de Port 1998), seljaci su bili ti koji su navodno bili “najpatrijarhalniji”, posebno kad je bila riječ o nasilju nad ženama.³⁰ Takvi osjećaji nikad nisu bili previše daleko od površine, posebice kad bi se urbani Bosanci uvrijedili zbog slika u međunarodnim medijima koje su Bosnu povezivale sa seljaštvom, s ikoničkom slikom ožalošćene Srebreničanke u *dimijama* i “pet marama na glavi”, kako je rekla jedna ogorčena obrazovana Zeničanka. Dakle, kritiziranje “zapada” i njegovih ratnih neuspjeha često je praćen podtekstom o urbanoj nadmoći i distanciranjem od onih “primitivnih seljaka”. Ovako je nekoliko mladih Sarajlija protumačilo umjetničke plakate Šejle Kamerić na kojima je prelijepa mlada umjetnica odjevena u moderan top i s modernom frizurom stajala nasuprot rasističkoga grafita nizozemskog unproforca koji ponižava bošnjačke žene, većinom seljačkog podrijetla, zarobljene u enklavi u Srebrenici.³¹ U isto se vrijeme katkad mobilizirao i oblik “samobalkanizacije” kako bi se omalovažilo obiteljsko nasilje, podčinjenost žena ili agresivno mačo ponašanje muškaraca, koje kao da kaže: Ne možemo si pomoći što smo nasilni i grubi, mi smo primitivni Balkanci. To je bilo dijelom raširenijega humorističnog slavljenja “primitivne kulture” koje je otkrivalo nostalgiju za muškim povlasticama, uz istodobno priznanje da se takve osjećaje ne smatra modernima ili “civiliziranima” (Helms 2006; vidi i Herzfeld 1997; Jansen 2002; van de Port 1998).

Na kraju, kao kod reprezentacija “istočnih” muslimanskih društava kao nazadnih, “zapad” se često povezivalo sa sve većom javnom vidljivošću i “emancipacijom” žena. Ali emancipacija od čega? Poznavala sam dosta bosanskih muškaraca koji su svoje samoopisane moderne identitete izražavali vrlo patrijarhalnim ulogama žene, uključujući ideju kako su “emancipirane žene” mnogo dostupnije u seksualnom smislu (te da je njima, kao “modernim” muškarcima, pripadalo pravo na slobodniji pristup tim ženama bez potrebe za pridržavanjem “staromodnih” normi bračne vjernosti). Također se napretkom smatralo kada je bosanska djevojka – i k tome Bošnjakinja iz Zenice! – “napokon”

³⁰ Dostupna istraživanja pokazuju drukčije. Medica Zenica 1999; vidi i Helms 2006.

³¹ “Bosnian Girl”, Šejla Kamerić, 2003. Tekst glasi: “No Teeth...? A Mustache...? Smell Like Shit...? Bosnian Girl!”, odnosno: “Nema zuba...? Brkovi...? Smrdi na govno...? Bosanka!”



Slika 2. "Postcard from Sarajevo: Bosnian Twins." N. Dž., "Cardea je ozbiljna pojava", *Dani*, 31.03.2000., str. 60.

pozirala gola u hrvatskom *Playboyu*, dok je propast druge Zeničanke, kojoj je oduzeta kruna Miss BiH kad su se pojavile njezine nage fotografije, slično određena kao razlikovna oznaka između primitivne i patrijarhalne Bosne i modernije Hrvatske i Europe. Razglednica koju je izradila tvrtka za "moderan dizajn", kako ju je nazvao jedan novinar, ponovno je ponudila grafičko predstavljanje Bosne kao mješavine "istoka" i "zapada" koju simboliziraju žene. Identične su blizanke prikazane kao utjelovljenja: jedna vjerskog tradicionalizma "istoka", a druga modernog seksepila "zapada"; blizanka koja je predstavljala istočnjakinju nosila je crni hidžab, a ona koja je predstavljala zapadnjakinju bila je odjevena u mini suknju i uzak top. Novinar koji je oduševljeno pisao o razglednicama na uporabu seksi žene za oglašavanje BiH i bosanskohercegovačkih proizvoda gledao je kao na znak napretka.³² Međutim, ljepota koju je pronašao bila je očito definirana iz heteroseksualne muške perspektive. Tako rodno kodiranje Zapada kao pozitivnog/modernog i Istoka kao negativnog/nazadnog ne znači nužno odmicanje od patrijarhalne logike ili muških privilegija.

Zaključak

Spomenuti bosanski primjeri pokazuju raznovrsnost osporavanja i rekonfiguracija koje predlažu oni pozicionirani unutar "Balkana".³³ Te višestruke konfiguracije dijade Istok/Zapad uklizavaju i isklizavaju iz orijentalizma ili balkanizma u srodne – rodne – narative o modernosti, civilizacijskom procesu ili rasi. Ipak, na kraju ponovno potvrđuju i proizvode ideju o civilizacijskim razlikama istočnog i zapadnog pola. U širem smislu ti primjeri odražavaju veće pomake u orodivanju orijentalističkih i balkanističkih reprezentacija. Bosanci sudjeluju u tim diskursima, dodajući vlastita značenja, ali i upotrebljavajući slične trope u različitim pokušajima da se pozicioniraju unutar regionalne, europske i globalne hijerarhije.

Posebice sam se osvrnula na orodivanje balkanističkih i orijentalističkih konstrukcija. Esencijalizirane koncepcije rodne jednakosti, "emancipacije žena" i seksualne moralnosti često su bila sredstva kojima su se prikazivale relativne

³² N. Dž., "Cardea je ozbiljna pojava", *Dani*, 31. ožujka 2000, 60.

³³ Za kritike balkanizma koje traže istraživanje percepcija unutar "Balkana" vidi Patterson 2003; Mihelj 2008; Fleming 2002. O raznolikosti balkanističkih reprezentacija među samim "Balkancima" vidi Bracewell i Drace-Francis 1999; Todorova 2004.

prednosti i nedostaci “istoka” i “zapada”. Za one koji su preferirali “istočnjačke vrijednosti” Zapad je predstavljao prijetnju upravo zbog načina na koje se zamišljalo rušenje “tradicionalnih” (patrijarhalnih) rodni konfiguracija. Ipak, čak i kad se Zapad cijenio – često upravo na temelju seksualnih i drugih sloboda za žene – rodni režimi zamišljeni uz te idealizacije nisu nužno isključivali patrijarhalnu hijerarhiju ili androcentričan pogled.

To ne znači da svaki Bosanac koji se poistovjećuje s Europom ili “zapadom” istodobno podupire “patrijarhalne” vrijednosti ili da u BiH nema zagovaratelja rodne jednakosti koji u isto vrijeme ne cijene “zapad”. Naprotiv, idealizirane vizije emancipiranih žena i demokracije na Zapadu bile su istaknute u raspravama o rodnoj jednakosti u BiH, posebice među aktivistkinjama ženskih nevladinih udruga i zapadnim predstavnicima međunarodne zajednice. Neke od tih aktivistkinja eksplicitno su se suprotstavljale orijentalističkim i balkanističkim slikama “bosanskih žena”. Međutim, drugi, a vrlo često isti ti pojedinci, također su ih reproducirali i dalje oblikovali, žaleći se na ukorijenjenost patrijarhalnoga “balkanskog mentaliteta”. Reference na civilizacijske hijerarhije stoga se često pojavljuju u diskursima o ženskim pravima, jednako kao što su prizivanja Istoka/Zapada konstruirana na idejama roda. Štoviše, koliko god su neki aktivisti, znanstvenici i javne osobe bili odlučni u namjeri da sruše takve hijerarhije, to nije bilo jamstvo da se njihove riječi i djela neće protumačiti putem orijentalističkih i balkanističkih hijerarhija. Mjera do koje takvi okviri ograničavaju ili osnažuju različito pozicionirane subjekte te načini na koje to utječe na društvenu praksu u specifičnom “balkanskom” okruženju zavređuju daljnje istraživanje, jednako kao i načini na koje se esencijalizirane, okcidentalističke vizije “zapada” koriste u podršci različitim pozicijama. Rodnim koncepcijama suprotstavljenih civilizacija istoka i zapada možda je teško pobjeći, kako u državama nastalima poslije raspada Jugoslavije tako i u širem geopolitičkom kontekstu, ali njihova promjenjivost osigurava i prostor za stvaranje višestrukih predodžbi simboličkih i, konačno, materijalnih odnosa moći.

S engleskog prevela Ivona Grgurinović

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Govoreći o rodnim reprezentacijama unutar širih globalnih hijerarhija kako si ih ti, Elissa, nazvala, zanima me kako osvijetliti i ilustrirati neka opća pitanja koja se ovdje postavljaju. Prvo se želim pozabaviti pitanjem koncepata koje si spomenula, fraktalnog i koncepta ugniježđenosti i mislim da si lijepo pokazala kako unutar našeg konteksta možemo razviti osjetljivost i svjesnost, i zaista, neku vrstu pažljivih i opreznih uvida u različite načine prelamanja ovih koncepata i dihotomija u našem okruženju. Druga stvar jest općenito oprostovanje i orodivanje prijatni. I mislim da je to jedno od ključnih pitanja u postkolonijalnosti, pitanje oprostovanih prijatni u smislu istočnog i zapadnog, koja se uvijek javlja u rodnim terminima, što je standardna praksa, ili barem dominantna. Treća stvar je u osnovi suvremeni projekt, u kojem promatramo konstituiranje identiteta i modernog perioda Bosne još od perioda 19. stoljeća pa kroz 20. stoljeće, gdje postoje različiti primjeri načina razvoja ovog odnosa prema Europi. Jedno od pitanja koje je u radovima (postkolonijalnih) teoretičara/ki često bilo zanemareno (a Elissa ih je istaknula u svom radu) stavlja naglasak na dijaloški pristup u odnosu kolonizatora i koloniziranog, koristeći prakse koje se opiru dominantnim kolonijalističkim predodžbama. Ono što si pokazala da se događa u Bosni, a povijesno oduvijek postoji, jest vrsta otpora pogledu kolonizatora koji predstavlja 'kakav/va si', 'identitet mjesta'; takve prakse otpora (neke više ili manje uspješno, a neke neuspješno) pokušavaju ponovo uspostaviti dijalog sa stereotipima i konceptima koji "dolaze izvana". Nažalost, nema mnogo historijskih istraživanja o tome kako se odvija ovaj dinamičan odnos između koloniziranog i kolonizatora. Ne znam jesi li upoznata s radovima Amile Buturović, jer puno toga što sam ovdje rekla o tome kako su bosanska zajednica i identitet na neki način načinjeni u modernom periodu, inspirirano je nekim njenim tvrdnjama, koje pak nisu neproblematične. I konačno, tu je politika metaforizacije, što ima veze s mojim istraživanjem, jer sam u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji imala poglavlje o politici metaforizacije s obzirom na Bosnu kao identitet, kao zajednicu (tamo se ne osvrćem toliko na metaforu 'mosta' koliko metaforu 'raskrižja'). Mislim da ovdje opet moramo biti jako oprezni jer se sve metafore mogu istovremeno skameniti i depolitizirati, ili iznova zamisliti i repolitizirati. Možete ih skameniti, što se svodi na pitanje vlastitih političkih stajališta ili možete imati kritički i kreativni odnos prema njima, koji ih 'otvara' za različite političke geste. Metafore se u etno-nacionaliziranim diskursima petrificiraju. One se depolitiziraju. Mislite da su to strukture koje postoje od drevnih vremena i koje će trajati do kraja vremena. S druge strane, mnogo je radova i praksi u Bosni koji zapravo vrlo uspješno iznova politiziraju metafore mosta i raskrižja. (Ipak, mislim da dominantna metafora Bosne nije most već raskrižje, a most samo predstavlja jednostavniju varijantu metafora koje konotiraju 'putove i liminalne prostore').

S engleskog prevela Iva Bulić

Nastavak diskusije donosimo u izvornom engleskom obliku. Vidi str. 168-172.

STEF JANSEN

FRAJER I OTAC: MEĐUNACIONALNA
PREPOZNAVANJA MUŠKOSTI POSLIJE RATA
U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI¹

Ljudi smo, nismo vukovi!

Natpis iznad pozornice na kojoj se održavala pomirbena priredba u filmu *Pjera Žalice Gori vatra*² iz 2003. godine

Projekti pomirenja u abrahamskoj tradiciji (Derrida, 1999) zasnovani su na pretpostavci da različite strane dijele jednaku i neotuđivu čovječnost. Poslije ratova vođenih devedesetih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća, postjugoslavenski antinacionalizam i trud za ponovnom uspostavom suživota zasnivali su se na takvome humanističkom okviru, od teorijskih tekstova o individualnim odgovornostima i pravima, do izraza kojima su poslijeratni međunacionalni susreti često bivali opravdavani na posve osnovnoj razini: *ljudi smo!* Ipak, ljudi se ne upuštaju u međusobne kontakte samo na osnovi neke apstraktne zajedničke čovječnosti, čak i kad osjećaju da ih ona razlikuje od drugih životinja. Dapače, zajedničkoj su čovječnosti u svakom pojedinom kontekstu uvijek zadani specifični, često društveno sankcionirani oblici. Promatrajući prakse “pomirenja”, ovaj tekst na etnografski način proučava kako se ono dogodilo na svakodnevnoj razini u međunacionalnim susretima

¹ Članak je pisan na osnovi etnografskog istraživanja u sjeveroistočnoj Bosni i Hercegovini (tijekom 2000. i 2001. godine), a njegova će proširena verzija biti objavljena na engleskom u zborniku koji uređuju Marita Eastmond i Anders Stefansson. Osim bosanskohercegovačkim muškarcima, koji su me dočekali s različitim stupnjevima znatiželje, podsmješljivosti i drugarstva, zahvalio bih i Elissi Helms, Andersu Stefanssonu te organizatoricama i sudionicama poslijediplomskog seminara *Feminizmi u transnacionalnoj perspektivi* (Dubrovnik, 28.05.-01.06.2007).

² Gotovo identična izjava javlja se i u važnom bosanskom romanu Meše Selimovića *Derviš i smrt*.

među muškarcima u poslijeratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini (dalje u tekstu BiH). Konkretno, istražujem načine na koji su muškarci potaknuli “normalan život” međusobnim prepoznavanjem i priznanjem³ izvedbene kompetencije dvaju motiva što hegemoniziraju muškost: onaj koji zovem *otac* (osoba koja kućanstvu osigurava sredstva za život putem odnosa patrijarhalnog srodstva) i onaj koji zovem *frajer* (stilizirani subjekt heteroseksualne želje). U poslijeratnoj BiH oba su motiva mogla biti potaknuta kao rodna očekivanja normalizirana do različitih razina u različitim prigradama. Stoga, umjesto naglašavanja “alternativne” muškosti koja bi mogla biti povezana s nenacionalizmom, istražujem potencijal normativnih i normaliziranih očekivanja muškosti u poslijeratnoj BiH pri prelasku međunacionalnih granica.⁴

Susret muškaraca u Ničijoj zemlji

U filmu Danisa Tanovića *Ničija zemlja* iz 2001. godine, crnoj alegoričnoj tragikomedijski o ratu u BiH, tri se vojnika nađu u napuštenu rovu između položaja svojih postrojbi. Iako se može zaključiti da je Nino Srbin, a druga dvojica najvjerojatnije Bošnjaci, film gotovo uopće ne poteže pitanje nacionalnosti kao takve – glavna je poenta da su protagonisti angažirani na različitim zaraćenim stranama s obzirom na buduću organizaciju (ili njen nedostatak) BiH kao političke konfiguracije: Vojska Republike Srpske i Armija BiH. Za tekst ključna interakcija u filmu zbiva se kad Čiki i Nino čekaju rezultate zajedničkog pokušaja spašavanja svlačenjem svojih vojnih odijela i, odjeveni samo u rublje i čizme, mašu bijelom tkaninom svaki u smjeru svoje postrojbe. U tom se trenutku razvija ovakav razgovor:

Čiki: A, ti si iz Banja Luke?

Nino: Otkud znaš?

Čiki: Imò sam jednu trebu u Banja Luci.

Nino: ...

Čiki: Sanja.

Nino: Znam i ja jednu.

Čiki: Ova je imala...

³ Engleski pojam *recognition* ima dvostruko značenje: prepoznavanje i priznavanje. Da su ti pojmovi neraskidivo povezani i međusobno uvjetovani, svjedoči i Luce Irigaray: “Prepoznajem/priznajem te, dakle ne mogu te obilaziti, ne mogu te opkoliti ni introjektirati. Ti nisi *illic* koji može postati *hic*, da upotrijebim Husserlovu terminologiju. Ne mogu te potpuno identificirati, a to više ni identificirati se s tobom. (...) Prepoznati/priznati te znači ili implicira poštovati te kao drugog.” (2006 [1992]:233)

⁴ U ovom se tekstu pojam “granice” koristi u smislu *simbolične* granice koja razgraničuje i spaja nacionalne grupe. Naravno, rat u BiH u velikoj je mjeri učvrstio te simbolične granice kao teritorijalne linije razgraničenja.

Nino: I ova je.

Čiki: ...

Nino: ...plava.

Čiki: Ja!

Nino: ...ben iznad usta.

Čiki: Sanja Čengić!

Nino: Ma išo s njom u školu.

Čiki: Ma ne seri!

Nino: Majke mi!

Čiki: Cera! Zna onu Sanju iz Banja Luke što sam ti pričao!

Cera: Ma sjajno!

Čiki: Šta je sad s njom?

Nino: Otišla vani.

Čiki: To je najpametnije.

Ovaj je razgovor u filmu jedinstven po tome što je riječ o jedinome trenutku u kojemu se dvojica muškaraca, iako nevoljko, upuštaju u interakciju kao osobe izvan kategorija nametnutih ratom. Kako bi taj zajednički interes bio sagledan u svojem širem kontekstu, moram kratko objasniti kako su ta dva muškarca predstavljena publici, prije svega gledateljima s područja bivše Jugoslavije. Čiki, iako spominje "svoje selo", ima moderan, "urbani" karakter, nosi majicu kratkih rukava sa znakom Rolling Stonesa koji svjedoči o njegovu poznavanju popularne kulture. Nino, koji dolazi iz Banje Luke, djeluje kao prilično učen tip – možda student – čijemu se nedostatku iskustva izruguju i vlastiti suborci. Njih su dvojica slične dobi, dijele "modernu" jugoslavensku BiH kao svoj prošli svakodnevni okvir na koji se pozivaju i, iako na različite političke načine, obojici je njihov "normalan život" grubo prekinut onime što Čiki naziva *ovaj usrani rat*. U navedenom razgovoru svojim životnim iskustvima pronalaze kratkotrajno zajedničko tlo međusobnog prepoznavanja kao Bosanaca te – ključno za moju argumentaciju – kao muškaraca.

Međusobna prepoznavanja: minimalistički, praktični pristup pomirenju

Ovaj se tekst zasniva na analizi stvarnih poslijeratnih susreta duž nacionalnih granica više nego na normativnom pristupu "pomirenju". Ako pomirenje znači "učiniti da nešto prestane biti suprotstavljeno" (Borneman 2002:281), ono može imati različite političke implikacije.⁵ U postjugoslavenskome

⁵ Primjerice, Odbor za južnoafričku istinu i pomirenje, općepoznat kao model pomirenja, također je bio kritiziran zbog ostavljanja netaknutima mnogih struktura društveno-gospodarske i rodne nejednakosti koje su bile temeljem apartheida (Ross 2003; Wilson 2001; Feldman 2002).

kontekstu, suprotno onome što bismo spontano očekivali, pomirenje je zapravo bilo jedan od većih prioriteta nacionalističkih elita. Njihov je fokus, međutim, nedvojbeno bio na *unutarnacionalnoj* razini. Često s ciljem da smanje napetost između sunarodnjaka koji su tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata pripadali sukobljenim ideološkim stranama, ti su se pokušaji pomirenja u praksi razvijali u programe nacionalne homogenizacije tako da ih možemo razumjeti na poststrukturalistički način, kao pokušaje brisanja antagonizama uspostavom diskurzivnog završetka (Laclau i Mouffe 1985:88; cf. Derrida 1999). Suprotno tome, nastojanja upućena *međunacionalnom* pomirenju bila su po svome opsegu mnogo manje ambiciozna: u podijeljenoj BiH obično su jednostavno pokušavali uspostaviti neku mjeru približavanja među ljudima različitih nacionalnosti. Važnost nacionalnih podjela toliko se pojačala da su čak i jednostavni fizički prelasci međunacionalnih granica, uključujući i povratak prognanika, sami po sebi postali ambiciozni ciljevi. Daleko od brisanja takvih granica te od nastojanja da različite strane posve prestanu biti suprotstavljene, većina inicijativa iz kategorije međunacionalnog “pomirenja” stoga je ciljala na puke prelasci tih granica te na nastojanje da stanovnici BiH postanu barem malo manje aktivno suprotstavljeni kad je riječ o nacionalnosti.

Nakon što je rat završio, prije šah-matom koji je odredila inozemna intervencija nego jasnim pobjednikom, pomirenje se u BiH tretiralo ponajprije kao ideja što ju nameće Zapad. Za mnoge, uključujući i povratnike, odnosno ljude koji su prelazili međunacionalnu granicu, ono jednostavno nije bilo prioritet. Njihove bi se glavne preokupacije vjerojatno mogle sažeti kao pravda i preživljavanje. Budući da je pravdu istodobno teško definirati i da se njeno provođenje smatra nečim izvan dosega “običnih ljudi”, svakodnevne su se prakse fokusirale na osiguravanje neposredne budućnosti. Predmet njihove nade najvećim je dijelom bio “normalan život” (npr. Jansen 2006, 2007a). Naravno, “normalan život” u prošlosti – ključni referentni pojam – uključivao je međunacionalni suživot, no taj je aspekt bio mnogo manje važan u vezi s njihovim nadanjima za budućnost. I iako ljudi u BiH najčešće nisu govorili o *pomirenju*, nego o *suživotu*, čak je i inozemno promicanje *toga* često bilo dočekivano s ljutnjom i ogorčenjem jer je donosilo konotacije oslobođanja od krivnje (što je dovelo do drugog prioriteta: pravde). Iako su uvijek razumljivi i, po mome mišljenju, često moralno legitimni kad ih izriču oni koji su stradali od ruku nacionalnog Drugog (Brudholm 2006), takvi osjećaji često su funkcionirali kao manje uvjerljive, posredno prihvaćene moralne osnove nacionalnih diskursa viktimizacije.

Utakvom društvenom kontekstu moramo razumjeti bosanskohercegovačke prakse i predodžbe o pomirenju. Stoga, umjesto da poželjnost pomirenja uzmemo zdravo za gotovo, treba uzeti u obzir njegove političke temelje i implikacije kao i to da je inozemna intervencija, poput liberalno-pluralističkog

multikulturalizma, imala tendenciju učvršćivanja nacionalno-kulturnih granica i njihova diskretnog prikazivanja na račun drugih različitosti i borbi unutar društva (Jansen 2005b, 2007a; Jansen i Löfving 2008). Dok nekoć banalni prijelazi međunacionalnih granica nisu bili svjesni činovi pomirenja, nego samo praktična dimenzija svakodnevnoga života (Bringa 1995), suživot “različitih kultura” i prelazak međunacionalnih granica među njima postali su poslije nedavnog rata slavljene kao moralno dobro samo za sebe. Ironija koja stanovnicima BiH nije promaknula bila je izražena u tome da je oblik “multi-kulti” kampanja kojima je sve rezultiralo podsjećao na titoističke prodike o bratstvu i jedinstvu, no bez socijalizma.

“Balkanski muškarci” u objašnjenjima nacionalističkog rata

Odražavajući općenitije obrasce (Nagel 1998), različiti postjugoslavenski nacionalizmi artikulirali su restriktivne nacionalizirane položaje subjekata i za muškarce i za žene, jasno se zasnivajući na tjelesnozaštitničkoj dimenziji muškosti te skrbničkoj dimenziji ženstva željnoj zaštite. Za raspravu otvorenim ostaje pitanje do koje je mjere to stanje naslijeđeno iz prošlih vremena. Jugoslavenski radnički samoupravni socijalizam jamčio je jednakost muškarcima i ženama kao dio svjetovnih, moderniziranih odnosa između spolova. Međutim, zbog fenomena “dvostrukog tereta”, položaj žene bio je predmetom rasprave i određenih popravniha mjera, što gotovo uopće nije bio slučaj s položajem muškarca (Massey, Hahn i Sekulić 1995). U svakom slučaju, važno je primijetiti da je jugoslavenska vlada, koja se ponosila svojim emancipacijskim postignućima, također opetovano priznavala da su odnosi između spolova bili (“i dalje”) nedovoljno “modernizirani”. To zaostajanje, koje se uglavnom smatralo nedovoljnom emancipacijom žena, pripisivalo se kao krivnja moralno-vjerskoj “zaostalosti” ruralnoga stanovništva. Na sličan je način moje poslijeratno istraživanje u BiH, Srbiji i Hrvatskoj pokazalo da je, uz okrivljavanje nacionalnog Drugog, raširen način neodobravanja nacionalističkog nasilja i posljedičnih gubitaka bio distanciranje od balkanskog primitivizma onih koji su držani odgovornima (Jansen 2005a/c, 2002). U evolucionističkoj paradigmi osobito su stanovnici gradova njegovali jednu verziju balkanizma, smještajući balkanski “Drugi” prije svega na selo (uključujući i selo koje naseljavaju vlastiti sunarodnjaci). Središnji element toga pripisanog primitivizma bila je tradicionalna spolna organizacija života među “seljacima” i osobito pretpostavljeni balkanski model muškosti (cf. Helms 2006, 2008).

Ako je rat bio promatran kao pripadanje muževnoj sferi (i pozitivno, kao muški posao, i negativno, kao izraz balkanskog mačizma), tada se mir često smještao u ženske ruke. Ženske organizacije s različitim razinama posvećenosti feminizmu imale su tu važnu ulogu i, kao što je Elissa Helms (2003a/b, 2007) podrobno analizirala, njihov se aktivizam često oslanjao na “afirmativne

esencijalizme” ženstva. To istodobno može ograničavati i osnaživati: suprotno podvrgavanju slici žena kao pasivnih žrtava ili nacionalnih simbola, one su omogućile aktivno stvaranje rodni uloga (cf. Cockburn 2000). Uzimajući u obzir upozorenja aktivista za ženska prava, međunarodna intervencija u BiH imala je eksplicitnu žensko orijentiranu dimenziju, barem na deklarativnoj razini. Dok je to bilo poboljšanje rodno slijepih i stoga na muškarce orijentiranih programa, također je proizvelo i određen stupanj getoizacije, s obzirom na to da su lokalni procesi pomirenja često uključivali rad sa ženama (i djecom), dok su muškarci i dalje u golemu broju naseljavali stolove političkih pregovora (cf. Pessar 2001). To, naravno, odražava patrijarhalne odnose,⁶ uključujući i razmišljanja o izvodljivosti: na terenu je organizacija međunacionalnih ženskih sastanaka često bila povezana s ručnim radom ili skrbničkim aktivnostima te stoga manje kontroverzna i izvedbeno lakša od susreta odraslih muškaraca.⁷ Ključni je trenutak činjenica da su se međunacionalne inicijative često pouzdavale u “afirmativni esencijalizam” žena koje su međusobno prepoznavale svoju čovječnost kao žene, i to putem sestrinski emancipirajućeg feminizma ili – mnogo češće – preko majčinstva shvaćenoga patrijarhalno, prepoznajući jedne u drugima patnice (primjerice, znaju “kako je izgubiti sina”).

No, što je s muškarcima? Ako je nacionalistički rat bio povezan s patrijarhalnošću i mačizmom, je li prelazak simboličkih i teritorijalnih međunacionalnih granica doista nužno uključivao razvoj “alternativnih” muškosti (Bracewell 2000:579)? Ili, ako su patrijarhalne slike sadržavale potencijal za premošćavanje kod žena, može li isto biti rečeno za muškarce? Iako mi i samom budi političku neugodu, želim istražiti kako se do zajedničkih temelja međusobnog prepoznavanja može doći izvedbom prelaska granica ne “alternativnih”, već hegemonizirajućih, patrijarhalnih muškosti. U pristupu koji ne uzima zdravo za gotovo moralnu superiornost pomirenja ili prelazak nacionalnih granica kao takvog, moje pitanje glasi: putem koje normativne i normalizirane rodne putanje mogu muškarci iz BiH prelaziti bivše prve

⁶ Riječ “patrijarhalno” ovdje upotrebljavam kako bih uputio na strukturalnu nadmoć muškoga roda u kontekstu normativnih heteroseksualnih rodbinskih odnosa. Dok istražujem neke specifične dimenzije muškosti u bosanskohercegovačkim poslijeratnim međunacionalnim susretima, to ne znači da tvrdim kako je “bosanska kultura” posebnice patrijarhalna, s obzirom na to da nemam iskustva s društvom koje ne bih nazvao patrijarhalnim.

⁷ Važno je imati na umu da su česti prelasci granica i bratska suradnja svakako cvali među pripadnicima paravojnih formacija te političkim i ekonomskim protagonistima rata u BiH. Nekoliko uvida koje je šira javnost imala u njihovu suradnju pokazalo je ugodnu atmosferu muškaraca koji se međusobno razumiju i poštuju. Memoari također kazuju da su pregovori što ih je vlada SAD vodila u zračnoj bazi Dayton (koji su uključivali samo jednu pregovarateljicu) bili praćeni gotovo karikaturnim mačističkim scenarijem besanih noći ispunjenih viskijem u zadimljenim prostorijama.

linije borbe upravo kao muškarci? Kako se takvi rodni obrasci odigravaju na prelascima međunacionalnih granica kod običnih ljudi, daleko od svjetala međunarodnog skrbništva?⁸ Da bismo to istražili, pogledajmo primjer.

Poslijeratni muževni susreti i “normalan život”

U proljeće 2001. godine prisustvovao sam organizacijskom sastanku projekta povratka kojemu su predsjedali stranci, u selu koje ću zvati Zubovo⁹ na “međuetničkoj liniji razgraničenja” u sjeveroistočnoj BiH. Tijekom rata, Zubovo je došlo pod kontrolu Vojske Republike Srpske i gotovo svi njegovi bošnjački stanovnici izbjegli su na susjedni teritorij koji je držala Armija BiH, dok su mnogi srpski prognanici iz drugih krajeva stizali u selo. Pripisano Republici Srpskoj, postalo je odredištem povratka Bošnjaka potkraj devedesetih godina. Na sastanku kojemu sam prisustvovao većina je sudionika govorila u svojstvu predstavnika ili potencijalnih bošnjačkih povratnika ili Srba koji su tijekom rata ostali u Zubovu. Nijedan predstavnik velikog broja Srba doseljenih u Zubovo kao prognanika nije sudjelovao, no poslije, kad smo otišli na kavu na obližnju terasu kafića, neki od njih, uglavnom mlađi muškarci, zastajkivali su, pili pivo iz boce i promatrali nas s tihim neprijateljstvom. Ipak ću se usredotočiti na one koji su bili za stolom: također sami muškarci, međusobno vrlo različiti, Bošnjaci i Srbi. Primjerice, bio je tu stariji muškarac poznat po mudrosti i iskustvu, jedan mlad i visoko obrazovan te nekoliko sredovječnih: jedan s dobrim vezama u humanitarnim organizacijama, zatim nedavni povratnik iz Njemačke koji je bio naočigled bogatiji od većine, pa član neke nenacionalne političke stranke itd.

Usprkos svim tim razlikama, naš razgovor na terasi u početku je bio prilično rezerviran, no vrlo se brzo razvio nakon što se stopio oko dvije na prvi pogled jednoglasne teme: prvo, potrebe za stranom financijskom podrškom koja bi omogućila uvjete ponovnog stvaranja “normalnoga života” u selu i, drugo, prekrasnih, a podcijenjenih značajki Zubova. Posljednja je dimenzija djelomično didaktički oblikovana oko moje prisutnosti. Kako sam bio obaviješten, Zubovo je “jedna od najstarijih naseobina na Balkanu” s arheološkim nalazištem koje je moglo potvrditi tu tvrdnju. Osobito u usporedbi s nedalekim selom s druge

⁸ Moja je prisutnost, naravno, i dalje implicirala inozemni pogled, iako nikad nisam radio ni za koju stranu organizaciju. Bez sumnje, neki su ljudi zbog moje prisutnosti ublažavali stavove za koje su očekivali da ću ih smatrati “primitivnima”, no, kao što ću podrobnije opisati kasnije, kao neoženjen, visokoobrazovan europski muškarac bez djece, star tridesetak godina, često sam pružao povod za bosanska razmišljanja o muškosti. Tada izazov nije neutralizirati vlastitu “inostranost”, nego je dobro upotrijebiti u etnografske svrhe, kombinirajući dugogodišnju jezičnu i društveno-kulturnu bliskost s neprestanom sposobnošću distanciranja.

⁹ Zubovo i sva vlastita imena u ovom tekstu su pseudonimi.

strane linije razgraničenja u kojemu su prognani Bošnjaci sada živjeli, Zubovo je bilo “superiorno”. Bez obzira na nacionalnosti, ti (bivši) stanovnici Zubova smatrali su se plemenitijima i boljima od stanovnika susjednog mjesta, čije je bogatstvo, kako su tvrdili, zapravo uvijek bilo posljedicom izvrsnog položaja sela koji je omogućavao trgovinu na crno. S druge strane, narod iz Zubova, nastavljala se priča, uvijek je bio poznat kao radišan. I, netko je dodao, kao narod koji se znao zabavljati: ljudi željni zabave dolazili su iz cijeloga kraja, posebice zato što je Zubovo “oduvijek imalo najbolje djevojke”. Ta je izjava izazvala opće slaganje i odredila je ton razgovora za idućih sat vremena. Nacionalnost se u tom razgovoru nije pojavila, a on se vodio – uz šalu, glasno i veselo – o zaslugama Zubova u njegovoj sposobnosti da predvidi i zadovolji heteroseksualne muževne želje.

Za moju je analizu ključ opisane scene u stupnju postignutoga međusobnog poštovanja koje, koliko god djelomično, na izrazito rodni način omogućuje muškarcima da se susreću kao muškarci. Na osnovi analize popularne kulture devedesetih godina dvadesetoga stoljeća u Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, Tanja Pavlović (1999:142-145) tvrdila je da su esencijalizirane seksualizirane kategorije muškaraca i žena, često praćene očekivanjima muževne predatorske heteroseksualnosti, zapravo bile vrlo uobičajene u nenacionalističkim ili antinacionalističkim kontekstima. Dijelim njezinu averziju prema onome što ona naziva “hipermuževnošću” i vjerujem da je točno uočila njenu mizoginiju i homofobiju (također vidi Bjelić i Cole 2002:295; Ugrešić 1998; Čolović 1994:76) iako bih oklijevao pri povezivanju takvih obrazaca posebno za Balkan. No, u svrhu moje argumentacije u ovome tekstu dimenzija njezina članka koja najviše govori jest upozoravanje na mogućnost pretpostavke da postjugoslavenski muškarci različitih nacionalnih pripadnosti mogu biti ekvivalentni u svome odnosu prema ženama kao predmeti heteroseksualne želje. Ako takva potencijalno zajednička osnova postoji, to ima važne implikacije za rodnu analizu prelaska međunacionalnih granica. Naime, to bi značilo da, iako su često bile artikulirane u obliku nacionalističkog nasilja, patrijarhalne muškosti također imaju sposobnost oblikovanja međusobnog prepoznavanja i priznanja. Čak ni kad im ništa drugo nije zajedničko, muškarci povezani s međusobno zaraćenim stranama mogu barem imati zajedničko iskustvo suočavanja s društvenim očekivanjima vezanim uz muškost.

Stoga je ključno pitanje koji su modaliteti muškosti omogućivali muškarcima da kao muškarci prelaze poslijeratne granice u BiH? Moguća osnova za međusobno prepoznavanje bio bi “obrambeni identitet” za koji Bašić (2004:108) smatra da prevladava među intervjuiranim bivšim vojnicima u Srbiji, Hrvatskoj i BiH. Taj diskurs rekonstruira ratno iskustvo kao manjak izbora u izvanrednim okolnostima: čovjek je jednostavno morao braniti sebe, svoje kućanstvo (te posebice svoju ženu i djecu) i svoj teritorij.

Takva perspektiva kojom se izbjegava krivnja, naglašava Bašić, omogućuje rekonstrukciju pozitivne slike o sebi na izuzetno rodan način, budući da je obrana promatrana kao muški posao (ibid.:109; cf. Milićević 2006). U svom istraživanju među bosanskim prognanicima i povratnicima s obje strane linije razgraničenja također sam uvidio da su takve slike o sebi uobičajene, no situacija je postala mnogo složenija u slučaju pravog prelaska međunacionalne granice poput onoga u Zubovu. Naime, bili su to susreti muškaraca koji su možda dijelili zajedničku "obrambenu" sliku o sebi, no koji su vjerovali da su branili posve suprotne stvari, vrlo vjerojatno u napadima jedni protiv drugih (cf. 2007b).¹⁰ U svrhu prelaska međunacionalne granice naglasak je stoga obično stavljen na specifičnu dimenziju tog "obrambenog" lajtmotiva: nedostatak izbora u izuzetnim okolnostima. To je naglašavanje omogućilo izbjegavanje kontroverznih tema, učvršćujući time ujedno važnost ponovne izgradnje "normalnoga života".

Ipak, život u poslijeratnoj BiH bio je smatran daleko od "normalnoga", pa propitajmo stoga dublje pitanje kako su muškarci uspostavili međusobno prepoznavanje čovječnosti povezano s "normalnim životom" u obliku roda. Dio inspiracije za moj pristup dolazi iz knjige *The Poetics of Manhood* Michaela Herzfelda, u kojoj on razvija pojam "izvedbene izvrsnosti" (*performative excellence*). Herzfeld tvrdi da seljanima s Krete s kojima je radio naglasak nije toliko bio na "biti dobar muškarac", nego na "biti *dobar* u tome što si muškarac", odnosno "sposobnost dovođenja muškosti u prvi plan radnjama koje očigledno 'govore za sebe'" (kurziv u izvorniku, Herzfeld 1985:16). U BiH sam se i sâm susreo s takvom procjenom "izvedbene izvrsnosti", no među ljudima koji nisu bili pripadnici elita u poslijeratnome kontekstu obično se činilo da nije pridavana tolika pozornost takvim hvalisavim, individualističkim predstavljanjima samoga sebe. Umjesto toga, najčešće sam uočavao normativni naglasak na svrsishodnosti; od muškaraca se očekivalo da dokažu kako su "dovoljno muški" da bi se u dovoljnoj mjeri prilagodili hegemonizirajućim očekivanjima muškosti. Stoga ću govoriti o "izvedbenoj kompetenciji". Usredotočujući se na prelasku međunacionalne granice, istražiti ću motive koje su muškarci razvili kako bi dali bit međusobnom prepoznavanju zajedničke čovječnosti.

Slavljenje predatorske heteroseksualne muškosti: frajer

Povežimo susret iz Zubova s kratkotrajnim približavanjem protagonista filma *Ničija zemlja*. Zajedničko tlo koje u trenutku postoji između Čikija i Nina nije vođeno apstraktnim spomenom opće čovječnosti, nego je razvijeno na

¹⁰ Uznemiravajuće paralele s tim procesom mogu se pronaći u sudbonsnim srebreničkim razgovorima između pukovnika nizozemskog UN-ova bataljuna Karremansa i generala VRS Mladića (De Leeuw 2002).

konkretnome motivu muškosti. Razgovor o Sanji, čije karakteristike, osim tjelesnog izgleda, uopće ne komentiraju (prsata, plava, visoka, ima madež) svodi Čikija i Nina na dva muškarca koji dijele heteroseksualnu želju. Čak je i Ninova heteroseksualnost, koji je daleko od pojma uobičajenog mačo lika, iskupljena nakon što Čiki pronade fotografiju golog muškarca u novčaniku njegova (sunarodnjaka Srbina) mučitelja. Kao što vidimo, kontekst u kojim se njihov razgovor vodi pripada “normalnome životu” predratne, “moderne” BiH. Ne spominju se ljudska prava i mir, a nema ni dodirnih točaka s tradicionalističkom muževnošću koja se pripisuje “seljacima” i stoga se povezuje s nacionalizmom. Preslikavajući mnoge formalne aspekte takvih “tradicionalnih” modela, Čikijevo i Ninovo prelaženje nacionalne granice oblikovano je prikazivanjem izvedbene kompetencije muškosti koja ih smješta među “moderne” heteroseksualne poznavatelje žena kao seksualnih objekata. Taj ću motiv nazvati *frajer*.

Na bosanskom, hrvatskom i srpskom jeziku *frajer* je raširen kolokvijalan pojam što označava muškarca koji pokazuje određene *cool* karakteristike. Upotrebljavaju ga i muškarci i žene, a iako se često koristi kao neutralna riječ za bilo kojeg muškarca, kad se upotrebljava samostalno (*on je frajer*), obično se odnosi na oblik mlade, neodgovorne, hvalisave, ali nonšalantne heteroseksualne muškosti.¹¹ Važno je reći da se ta riječ, kao i *macho* u Južnoj Americi (Gutmann 1996) upotrebljava i u pozitivnom i u negativnom, malčice ironičnom značenju. Dok se kod malenog dječaka trud da bude *frajer* često smatra prihvatljivim i zabavnim, od odraslog se muškarca zahtijeva uravnoteženost: kako bi bio *frajer* na pozitivan način, ne smije se previše truditi jer će ga pretjerivanje sasvim sigurno izvrgnuti ruglu. Pojam *frajera* stoga uključuje široko pokazivanje izvedbene kompetencije, no ovdje se usredotočujem upravo na njegovu dimenziju projiciranja heteroseksualne želje i njene povezanosti s “normalnim životom”. Čikijevo i Ninovo kratkotrajno međusobno prepoznavanje kao *frajera* budi šire očekivanu normalnost, a događaj iz Zubova također je slavio upravo taj heteroseksualni, muževni aspekt “normalnoga života”.

Spomenut ću još jedan primjer. Kad sam posjetio zaselak u Republici Srpskoj s nacionalno miješanom skupinom Bosanaca istražujući mogućnosti projekta povratka i obnove, postariji nam je čovjek prišao kako bismo razgovarali. Obraćajući se sustavno svima nama, uključujući i nekolicinu četrdesetpetogodišnjih očeva, s *momci*, žalio je nad odlaskom svoje djece koja su utočište potražila u inozemstvu te nad uništenjem svoje kuće:

¹¹ Etimološki dolazi iz njemačkog *Freier*, što označava muškarca koji posjećuje prostitutke. U jidišu i poljskome ta riječ označava *bezveznjaka*. Rječnici upućuju na slična negativna značenja u bosanskom, hrvatskom i srpskom jeziku, no nikad nisam čuo da se riječ tako upotrebljava. Njeno je značenje mnogo bliže onome u češkom, u kojemu je, primjerice, film Stuarda Rosenberga *Cool Hand Luke* (1967) preveden kao *Frajer Luke*.

Nas je ovdje devetoro živjelo. Za ovu kuću sam četiri godine crnčio u Iraku. A vidite je sad. Sve to nije imalo smisla, ništa od toga nije moralo bit. Politika nas zajebala. Neki tamo gore su znali šta će bit, a ne valja to. Kome je sve ovo trebalo? Momci poput vas su poginuli. Ali momci ne bi trebali poginut, nego bi trebali ganjat cure.

Kao što smo vidjeli, ratna iskustva mogu dobiti značenje unutar očekivanja hegemonizirane muškosti pozivanjem na njezinu obrambenu dimenziju. No, slučajevi pokazuju da je takva očekivanja također bilo moguće rastegnuti predstavljanjem muškaraca kao *frajera* koji bi u “normalnom životu” – neopterećenom odgovornošću obrane što se zahtijeva u izvanrednim okolnostima – bili vođeni zdravom heteroseksualnom željom.

Dopustite da vam predstavim Nenada Neleta Uzelca. Tog sportski građenog muškarca u ranim četrdesetim godinama predstavio mi je naš zajednički znanac, Bošnjak, kao Srbina koji je ostao u svom malom federacijskom gradu tijekom rata. Taj je čovjek nastavio suživot sa sugrađanima različitih nacionalnosti. Nakon što je 1992. godine odbio uzeti oružje koje je u to vrijeme lokalnim Srbima dijelila “jugoslavenska” vojska, nadao se da će i poslije uspjeti izbjeći mobilizaciju u Armiju BiH, no ipak se našao na bojištu. Svaki put kad bismo se susreli Nele Uzelac zabavljao me svojim pričama; među ostalim, za tri je vodeće nacionalističke stranke kazao kako su pune zadržanih, nazadnih i korumpiranih kriminalaca. Pritom se ponosio vlastitom samosviješću kad je riječ o odgovornosti, vjerovanju, ponašanju i znanju. Nele Uzelac nedvojbeno je u svome gradu uživao reputaciju *face*: svaki put kad je izašao iz stana, s njim su se rukovali brojni muškarci. Volio je istaknuti svoju ljubav prema sportu (kao igrač, učitelj i trener), prema prirodi (kao šetač te kao čovjek koji poznaje i voli prirodu) te, na poslijetku, prema piću i društvu žena. “Nikad ne odbijam piće ni pičku”, znao je reći. Neovisno o tome je li se doista toliko opijao te imao brojne seksualne odnose, individualnost koju je toliko njegovao time je bila duboko rodno i seksualno obojena te mu je, kao posljedicu, njegov konkretan način uspostavljanja izvedbene kompetencije kao muškarca donio odobravanje mnogih zbog toga što se prikazao kao *frajer*, no jednako je tako pridonio i tome da su mu se drugi upravo zbog toga izrugivali.

Popularna kultura i njen “urbani” kredibilitet pružaju velike mogućnosti za takvo samopozicioniranje jer su slična prikazivanja i slavljenja muške želje za ženskim tijelima bila osnovni sastojak predratne bosanskohercegovačke (i šire jugoslavenske) filmske, televizijske i glazbene produkcije. One nisu bile samo dominantno muške već su i neprestano reciklirale temu žene kao seksualnog objekta. U glazbi se te scene danas mnogi nostalgично prisjećaju u oštrom kontrastu s *narodnjacima* koji su dominirali poslije. Bez obzira na tako postavljene kontraste, koji su često bili povezivani s (anti)nacionalizmom, u smislu motiva

muškosti, jugoslavenski rock i njegovi poslijeratni (rock, hip hop i dr.) nasljednici često su samoprogllašene moderne varijante na temu tih narodnjaka.¹² U *Baladi o Pišonji i Žugi*, primjerice, sarajevska skupina Zabranjeno pušenje pjeva kako lik imena Lepi savjetuje dva muška protagonista o motorističkom izletu na Jadran: “more je provod, more su koke”. Drugi lik, Moke, dodaje da se “strankinje praskaju pravo i da je u Zaostrugu u kampu svaku noć drugu jebav’o”. Iako obično bez takvih slikovitih detalja, od mnogih sam urbanih muškaraca čuo sjećanja na heteroseksualne avanture tijekom odmora provedenih na moru, često kao pokušaj da ublaže endogamni obrazac te da daju širu ilustraciju mjere do koje su nacionalne granice nekada bile nevažne.

Muškost, stereotipi i kulturna intimnost

Do sada je moja analiza bila uglavnom u skladu s pronalaženjem poveznica između mačizma i kulturnih oblika kad je riječ o temi “balkanskih muškaraca” u orijentaliziranim zamišljajima zapadnjaka (cf. Todorova 1997; Bjelić i Cole 2002; Bracewell 2005), no i kod samih Bosanaca i Hercegovaca (Helms 2006; Jansen 2008). Motiv *frajera* stoga može djelovati kao nešto modernija, popularnom kulturom poduprta verzija stereotipa o “balkanskome muškarcu”. Međutim, cilj mi nije ocijeniti postoji li doista posebna balkanska muškost, a još manje može li ona objasniti nasilje devedesetih godina (ponajprije, to bi zahtijevalo komparativni rad s muškarcima u “nebalkanskom” kontekstu). No, svakako tvrdim da moramo priznati postojanje određenoga konsenzusa među ljudima u BiH o važnosti određenih oblika muškosti za nedavnih događanja, čak i ako ih ocjenjujemo na različite načine. Samoprogllašeni ratnici za nacionalnu stvar upotrijebili su “tradicionalnu muškost” kao pozitivan idiom samoidentifikacije, a zauzvrat su ih kao takve okrivili njihovi protivnici koji su sebe smatrali u najmanju ruku oslobođenima toga balkanskog mačizma. U takvom rodnom balkanističkom (a ne balkanskom) okviru, muškarci uključeni u nastojanja da se postigne “pomirenje” često su bili optuživani za nedostatak muškosti. To ne znači da je samopovezivanje nacionalista s muževnošću vodilo

¹² Primjerice, u *Leksikonu YU-mitologije* (Adrić, Arsenijević i Matić 2005) te u rock dokumentarcu Igora Mirkovića *Sretno dijete* (2003). Što se tiče filmova, uz poneku iznimku, ženske uloge su u skladu sa stereotipom kurve/djevice/majke (cf. Arsić 2000). U mnogim je nedavnim produkcijama to zadržano, pri čemu se kao važna tema javlja međunacionalna ljubavna veza. Primjerice, prva visokobudžetna postjugoslavenska koprodukcija, film Rajka Grlića *Karaula* (2006), ističe zajedničke karakteristike beogradskog Srbina i splitskog Hrvata u predratnoj jugoslavenskoj vojsci proizašle iz urbanog života i popularne kulture, uključujući heteroseksualnu maskulinu želju kao sredstvo za prelazak granice među nacijama. Film Ahmeda Imamovića *Go West* (2005), na očigled se trudeći da razbije tabue vezane uz (međunacionalnu) mušku homoseksualnost u BiH, završava potvrdom nekih od najgorih mizoginih i homofobnih stereotipa koji postoje.

izravno do (dis)kvalifikacije antinacionalizma kao ženskog. Prije bi se moglo reći da su antinacionalistički aktivisti često bili označavani kao nedovoljno *heteroseksualni* (Jansen 2008; cf. Helms 2006:355, 2007). Ključno je primijetiti da su se takvom rodnom i seksualnom manjkavošću često označavale i aktivistkinje, osobito, iako ne isključivo, ako su bile feministkinje.

Stoga, dok se mi, zapadnjački antropolozi, moramo čuvati svoga nenamjernog balkanizma, ne možemo objasniti važnost društveno određenih očekivanja pred koja je stavljena muškost u funkciji samo našeg egzotizma. Ispravljanjem nekih generalizacija iznesenih u prije objavljenim tekstovima, novijim radovima o muškosti nestaju homogenizirani rodni "modeli",¹³ a čini se da je moje naglašavanje krenulo korak unatrag. Međutim, vjerujem da, uz različitost i otpor (u ovom kontekstu: kontrahegemonijska, alternativna muškost u BiH), antropologija *također* treba istraživati i jednako i komformistično i uobičajeno. Osobito takav pristup može pridonijeti objašnjenju zbog čega neki obrasci ponašanja i interakcije postaju smatrani normativnim dijelom kulturne intimnosti (Herzfeld 1996). Stoga, za moju analizu u ovome tekstu, umjesto impliciranja da svi "balkanski" muškarci dijele jednaku specifičnu muškost, to znači priznanje da su određeni aktivno generalizirani, homogenizirani obrasci muškosti u očima većine i Zapadnjaka i Bosanaca smatrani na neki način tipičnima za BiH (ili za Balkan). Za svakog pojedinca ta percepcija može biti dijelom osjećaja ponosa ili srama ili ljutnje, no teško je ne obraćati pozornost na nju. Osim proučavanja načina na koje joj ljudi prkose, etnografija je odlično oruđe za istraživanje kako stupnjevi entuzijastičnog ili nevoljkog popuštanja takvim očekivanjima ima smisla pojedinim osobama u pojedinim kontekstima i kako prakse tih ljudi oblikuju hegemoniju ili njene stupnjeve. Stoga, kako bismo ostali vjerni dinamičnoj Gramscijevoj konceptualizaciji hegemonije kao nikad završene borbe, govorim o "hegemonizirajućoj" muškosti.

Godinama su ljudi u postjugoslavenskim državama ispitivali, nježno ili grubo, moju izvedbenu kompetenciju u smislu onoga što je bilo smatrano primjerenom muževnošću.¹⁴ Obično kao dio šaljivih komentara i uz diskretne

¹³ Cf. Vale de Almeida 1995; Gutmann 1996; Loizos i Papataxiarchis 1991; Cornwall i Lindisfarne 1994. Moje bavljenje normativnim i normaliziranim očekivanjima muškosti izraženim putem motiva "oca" i frajera oslanja se na model Davida Gilmorea o "Muškarcu-Oplođivaču-Zaštitniku-Hranitelju obitelji" (1990:223). Međutim, ne bih potpisao Gilmoreov funkcionalistički pristup koji konceptualizira muškost kao niz modela muškosti što održavaju društveni red niti sam u položaju tvrditi da to trojstvo donosi transkulturalno "široko rasprostranjenog ako ne i Univerzalnog Muškarca" (ibid.). Istodobno vjerujem da najbolji kontraargument ne počiva u reduciranju tih motiva muškosti na ili isključivo zapadnjačke stereotipe ili na kulturno specifičan kontekst Balkana.

¹⁴ Budući da sam proveo cijelo razdoblje odrastanja u okruženju belgijsko-flamanske i nizozemske radničke klase, samo mi je *stil* ovog iskustva bio nov. Dok je motiv *frajera* bio

ili manje diskretne upite o mojoj, čini se, ne tako primjetnoj heteroseksualnosti, često su me znanci, suputnici u autobusu, zaposlenici veleposlanstva i mnogi drugi muškarci (te priličan broj žena) u BiH, Srbiji i Hrvatskoj (uz namigivanje) pitali što mislim o “našim djevojkama”. Kao što smo vidjeli u Zubovu, drugim su mjestima pripisane njihove reputacije. Stupnjevanje se nije ticalo samo ženske poželjnosti; također postoje i mnoge šale koje se bave mjerenjem stupnja *frajerštine* muškaraca različitih nacionalnosti s područja bivše Jugoslavije.¹⁵ Međutim, čini se da su takva razlikovanja izgubila važnost u usporedbi sa mnom, nedobrovoljnim predstavnikom svega zapadnoga. Zapad je u takvim slučajevima projiciran kao Drugo u smislu rodnih očekivanja i dana mu je neupitno niska razina *frajerskoga* kredibiliteta.

Da zaključimo: pojam *frajera* upotrijebio sam kako bih predstavio motiv hegemonizirajuće muškosti – uvelike dogovoran i naturaliziran (Connell 1995; Gutmann 1997) – za koji su muškarci u BiH osjećali da ga mogu upotrijebiti kako bi dobili međusobno prepoznavanje s obje strane nacionalne granice. Prikazujući izvedbenu kompetenciju kao *frajer* nije značilo da životi muškaraca doista odražavaju takva normativna očekivanja, već da ih nisu uspjeli u potpunosti ignorirati, s obzirom na to da stvaraju utjecaj – ako ništa drugo, barem kao stereotipi. I dok bi se neki od njih stoga ponosili višim stupnjem *frajerstva* u odnosu na Zapadnjake, drugi bi se distancirali od onoga što su smatrali tipičnim balkanskim rodnim očekivanjima te se proglasili više europskima, modernima i po tom pitanju vlasnicima zapadnjačkih vrijednosti (cf. Helms 2006).

Ipak, izvedbena kompetencija *frajera* samo je jedan od glavnih hegemonizirajućih rodnih motiva putem kojih muškarci u poslijeratnoj BiH mogu olakšati međusobno prepoznavanje. Čak i u razgovoru Nina i Čikija brzo izmijenjene rečenice o Sanji koja je napustila BiH pokazuju da je dozivanje “normalnog života” kao zajedničkog tla otišlo dalje od *frajerskog* kredibiliteta. Tako su i mnogi moji sugovornici stavili naglasak na roditeljsku skrb, no opet po balkanističkom obrascu: tvrdili su da su snažnije, toplije obiteljske veze, uključujući i razvijeniji smisao za očinsku odgovornost, zapravo tipične za Balkan i da su se “izgubile” u hladnom, na novac usredotočenom Zapadu.

nešto manje izražen u mome tamošnjem iskustvu, ispitivanja o mogućem nastanku kućanstva standardna su i otkad sam krenuo na fakultet muškarci iz moga susjedstva i šire rodbine ispitivali su me “što zapravo radim” (odražavajući vrednovanje tjelesnog rada i tehničkog znanja, pitanje je obično bilo praćeno pogledom na nečije ruke).

¹⁵ Primjerice, u šali *Što radi žena između Slovenca? Smeta!* dvostruko djelovanje postignuto je verzijom u kojoj je žena dodatno karakterizirana kao *Mađarica*. Slovenci, kao “najzapadniji” narod bivše Jugoslavije, općenito su u takvim stupnjevanjima ocijenjeni niskim statusom *frajerštine*, dok su mađarske djevojke, prije svega u Srbiji, često stereotipizirane kao iznimno aktivne i maštovite.

Prema tome, pomnija analiza ističe drugi dominantan motiv, čija bi izvedbena kompetencija mogla dovesti do međusobnog prepoznavanja: čak i važniji, iako na prvi pogled manje uočljiv, motiv, koji nazivam *očinski*.

Od frajera do oca (a katkad i natrag)

Iako su motivi oca i *frajera* na određene načine međusobno suprotstavljeni (zaštitnički/predatorski, ozbiljan/neozbiljan, odgovoran/neodgovoran, štedljiv/raspikuća, skroman/hvalisav), oba mogu biti analizirana kao varijante hegemonizirajuće teme normativnih očekivanja heteroseksualne patrijarhalne muškosti. U svome istraživanju u BiH spoznao sam da ih se općenito drži za dvije faze životnoga ciklusa – od *frajera* do oca – ali, u carstvu verbalne izvedbe, bilo je mnogo mogućnosti za prelazak iz jedne u drugu.

Vidjeli smo kako je, kao dodatak pitanju čije su djevojke najprivlačnije, interakcija na terasi u Zubovu dobila poticaj još jednom temom: marljivošću seljana te potrebom za stranom financijskom pomoći koja bi ponovno stvorila kontekst u kojemu bi ta karakteristika opet izašla na svjetlo dana kao dio “normalnoga” života. Na sličan je način izvedba muškosti Neleta Uzelca uključivala pripisivanje seksualnih osvajanja, no također i očinskih odgovornosti. Njegove su se ratne priče vrtjele oko preživljavanja kućanstva, a ne akcija na prvoj liniji bojišnice. Osim što je svojoj obitelji bio glavni izvor zarade kao muž i otac (njegova su žena i kći također zarađivale), Nele Uzelac dobivao je snažan osjećaj vrijednosti svojim zanimanjem učitelja i sportskog trenera, što je uključivalo određenu razinu lokalnog priznanja ljudi koji su mu povjeravali svoju djecu. Također je vodio šetnje, skupljao voće za druge te davao savjete o šumskom okolišu. Ponosio se tim aktivnostima te je, osim svoga *frajerskoga* kredibiliteta, na taj način naglašavao svoju izvedbenu kompetenciju kao muškarac koji je preuzeo odgovornost za svoje kućanstvo i svoj okoliš (cf. Jansen 2003).¹⁶

¹⁶ Autobiografska bilješka: kao mlada, neoženjena stranca, i muškarci i žene različitih životnih dobi u nebrojenim su me prigodama – često u šali, a katkad čak i prijeteći – uvjerovali: “Naći ćemo ti jednu našu.” U svjetlu opisanoga, to je različitim ljudima značilo različite stvari: od toga da će za mene kao *frajera* koji sam mogao biti pronaći seksualnu partnericu do ženu za oca koji bih mogao postati. Kao takvo, ispitivanje i procjenjivanje o kojemu sam pisao nije se odnosilo samo na moj (“tipično zapadnjački”) nedostatak izvedbene kompetencije kao *frajera*. Prije bi se moglo reći da se ono zasnivalo na mojoj nesposobnosti da budem uredan primjerak jednog od dvaju dominantnih motiva prihvatljive muškosti koja mi je pripisana u “normalnome životu”: ozbiljan, visokoobrazovan, oženjen otac koji dobro zarađuje ili neozbiljan, neodgovoran, nevezan *frajer* u potrazi. Budući da nisam bio nijedno od toga, a imao sam neke značajke obiju kategorija, takvi su komentari bili neizostavan dio moga života u BiH. Znakovito, Elissa Helms ispričala mi je da su, prema njezinome iskustvu antropologinje u Bosni i Hercegovini, takvi uzvici bili usmjereni izravno prema braku: “Mi ćemo te ovdje udati!”

Motivi frajera i oca ne prikazuju u tolikoj mjeri strog vremenski slijed na životnom putu, već se mogu isprepletati te se naizmjenice buditi i aktivirati. Primjerice, nakon što nas je stariji gospodin u jednom zaselku podsjetio da bi u "normalnom životu" momci trebali "ganjati cure", naša nacionalno miješana radna grupa koja se bavila obnovom otišla je na piće u kafanu u blizini Zvornika, također u Republici Srpskoj. Budući da više nije bilo tehničkih pojedinosti o kojima smo mogli razgovarati, zakopani u vonju ulja za prženje i cigaretnog dima, okruženi muškarcima u trenirkama i kožnim jaknama, bilo nam je potrebno nekoliko rundi rakije kako bismo iznad prljavih platnenih stolnjaka probili međunacionalni led. Atmosfera je postala opuštena kad su se teme razgovora počele kretati od cijena različite robe (i gdje je povoljnije nabaviti), glazbe, šverca, nogometa i gradnje kuće do žena. Moja je prisutnost iskorištena kao prilika za balkanističko samostereotipiziranje te podrugljivo ispitivanje moje muškosti. Kao i obično, "politiku" smo pažljivo izbjegavali, osim što smo je, kao prečac, imenovali izvorom sveg zla. Čak i kad smo raspravljali o povratku izbjeglica i deložaciji, opća spominjanja neugodnosti prognaništva služila su za izbjegavanje neugodnih tema. Većina se muškaraca iz naše skupine poznavala još prije rata, što je pobudilo kratka sjećanja na zajedničke prijatelje. No, takve teme mogu postati osjetljive, što je postalo vidljivo iz kratka razgovora između Dragana Milića, prognanoga srpskog urbanista iz Sarajeva, i Faruka Sokolovića, prognanog Bošnjaka, inženjera iz Bratunca. Obojica su bila sredovječni očevi i kad je prvi pitao drugoga poznaje li stanovitog Izeta, njegova staroga (bošnjačkog) prijatelja s fakulteta kojeg nije vidio petnaest godina, odgovor je bio: "Da, naravno... Poginuo je. Bio je u Srebrenici. Nije mogao izaći..." Nakon toga, razgovor se brzo prebacio na brige što su ih dijelili kao očevi koji se trude svojoj djeci osigurati pristojne životne mogućnosti.

Međutim, Faruk Sokolović vješto se prebacio s pokazivanja svoje izvedbene kompetencije oca na onu *frajera* kad je ušao u razgovor s drugim muškarcem koji je sjedio za stolom, tridesetpetogodišnjim Srbinom, prognanikom imena Petar Živojinović, svima znanom kao Gusar. Svojim debelim zlatnim lancem i sjajnom bijelom trenirkom, Gusar je odavao razmetljivu sliku sitnoga kriminalca. Pušeći skupe strane cigarete, hvalio se novčanim napretkom svojih aktivnosti krijumčarenja luksuzne robe i glazbenih snimaka. Gusar je nekoliko godina proveo u Beogradu, glavnom gradu Srbije, a to je razdoblje nazvao najboljim u svome životu:

Bio sam Bog! Bilo je dana... sjedim, noge na stolu, a novac i dalje dolazi: 500 maraka tu, 1000 maraka tamo. Kažem: bilo je *pića, pičke i para*. To su bili dani!

Obraćajući se Gusaru nakon što je sudjelovao u zajedničkom prepoznavanju kao očeva s Draganom Milićem, Faruk Sokolović trenutno se prebacio na motiv *frajera*, sjećajući se svojih mladih dana u kojima je vozio brze aute, posjećivao diskoteke i prilazio djevojkama. Iako mu se način izražavanja prilično razlikovao od Gusarova, i on je pokazao izvedbenu kompetenciju kao *frajer*, makar samo retrospektivnom referencom na “te dane”.

Važno je da razumijemo napetost koja je okruživala uspješnu izvedbu motiva oca u odnosu na teške društveno-gospodarske prilike poslijeratne, postsocijalističke BiH (cf. Jansen 2006, 2007a). Uzmimo za primjer Samira, mog prijatelja iz Tuzle, koji je živio sa suprugom Lejлом i njihovom kćeri, tinejdžericom, a koji mi je volio pričati o svojim danima kad je bio *frajer*, kad je izlazio i bio neodgovorni *jebivjetar*. To njegovo predstavljanje samoga sebe potvrdili su i drugi, no ono je postalo samo stvar verbalne izvedbe. U stvarnosti je Samir uložio mnogo vremena i snage kako bi postao odgovoran otac svojoj kćeri i beskrajno se brinuo o tome kako će ispuniti svoje dužnosti skrbnika obitelji. Vjerojatno je najzanimljivije to što je uvijek sam sebe prikazivao kao nezavisnog pojedinca, daleko od onoga što je promatrao kao balkanski “primitivizam”, poput nacionalizma ili patrijarhalnog tradicionalizma. On i njegov prijatelj i bivši kolega Robi, obojica u pedesetima, nisu trebali izgraditi međusobno poslijeratno prepoznavanje jer ga nikad i nisu izgubili iako su po nacionalnosti bili Bošnjak i Srbin (za podroban etnografski opis vidi Jansen 2007b). Budući da su uvelike izbjegavali kontroverzna pitanja *politike*, glavni je motiv njihove muškosti u interakciji bila uloga oca. Dok se Robi uspijevao brinuti o svojoj ženi i djeci (koji su sad u Srbiji), Samir nije. Usprkos njegovim pokušajima zarađivanja neformalnim gospodarskim aktivnostima, Lejla je bila skrbnica u njihovu kućanstvu. Nikad prije nisam vidio Samira tako izgubljena kao onoga dana kad je njegovoj ženi bila odbijena radna viza za Njemačku (gdje je cijela obitelj provela nekoliko godina). Cijele je noći bio izvan kuće i pio; nisam mogao zaključiti što ga više muči: njezino odbijanje u veleposlanstvu ili vlastita nesposobnost da ispuni dio hegemonizirajuće muškosti koja je uopće i dovela do njezine prijave.

Zaključak

U ovome sam tekstu istraživao potencijal za prelazak međunacionalnih granica normativnog i normalizirajućeg očekivanja o muškosti u BiH. S pomoću sjećanja na “normalan život” kao zajedničko tlo za međunacionalne susrete, objasnio sam kako su muškarci prakticirali međusobno prepoznavanje ne pozivajući se na opću zajedničku čovječnost niti na “alternativne” muškosti, već na određene homogenizirajuće rodne motive koje nisu smatrali ni nacionalističkima ni antinacionalističkima. Kao odgovor na diskurse “pomirenja”, koje su promovirali stranci, a u kojima se premošćivanje nacionalnih granica samo po sebi smatra

dobrim, razjasnio sam napetosti između roda i nacionalnosti pri susretima običnih ljudi, analizirajući ih s obzirom na prikazivanje izvedbene kompetencije dvaju motiva hegemonizirajuće muškosti – *frajera* i oca. Ti motivi ne isključuju jedan drugi iako se često normativno prikazuju u kronološkim odsječcima životnoga tijeka. Prije bih rekao da ih se upotrebljava kao normalizirajuća rodna očekivanja u različitim stupnjevima u različitim prigodama, a koriste ih i muškarci, i ljudi koji ih okružuju. S obzirom na prakse, stoga, “zajedničke sadašnjosti” (Borneman 2002:291) koje sam analizirao imale su tendenciju reprodukcije hegemonizirajućih obrazaca više nego priznavanja “raznorodnosti životnih projekata” ili istraživanja “novih iskustava društvenosti” (ibid.). Zapravo, ostajući na razini međusobnih priznavanja važnosti “normalnog života”, ti su bosanskohercegovački muškarci preskočili nacionalne razlike upravo konsolidacijom rodnih razlika: susretali su se kao muškarci koji su bili *frajeri* i/ili očevi, u ekvivalentnom odnosu prema ženama.

S engleskog prevela Sanja Kalapoš-Gašparac

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Pjesme

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JASMINA HUSANOVIĆ

FEMINISTIČKI ASPEKTI POSTKOLONIJALNOG IMAGINARIJA BOSNE

Umjesto uvoda: uvidi/pogledi koje treba njegovati

Dok sam pisala ovaj članak, shvatila sam da – osim raznolikih teorijskih utjecaja na moje promišljanje – također želim ispričati i priču o specifičnom načinu spoznaje putem iskustva: onome što su Grci zvali *pathei mathos*. Pojam se možda najbolje prevodi sljedećom rečenicom: “Svaka drama (djelo/djela) vodi do pathosa (patnje), a iz patnje nastaje mathos (mudrost).” Patnjom do mudrosti, međutim, okarakterizirani su i naponi i borbe za znanje i djelovanje uz gubitke i afekte, često preko osamljenih, nijemih terena gdje tražimo društvo i riječi u pokušaju preoblikovanja budućnosti. U raspravi što slijedi implicitno govorim upravo o toj vrsti saznavanja/iskustva kad je posrijedi potencijal feminizma da iznjedri nove načine promišljanja o sjećanju i teorijske pristupe traumi kroz prizmu postkolonijalnog imaginarija u Bosni i o njoj. U članku tako želim kročiti stopama mnogih mislioca, diskutirajući s njima i onkraj njih, kako bih, riječima Shoshane Felman, pratila njihovo političko obećanje s pozicije kulturnih svjedoka i političkih svjedočenja, “koji pretače traumu kao iskustvo u uvid i čiji inovativni koncepti nam pružaju nova oruđa za razmišljanje” (Felman 2002:8). Ne preobraćamo samo pogled u vid, a vid u uvid kad promatramo stvari kroz leće postkolonijalnog feminizma i pri tome se situiramo u bosanski prostor/vrijeme u univerzalizirajućem smislu, kao još jednu instancu među-pukotina u globalnom *stanju izuzetka* i u prostoru indistinktnosti (g)lokalno.¹ U prostornim/vremenskim zvijezdima koja nastanjujemo moramo pretočiti “traumu kao iskustvo” u “uvid”, pri čemu smo izloženi nedostatku riječi i djela u “konvencionalnoj politici”, a u potrazi smo za, možda, emancipatornim političkim gestama koje pružaju nadu. “Pogled” koji trebamo pretvoriti u “uvid” ne postoji prije traume iskustva u postkolonijalnim

¹ Moja promišljanja o ‘stanju izuzetka’, ‘golom životu’ i ‘zoni indistinkcije’ inspirirana su mišlju Giorgia Agambena.

izuzecima i nerazlučivostima – taj pogled je njen proizvod. Ili, bolje rečeno, trauma kao iskustvo naš je pogled i naš uvid.

Postoji poseban afekt koji proizlazi iz traumatskih čvorišta što oblikuju postkolonijalni imaginarij u Bosni i o Bosni, a potaknut je pitanjima: Kako doći od “znanja” o “drugome”/“nama samima”? Kako to oblikovati u nadajuću politiku ili politiku nade koja bi našim mnogostrukim gubicima, traumama, povredama pripisala kreativno svojstvo i političku produktivnost?² Ta se pitanja trebaju promatrati kroz prizmu kritičkog pristupa crtama razgraničenja u postkolonijalnosti na liniji sjever-jug, istok-zapad i novim odnosima moći. Postkolonijalnost nije, po mome mišljenju, pitanje prostora i lokaliteta smrznutog u vremenu i historiji: riječ je više o kretanju, o putevima i raskrižjima na kojima se spotičemo i nastavljamo putovanje, radi se o stazama koje mukotrпно svojim koracima stvaramo između sebe kroz vrijeme (prošlo-sadašnje-buduće), usprkos nametnutom prostoru ili tvoreći nove. Takvi putevi – staze i raskrižja, slobodni padovi i uzleti – fluidni su, nesigurni i potencijalno subverzivni, često bolni i puni zanosa, ali također podrazumijevaju i postojanje nekih strateških temelja, simboličnih i/li materijalnih.

Temelji: biopolitičke frakture koje nastanjujemo i pre(vazi)lazimo³

Kako bih pronašla te (strateške, a ne ontološke) temelje, i to u dijalogu s mnoštvom mislilaca na ponešto eklektičan način (da spomenem one glavne: Felman, Edkins, Ugrešić, Agamben, Žižek, Butler, Bhabha, Spivak, Mohanty), svoje promišljanje pozicioniram unutar okvira kudikamo većih kulturalnih, političkih i epistemoloških kriza uzrokovanih isprepletenom dinamikom individualne i kolektivne traume, kao i pogubnim individualnim i kolektivnim povijestima (Felman 2002:1), gdje smo “mi” (uključujući feminističke krugove) najslabiji na dvije stvari: zajedništvo i prošlost (Ugrešić 1999:245). Tkanje prostora između nas, pričanje priča o našim gubicima, propitivanje naših starih/novih pripadanja i posjedovanja, ponovno promišljanje i zamišljanje naše prošlosti/sadašnjosti/budućnosti, taljenje novih zajedništava i angažiranje putem nadajućih političkih praksi – ti naponi, koje dijelimo na slične, ali i različite načine, imali su prilično značajne specifičnosti u bosanskome kontekstu. U borbi s dubokim ranama i nasilno nametnutim granicama oko i unutar nas samih, a izbjegavajući zamku identitetske politike, postkolonijalni imaginariji Bosne i Hercegovine pokazuju potencijal građanstva, utemeljen na “vernakularnom kozmopolitizmu kao značajki postkolonijalnog iskustva”,

² Za dodatna objašnjenja o dinamici između gubitka i politike nade, pogledati Uvod u Eng i Kazanjian 2003.

³ U izvorniku stoji riječ ‘traverse’ što znači ‘traverzirati’, ali ovdje je odabrana igra sa sinonimima kao ispravniji prijevod – ‘pre(vazi)laziti’ (prim. aut.)

gdje su vernakularni (pučki!) kozmopoliti u Bosni kao i drugdje upravo “nasljednici Benjaminova pogleda na suvremenost, gdje je svaki čin civilizacije istovremeno i čin barbarstva” (Bhabha 2002:23). Drugim riječima, “vernakularni kozmopoliti nalaze svoj etički i kreativni smjer upravo u učenju te teške lekcije iz ambivalentnosti i strpljivosti” (Bhabha 2002:24).

Gledelekcija ambivalencije i strpljenja, što se da zaključiti iz postkolonijalnih imaginarija Bosne u pitanju borbi za politički glas, prepoznavanja i priznanja onoga što se briše i/ili nasilno omalovažava u operativnim biopolitičkim režimima oko nas (kolonijalnim, patrijarhalnim, neoliberalnim, kapitalističkim, etnonacionalističkim, heterocentričnim i tako dalje)? Ovo izbrisano lice/tijelo simptomatičan je subjekt oksimoronske bosanske političke zajednice – one koja je potučena dvojnomo krizom traume i neimaštine, koja neprestano “čeka” (na listi čekanja, u čekaonici...) da se pravda provede u djelo: da se vrati kući, da se njeni nestali pronađu, da doživi kažnjavanje ratnih zločinaca, da se osjeti sigurnijom u svakodnevnom životu i da se pouzda u svoje izgleda za budućnost dok krpa kraj s krajem. Ona osjeća mnogostrukost političkih dislokacija i marginalizacija dok uviđa da je na kraju tog lanca, osobito ako ćemo se složiti da Balkan utjelovljuje paradoksalnu liminalnost Europe/suvremenosti te da je Bosna na više načina postala dislocirana traumatska jezgra uvijek-već liminalnog Balkana i da “lice/tijelo” koje koristim kao polaznu točku u svojim metaforičnim univerzalizacijama tegoba što nas iznova nastavljaju ranjavati znači iznimku čak i unutar (uvijek-već) dislocirane/liminalne Bosne, kao osamljeni ostatak konvencionalnih političkih registara koje nalazimo u Bosni, na Balkanu, u Europi i globalno. To “lice/tijelo” doista je izvanzemaljski oblik života koji nastanjuje ovozemaljske političke zajednice našega doba. Koji je njen glas, gdje je njen prostor, kakva je njena politika?

Pogled na simboličku i političku konstituciju bosanskih/balkanskih realnosti može nas potaknuti da Balkan smatramo traumom, posebice u odnosu na suverene biopolitičke frakture kao polja borbi političkih tijela/subjektiviteta. Ovdje je na kocki kompleksna dinamika između političke zajednice i traume, s obzirom na “preživjele” i njihov nagon da svjedoče, da govore i/ili da djeluju. Suočeni s nemogućnošću predočavanja trauma i nagonom da joj svjedočimo, neminovno je da samu tu “satjeranost u kut” označimo u govoru i djelima, da tražimo pravdu s radikalno nesigurnog terena. Proces opkruživanja traume umjesto njena pripitomljavanja proizvodi prostor za radikalne repolitizacije nasilnih, isključivih političkih i društvenih mrtvoudica oko nas. Kako Jenny Edkins jezgrovito ističe, unutar toga strujnoga kruga između traume, nasilja i političke zajednice (koja lažno obećava potpunost i sigurnost) nešto se može kvalificirati kao traumatsko ako postoji dramatičan jaz između naših očekivanja i događaja koji uzrokuje nastanak nove strukture osjećaja/spoznaje/subjektivizacije, a koja se doživljava i kao nevjerovatna izdaja i kao

radikalna bespomoćnost (Edkins 2003:9). Prema toj definiciji, današnjica Bosne umnažanje je trauma. Nadalje, politička trauma iznosi nam na vidjelo skrivenu dimenziju unutar isprepletene teksture političke zajednice i nasilja – suočeni smo s inherentnom traumatskom dimenzijom političkoga, koje različite ideološke tehnologije i discipline maskiraju, potiskuju ili ušutkuju. Takvo iskustvo osobnih, društvenih, kulturalnih i političkih lomova i gubitaka bolno ilustrira dinamiku između biopolitike i roda unutar režima moći, kao i činjenicu da im je iskustvo svođenja na goli život bez političke važnosti blisko, kako u vremenima rata tako i doba mira, kako u obitelji tako i u zajednici. Politička je zajednica poput obitelji, oblik zajedništva koje redovito rezultira subjektivizacijskim formacijama nemoći i iznevjerenog povjerenja i pretače se u žarište nasilja i izvore opasnosti za našu društvenost, za naše političko/kulturalno bivanje (Edkins 2003:2-4).

Imajući u vidu da ti društveni konteksti daju značenje našim životima i podupiru naše identitete, kad iluzija izvjesnosti i sigurnosti implodira, otkrivamo traumatsku jezgru i odnose moći koji leže ispod nje – drugim riječima, suočavamo se s radikalnom mrežom okolnosti, društvenih i političkih tvorbi, kao i značenja pripisanih načinima i oblicima života koje smo prije smatrali danima (Edkins 2003:4-5). Ali što je s onim što nastanjuje/utjelovljuje takve biopolitičke frakture i pokušava ih temeljito pretresti? Nije li to lice/tijelo/način i oblik života na frakturi – orođeno, a politički prebrisano – ono što nam je temelj? Upravo to što je radikalno dislocirano iz Bosne, Balkana, Europe, svijeta, što utjelovljuje imploziju konvencionalne prostorne/vremenske politike, a ne pripada svim identitetskim matricama oko nas? Poriv da svjedočimo tom ne-pripadanju mreži političkih poredaka oko nas jest politički čin takve snage da može uzdrmati i pretresti temelje konvencionalnih političkih registara i matrica. Kad smo okruženi stalnim lomovima i ponovnim javljanjima postkolonijalnih/biopolitičkih lomova, lomova dobrim dijelom izazvanih globalnom/lokalnom političkom ekonomijom kapitala, temelje na koje ćemo se osloniti možemo naći načinima svjedočenja koja će uzdrmati i pretresti naše potrage za društvenom i političkom transformacijom te naše kritike isključivih fantazmi identiteta, u kontekstu postkolonijalnih (isključivih i nerazaznatljivih) realnosti.

Politika svjedočenja i politika nade: postkolonijalna književnost

Poslije brojnih istraživanja o politici svjedočenja u određenim izvan-institucijskim prostorima javnosti u bosanskom kontekstu, uključujući kulturnu produkciju, književnost i umjetnost, slobodno se može reći da postoji niz praksi i osoba koje se, po mome mišljenju, bave gubitkom na produktivan način jer upućuju na postojanje politike nade u tako rastrganoj zajednici kao što je Bosna, ali i općenito. Među njima svakako se ističu spisateljski rad Aleksandra

Hemona i Šejle Šehabović kad je posrijedi prepletanje svjedočenja i nade na načine vrijedne da se njima iz postkolonijalnog rakursa pozabave feministička misao i politika.⁴ Ta dva književna angažmana svjesna su potrebe za odbijanjem nametnutih zatvaranja tako što ili gubitak interpretiraju kao kreativan proces ili depatologiziraju naše vezanje čineći vidljivim svoje društvene temelje kao i svoje kreativne, političke aspekte (Eng i Kazanjian 2003:3-4). Njihov je rad u potpunosti posvećen modalitetima postojanja i afektivnim registrima koji ulaganje u “novo” čine zamislivim i vrijednim razmišljanja; to je posebice slučaj s promišljanjem, zamišljanjem i provođenjem alternativnih oblika pripadnosti i zajedništva prema već postojećim, ali marginaliziranim oblicima. Intervencije kao što su fikcija i publicistika Š. Šehabović i A. Hemona pružaju nove jezike i nove smjerove za kritičku transformativnu praksu. One znače perzistentnu dijalogizaciju o takvim glasovima kao i dijalog s njima, otkrivajući kako trauma i negativnost nasilnih trganja u društvenom i političkom tkivu također potiču potencijalno emancipatorne političke geste. One historiziraju načine identifikacije i oblike života u Bosni koji utjelovljuju frakturu unutar naroda – narod koji je dislociran ili isključen iz matrice inskripcije života unutar teritorija/etnonacije/poretka, i koji ne odustaje od svoje liminalnosti. To onome što je prisutno daje vizualni oblik i glas iako je politički definirano kao odsutno, a njegovo postojanje učinjeno nemogućim unutar konvencionalnih političkih registara; ipak, ono je tu u određenim modalitetima pregovaranja zajedništva, pripadanja i djelovanja.

Posrijedi je radikalna način svjedočenja, koji otkriva kontingentnost oblika političke i društvene organizacije koji nas koloniziraju. U suvremenoj se Bosni upravo tu sreću prijeko potrebne emancipativne političke prakse i subjektiviteti iza njih koji dijele novu vrstu solidarnosti kad su u pitanju načini življenja, povezivanja i prosuđivanja koji se identificiraju s traumatiziranim osiromašenim “bosanskim” kao univerzalnim subjektom što nastanjuje same frakture konvencionalne fantazmičke suverene biopolitike, na međi kulturne liminalnosti i političke ničije zemlje. Postoje radikalne vrste svjedočenja o traumama koje istodobno otkrivaju kontingentnost formi političke i društvene organizacije. Kolumna Hemonwood u tjedniku *Dani* što je Aleksandar Hemon piše više od decenije kao kulturni/politički svjedok koji svoja iskustva pretače u uvide, pripada takvoj vrsti svjedočenja. Dotaknuo se i usuda Srebrenice, i to nekoliko puta, primjerice u priči o Azmiru Alispahiću i videozapisu smaknuća skupine mladića iz Srebrenice, uključujući i Azmira, koje su počinili pripadnici srbijanskih Škorpiona. U tekstu “Banalnost zla” Hemon nas provodi kroza svojevršno svjedočenje “čistom zlu” i strahotnoj “banalnosti zla”, gdje se

⁴ Djela Šejle Šehabović i Aleksandra Hemona detaljnije sam u ovom kontekstu analizirala u Husanović 2007 i Husanović 2005.

odjednom nalazimo u situaciji da sebe zamišljamo u poziciji apsolutne žrtve – doista, iz pozicije “spašenih” biti sposoban osjetiti “strašne drhtaje i strašniji mir ... srebreničkih dječaka” kao onih “utopljenih” u bosanskom traumatskom čvorištu uvjet je za otvaranje prostora ljudskosti i prostora nade.⁵ Ako su naše bosanske mreže poderane brisanjem goleme količine života i cijeli su svjetovi oko nas opustošeni jer je “svaki ljudski život čvor u mreži drugih, emotivno povezanih, ljudskih života”, onda nas srebrenički genocid kao nenadoknativ “nepojmljiv gubitak života, prošlog i budućeg, pojedinačnog i zajedničkog” mora navesti da se osjećamo kao potencijalni ili aktualni čvorovi bez mreže, u kojoj nam “fali Azmir, neprestano”.⁶

U tekstu “Srebrenička mreža” koji slijedi “Banalnost zla” Hemon primjećuje “permanentni pomjeraj u strukturi stvarnosti” u Bosni, gdje su i vrijeme i svijet izvaljeni iz ležišta ratnom traumom i genocidom, pomjeraj koji “moždi i mori” jer ništa još nismo učinili da ovaj put spasimo budućeg Azmira.⁷ Žena iz Srebrenice koja je “izgubila stotinu članova obitelji je čvorište koje nema mrežu” – upoznavši je i/ili svjedočeci njezinu iskustvu, ne znamo što bismo rekli, ali moramo znati kako je slušati i što s tim jer ona je ta “koja zna sve što ima da se zna o Srebrenici, jer iz njenoga čvorišta zajednički moramo satkati novu mrežu”.⁸ Ono što se dogodilo često je izvan mogućnosti komuniciranja: to je taj paradoks da moramo svjedočiti i izvan i unutar rječnika moći – osjećaj dislokacije, i pripadanja i nepripadanja zajednici čijim registrima komuniciranja ne možemo politizirati vlastito iskustvo, nego vrlo često sebe ponovno dovesti u položaj bespomoćnosti, nijemosti i ponovne iznevjere povjerenja. Stoga su prijeko potrebni novi načini otpora, govora i djelovanja bez kratkog spoja između žrtve i onoga koji joj je nanio ozljedu, novi jezik ili nove simbolične okvire pregovora između tišine i govora usred oficijelne političke buke oko nas, koja nas onemogućava da preformuliramo identitet i zajednicu izvan konvencionalnih registara što su i proizveli traumu/nasilje/gubitak. To je ono što se dešava na traverzijama “priča u ženskom rodu množine” koje, recimo, proza i poezija Šejle Šehabović politički materijalizira. Iz tog razloga, u obeshrabrujućem kontekstu kolektivnih i individualnih trauma koje djeluju “ispod površine” u suvremenoj Bosni, gdje vidimo upozorenja o gubicima što se ponavljaju i nepravdama u budućnosti kroz prizmu materijalnosti svakodnevnih dječjih igara oko nas, priče (književne, filmske, svakodnevnne...) imaju golemu važnost jer su svjesne da postoji drukčije “zajedničko mi”. Da bi se uopće podnio pritisak tišine i osamljenosti, potrebni su radikalno

⁵ Aleksandar Hemon, “Banalnost zla”, Hemonwood, *Dani*, br. 418, 17. lipnja 2005.

⁶ Aleksandar Hemon, “Srebrenička mreža”, Hemonwood, *Dani*, br. 420, 1. srpnja 2005.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

transformativni oblici govora i djelovanja upravo onima čije ih iskustvo gubitka spaja u kritičko-refleksivnu solidarnost, koji su, kako bi rekao Hemon, ne samo spremni da “prihvate činjenicu da Bosna – ‘ova stvar ovdje/ovo ovdje’ je njihova sudbina” nego i da prihvate kako je Bosna – “ova stvar ovdje/ovo ovdje” zapravo svagdje, i da su izbrisani/ispisani iz nje, gdje god da se nalaze, i gdje god da je to *ovdje*.⁹ Glasove i živote mnogih njih, žensko mnoštvo, materijaliziraju priče Š. Šehabović, tvoreći novi prostor društvenosti u kojem nalazimo suputnice i sugovornice koje svjedoče drugim/transformativnim jezicima javnosti. To tkanje mreža oko preostalih čvorova i novih čvorišta potrebno je svima nama dok pokušavamo zajedno naći nove načine promišljanja o sjećanju i teorijske pristupe traumi/gubitku kao oblike društvene prakse koja kritički promišlja o samoj sebi, koja sebe vidi kao političku intervenciju. Jedino se tako može razmišljati o najbolnijim pitanjima – prošlosti i zajedništva – na način koji snagom i imaginacijom pre(vazi)lazi trostruku mrtvouzicu kulture poricanja, kulture amnezije i kulture laži oko nas. Na ovim terenima mora se naći nova moć govora i djelovanja koja počinje od “lica/tijela” kao poprišta traume i sjećanja, a prostor za to je šira deliberativna javna sfera gdje nastaju i trebaju biti podržane nove sinergije umjetnosti, književnosti, novinarstva i politike, usprkos pozadini traumatične povijesne (ne)moćnosti pravde. Vjerujem da su u tom pothvatu od esencijalne važnosti mnogi feministički postkolonijalni uvidi i da su bosanske lekcije dio mnogo širih lekcija na koje teorija/praksa mora naći odgovore.

Recimo, kako bismo osigurali produktivnost politike postkolonijalnosti globalno, moramo inzistirati na važnosti književnog i kulturalnog rada u političkoj areni; na važnosti političkog za izučavanje književnosti i kulture; na nadilaženju “politike krivnje” nalaženjem druge politike, politike kritike i priznanja (Brydon 2006). Za to su nam potrebne različite strategije: na primjer, istraživanjem pukotina postkolonijalne politike i književnosti te svih problema koje oni donose, možemo doći do produktivnih otkrića.¹⁰ Postkolonijalni feminizam i feministička politika moraju početi od svijesti da u cilju suočavanja s mnogo većom krizom same politike, “moramo razumjeti tu krizu, načine na koje je postkolonijalno zapleteno u nju, i čime točno postkolonijalni pogledi

⁹ Aleksandar Hemon, “Ovo ovdje”, Hemonwood, *Dani*, br. 339, 12. prosinca 2003.

¹⁰ “Iz vlastitog iskustva podučavanja svi znamo da postkolonijalna fikcija vrlo lako može pobuditi i ugodu i nelagodu, snobovske ili odbacivačke prosudbe, i to jednako često kao i suosjećanje ili ponovno promišljanje fundamentalnih pretpostavki. Književnost ovdje ima ulogu, ali ne može biti zamjena za politiku. Politika se ne može razumjeti fokusiranjem na pojedince koji se nadmeću i na njihove natjecateljske verzije govorenja istine u lice moći. Niti se postkolonijalna politika može razumjeti fokusom na velika imena i njihove knjige umjesto na smisao njihovi ideja i kontekste iz kojih oni nalaze svoja značenja.” (Brydon 2006) (autoričin prijevod).

mogu pridonijeti razumijevanju i razrješavanju te krize. Bavljene tim koštacem treba smatrati oblikom feminističkog pronalaženja novih društvenih oblika solidarnosti, koji bi “ponudili alternativna stajališta o načinu razmišljanja o politici i načinima njenog prakticanja u ovim promjenjivim vremenima” (Brydon 2006). Mnogi kulturološki i književni tekstovi daju im prijeko važna oruđa (sugovornišvo i suputništvo) pripisujući kreativne sposobnosti čvorištima u kojima se nalazimo – naime, “iako krajnja orijentacija postkolonijalne politike ide ka pregovaranju političke promjene u organizacijama vlasti, moći i bogatstva u svijetu, još je hitniji zadatak formiranja takvih vrsta baza znanja i takvih subjekata koji mogu na kreativan način zajednički raditi u smjeru postizanja takvih ciljeva” (Brydon 2006). Taj je pothvat posebno produktivan kad se bavi ožiljcima i svjedočenjima o njima, u kontingentnom idiotizmu dominantnih ideoloških poredaka, konstitutivnoj praznini iza praksi suverene i biopolitičke moći koja se može i mora dovesti u pitanje.

Iznova o feminističkim aspektima postkolonijalnog imaginarija Bosne: neke produktivne putanje

Sad bismo već možda trebali promišljati o još jednoj razini, odnosno o nečemu poput “reparativnog feminizma” nasuprot transformativnom feminizmu globalno i lokalno – kako se odnosimo prema neksusu gubitka, postkolonijalnog nasilja i feminističke politike?¹¹ Idemo li ka reparaciji i oporavku “golog života”, što nije cilj svjedočenja kao političkog akta, ili doista ka transformaciji i političkoj promjeni “u lice moći”? Umjesto promatranja koncepta reparacije kao načina razumijevanja i promjene naših trenutačnih uvjeta egzistencije, koje predlaže Joshua Chambers-Letson (2006:171), predlažem drukčije promatranje koncepta rekuperacije utopijskoga – kao koncepta transformacije zasnovanog na politici nade putem svjedočenja gubitku. Moje pitanje ostaje isto: ne samo kako preživjeti biopolitičke frakture koje nastanjujemo nego i kako ih politički preoblikovati i traverzirati. Ili, “kako reagirati na legitiman osjećaj gubitka i slutnje”, *uz nova inspirativna suputništva i sugovornišva*, “koja nam pomažu da se situiramo ne samo u odnosu na fragmente prošlosti nego i načine na koje sastavljamo sami sebe da bismo nastavili dalje u budućnost” (Chambers-Letson 2006). Doista, središnje je pitanje feminističkih studija u kontekstu Bosne i šire kako se suočiti s gubitkom, prolomom, lomom – popraviti ga, zakrpati, vratiti u prijašnje stanje, repolitizirati ga, ponovno ga osmisliti, učiniti ga kreativnim, politički produktivnim, pretvoriti ga u politiku nade?

¹¹ Ovo moje razmišljanje oblikovalo je moje specifično čitanje članka Joshue Chambers-Letsona “Reparative Feminisms, Repairing Feminism – Reparation, Postcolonial Violence and Feminism” (2006).

U proteklom se desetljeću moj rad uvijek ticao toga što nam bosanske leće mogu ili ne mogu reći o našem univerzalnom iskustvu svođenja na “goli život” (na temelju našeg identiteta – uključujući spolne/rodne), gdje su te točke otpora koje obećavaju i kako ih se mora podržati prema emancipativnoj politici. U Bosni i Hercegovini u poslijeratnom nam je razdoblju trebalo vremena da prihvatimo da se u biopolitičkim carstvima oko nas ne radi samo o ratnim traumama izazvanim etnonacionalizmom u našem “dvorištu” nego i o projektu suverenosti uopće, pitanjima razvoja i političke ekonomije, kao i logike globalnoga kapitala. Da se ne osjetimo izuzetkom, nego i dijelom pravila globalne/lokalne moći danas. Trgovina bijelim robljem (i način na koji se s njom nosimo kulturalno, politički, teorijski) bila je jedna od naših najvažnijih lekcija koja nas je naučila ovo: “Postoje mnogi suvereni izuzeci koje sebi rutinski mogu priuštiti i dopustiti različita državna tijela, uz strašne humanitarne/humane ishode i posljedice za lokalni razvoj. Također postoje i brutalne lokalne tranzicije koje se odupiru bilo kakvom osjećaju da se svijet kreće generalno u demokratskim smjerovima. Važno je pažljivim i nijansiranim pogledima pratiti politiku golog života do njenih skrovišta, kao i do naših tekstova i alatki za rad. To je obećanje studija razvoja (*development studies*) u suradnji s postkolonijalnim studijima i ostalim disciplinama: zajednički možemo bolje uvidjeti i pristupiti problematičnoj biopolitici našeg vremena” (Sylvester 2006:75-76).

To obećanje nude i određene geste u bosanskom kontekstu koje kritički pristupaju slučajevima postkolonijalnog nasilja u ratnim i poslijeratnim, socijalističkim i postsocijalističkim razdobljima, preoblikujući ih ka politici svjedočenja gubitku kao politici nade. Te su geste uglavnom isprepletene s feminističkim teoretiziranjem i praksom koji se pojavljuju u Bosni. Žena iz Srebrenice, žrtva genocida, žena iz Ukrajine, žrtva trgovine bijelim robljem u Bosni,¹² jedno su te isto tijelo izloženo suverenom i postkolonijalnom nasilju. One moraju biti osnovica naše solidarnosti dok promišljamo o rodnim studijima u regiji i globalno jer moramo “naglasiti vezu između feminističke škole i feminističke političke organizacije, a pri tome skrenuti pozornost na potrebu za ispitivanjem političkih implikacija naših analitičkih strategija i principa” (Mohanty 2002:501). Treba, recimo, inzistirati na zajedništvu feminizama bivše Jugoslavije, upravo zbog njihovih znanja i potencijala za emancipativne političke prakse. Podsjetimo se, “iako je krajnja orijentacija postkolonijalne politike zagovaranje političkih promjena u organizacijama

¹² Vrijedi ovdje iščitati poeziju Feride Duraković, posebice njezine pjesme o Srebrenici i o Oleni Popik, te posebno intenzivnu analizu njezine poezije u političkom kontekstu Damira Arsenijevića u njegovu tekstu “Prema politici nade: poezija i postratni period u Bosni i Hercegovini” u Husanović i Arsenijević 2006.

vlasti, moći i bogatstva u svijetu, još je hitniji zadatak formiranja takvih vrsta baza znanja i takvih subjekata koji mogu na kreativan način zajednički raditi u smjeru postizanja takvih ciljeva” (Brydon 2006). Novonastale škole rodnih teorija i feminističke prakse koje nastaju regionalno na području bivše Jugoslavije promišljaju o politici feminističkog akademskog znanja koje uključuje svoje točke gledišta i svoja iskustva kao nezanemarivo mjesto analize, razmišljajući o “ponovnom uključanju u borbu za otvoreno kritiziranje efekata diskurzivne kolonizacije života i patnji marginaliziranih žena, uzevši u obzir mikropolitiku svakodnevnog življenja kao i makropolitiku globalnih ekonomskih i političkih procesa” (Brydon 2006:509). Raspetljavanje čvora između političke ekonomije i kulture ostaje krucijalno za mnoga bitna feministička teorijska promišljanja posvuda dok se pokušava demistificirati, preispitati i teorijski pristupiti političkim i ekonomskim procesima i rodnim nejednakostima koje nas proždiru. Obveza koja treba prevladavati u teorijskim i pedagoškim pothvatima unutar bosanskohercegovačkih, postjugoslavenskih, odnosno postsocijalističkih rodnih studija jest kretanje k “antikapitalističkoj transnacionalnoj feminističkoj praksi – i govori o mogućnostima, zapravo o potrebama, internacionalne feminističke solidarnosti i organiziranosti protiv kapitalizma (...) u kontekstu kritike globalnoga kapitalizma (o antiglobalizaciji), neutralizaciji vrijednosti kapitala i nepriznatoj moći kulturalnog relativizma u interkulturalnim feminističkim učenjima i pedagogiji” (Brydon 2006:509).

Moramo učiniti vidljivima brojne sićušne mehanizme moći kako bismo otkrili putanje od mikropolitčkih do makropolitčkih orodjenih tijela, i počeli od materijalne kompleksnosti, realnosti i djelovanja bosanskih političkih tijela za pitanja rodnosti, kao nečega što nije vidljivo, o čemu se premalo teoretizira, onoga što je izostavljeno iz proizvodnje znanja ili onoga kome su sredstva proizvodnje znanja uskraćena. Iz naših fraktura induciranih etnonacionalizmom i kapitalizmom, ratom i “tranzicijom”, vrijeme se gradi na lekcijama ratne/poslijeratne Bosne i naših uvida u načine na koje se čvorište između kapitala i biopolitike oslanja i jača te nove kolonizacijske oblike etnonacionalnih, patrijarhalnih i heteroseksističkih režima moći, i kad je u pitanju transformativna misao i praksa koja pruža otpor u tom smislu. To je naslijeđe ne samo ambivalentnosti i strpljivosti nego i inspiracije i potencijala tih bosanskih/univerzalnih uvida u našoj potrazi za društvom i riječima, koji rađaju nove mikropolitike i makropolitike feminističke solidarnosti preko granica i iza naših različitih/zajedničkih gubitaka.

Zašto su lekcije postkolonijalnog imaginarija u Bosni i o njoj bitne za promišljanje o solidarnosti i pripadnosti unutar transnacionalnih feminističkih krugova koji se bave politikom postkolonijalnosti ili postkolonijalnom politikom? Zato što smo svi subjekti potrganih zajednica, i svi smo, na različite i višestruke načine, uključeni u politiku svjedočenja i pripadnosti u suvremenim

svjetovima putem nasilnih praksa biopolitike/kapitala i svodenja na goli život. Vjerujem da u tom kontekstu naše mogućnosti da prakticiramo vernakularnu kozmopolitsku i vernakularnu feminističku misao i djelovanje moraju biti ojačani. Treba locirati produktivan pristup tom pitanju dijalogizirajući s često marginaliziranim izvanzakonskim, nekonvencionalnim, izvaninstitucijskim, nedržavnim načinima odgovora na gubitak i nasilje, koji nas upućuju na skrivene mogućnosti reinterpretacije identiteta/subjektiviteta usred čvorišta trauma i gubitaka zajednice kao što je Bosna i Hercegovina. Treba bolje istražiti kako se ti odgovori iskazuju kao specifična politika svjedočenja i pripadanja u javnoj umjetnosti, književnosti, spomenicima i određenim medijskim prostorima (publicistička produkcija). Iznimno je važno i to kako takve reartikulacije gubitka i preizlijevanje zajednica utjelovljuju mogućnost nadilaženja reificiranih kategorija i perspektiva (na primjer, državnocentričnih, etnonacionalnih, patrijarhalnih...), a koje su zamjetne i u velikom dijelu bitne akademske produkcije što se tiče Bosne i Hercegovine ili Balkana. To je zato što je u njima, u konačnici, riječ o kulturalnim diskurzivnim i materijalnim praksama u lokalnom kontekstu koje uvelike izmiču "dominantnom znanju". Takve prakse nerijetko djeluju kao subverzivan otpor dominantnim režimima vlasti i kao znanje što omogućuje/daje prikaze/narative koji grade mostove između prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Međutim, u pitanju je osvajanje sredstava za proizvodnju znanja u akademskom i političkom prostoru. Posrijedi je vrlo konkretna transformacija poretka oko nas i repolitizacija ideoloških matrica, a ne samo određeni amalgami znanja/saznavanja (lokalno/globalno, feministički, postkolonijalno, antropološki...) koji osiguravaju plodonosne leće za ponovno razmatranje univerzalnih i hitnijih pitanja u specifičnoj "studiji slučaja Bosne" koja je nešto "više od same sebe".

Identitarni projekti i relevantni narativi pripadanja određenom prostoru/vremenu vezani su za bolnu prošlost i razbijena zajedništva (a kako bi D. Ugrešić rekla, to su naši najtraumatičniji čvorovi), no odgovori na njih uglavnom plutaju između retorike historije (istine), teologije (oprosta), prava (kazne, kompenzacije i sprečavanja), terapije (izlječenja), umjetnosti (komemoracije i uznemiravanja) i obrazovanja (učenje lekcija) (Minow 1999:147). Svjedočenje jezikom umjetnosti i u polju kulturne produkcije svojevrsna je krparija, *patchwork* prisjećanja, potvrđivanja i transformacije kad su posrijedi sjećanje i mašta, dvije ključne osi identifikacije/pripadnosti kad se radi o kolektivnom i socijalnosti individualnoga. Kao takvo zaslužuje pozornost jer ima značajnu ulogu u tvorenju iskustava i prostora koje dijelimo u reinterpretacijama prošlosti/sadašnjosti/budućnosti "raskidane zajednice". Subjekti takve raskidane zajednice stvaraju kulturalne/materijalne prakse (odnosno, osnovne izvore značenja, interpretacije i reprezentacije u društvenim i političkim okvirima) koje često zrače postkolonijalnim političkim senzibilitetima kad je u pitanju promišljanje

o zajedništvu, prošlostima što nanose povrede i projektima orijentiranima na budućnost, a koji se bave pravdom između zakona/konvencionalne politike i književnosti/umjetnosti... U tom smislu književnost kao jezgra diskurzivnih/materijalnih praksi demonstrira kako "u postkolonijalnom diskursu osobno postaje etičko" jer te marginalizirane geste sjećanja i svjedočenja upućuju na niz nijekanja kolonizirajućih kontinuiteta (s obzirom na projekte nacija/država, socijalizma/postsocijalizma, neoliberalizma...). Nadalje, takvo prisjećanje i reimaginiranje ima "potencijal da transformira agonizam nepotpune dekolonizacije u agonizme nepotpune demokracije" jer takvo "postkolonijalno sjećanje" uprizoruje "antidržavna natjecanja oko prisvajanja sjećanja" nasuprot "formaliziranim iskazima službenih sjećanja" (Hesse 2002:160–162). Djela Š. Šehabović i A. Hemoni samo su neki od primjera koji pokazuju kako "negirano sjećanje" i postkolonijalna kritika mogu svjedočiti nejednakim i neravnomjernim silama kulturalne reprezentacije koje su omeđene u borbi za politički i društveni autoritet (Hesse 2002:163) jer se odupiru pokušajima njegove normalizacije isključivo u obliku etnonacionalne države, i to ističući krizu i svojih prijedaytonskih i poslijedaytonskih konstelacija. To se događa i unutar različitih instanci građanskog aktivizma (osobito onog dijela koji proizvodi nove baze znanja kritički orijentiranog prema društvenoj transformaciji, a koji inzistira na utopijskom elementu ili narativu o progresu neke vrste.

Politika postkolonijalne (poslijeratne, postsocijalističke, tranzicijske) Bosne i Hercegovine kao globalnog izuzetka/pravila mora se ponovno razmotriti u svjetlu pitanja kako se to etički i politički sjećamo dekolonizirane prošlosti i činimo njene gubitke produktivnima za budućnost, posebice kad je posrijedi (ne)mogućnost pravde. Prema tome, potrebni su nam različiti načini kritičke ekskavacije i inventure marginaliziranih, otpisanih i nerealiziranih kulturalnih/političkih praksi i načina življenja koji utjelovljuju vernakularne postkolonijalne solidarnosti i pripadnosti kako bi se osvijetlio prolaz od etike ka politici kroz nove vrste etnopolitičke odgovornosti i strastvenih intervencija situiranih u ponovno zamišljenoj sadašnjici. S druge strane, djelovanje feministkinja usmjereno je prema iscjeljivanju na razini "alternativne" zajednice u tom kontekstu, a njihove lekcije i obveze koje preuzimaju nude produktivnu nadu i potencijal kad su u pitanju takvi pothvati. Postkolonijalni književni prostori također su, na primjer, prostori "isijavanja novih zamišljenih zajednica iz bezdana prošlosti" i novih načina djelovanja. Dakle, postoje pokušaji da se osiguraju ti kolektivni prostori za iscjeljivanje i prisjećanje na prošlost koji mogu iznjedrati jednu vrstu simbolične zajednice; iako su fragmentirani i rastrkani, a definitivno i nedovoljni, najčešće se nalaze u podređenim prostorima javnosti/publicistike koji "prečesto" izmiču očima akademskog znanja (jer se nije jednostavno s njima suočiti), u međuprostorima

književne i izdavačke produkcije, na granicama akademskog prostora, u javnoj umjetnosti i spomenicima, filmovima... Oni su od vitalne važnosti iz sljedećeg razloga: u središtu je postkolonijalne politike osjećaj transformacije i stvaranje simboličnog prostora iz kojeg može isplivati zajedništvo, a zajednica ili zajednički politički čin može se ponovno osmisliti i rekonstruirati.

Transnacionalni feminizam koji siječelinijerazgraničenja postkolonijalnosti sjever-jug i istok-zapad (i sve druge) mora u potpunosti prigrbliti sljedeće pitanje: Što nam feminističke transnacionalne solidarnosti situirane u okvirima traume zajedništva i prošlosti (g)lokalno govore o politici svjedočenja i nadanja? To je posebno važno ako se uzme u obzir nasilan splet biopolitike, kapitala i tijela, gdje smo svedeni na goli život i gdje je moderna kategorija građana radikalno razrušena, kako u suvremenoj Bosni i Hercegovini tako i u suvremenom svijetu putem podmuklih načina razvlaštenja i izmještanja. Politika svjedočenja kroz jezik umjetnosti upravo je arena gdje se aktivno postavljaju pitanja: Tko je građanka? Što je njezina zajednica? iako se unutar vladajućih ideoloških režima vlasti/znanja sve čini da ih se izbjegne. Prema tome, postkolonijalno feminističko motrište koje proizlazi iz "Bosne", ali djeluje i promišlja lokalno/globalno, mora donijeti vrijedne lekcije vezane uza sljedeću grupu pitanja:

- koliko je za rekonceptualizirani smisao građanstva bitna politika svjedočenja i pripadnosti u izvanzakonskim i izvaninstitucionalnim prostorima, na koji način otvara prostore transformacije za politiku nade u raskidanoj zajednici kao što je Bosna i Hercegovina/svijet, a pri tome odaje priznanje gubicima i prepoznaje subjekte sjećanja/trauma koje službeni politički imaginariji niječu i/ili njima manipuliraju;
- kako biti građanka, a ne ostati kolonizirana u smislu imaginacije i djelovanja što teži pravdi (političkoj, redistributivnoj) u univerzalnom smislu?

U suprotnom, prošlost i sadašnjost nastavit će na poprilično nasilan način proganjati budućnost, umjesto da je otvore i sagrađe na kritičkim transformativnim potencijalima inspiriranim vernakularnim kozmopolitizmom i postkolonijalnom kritikom, otporom i maštom, koje nalazimo posvuda oko sebe, kao i na idealima pravde "prije i poslije". Rezove koje smo preživjeli i ožiljke koje smo zadobili moramo znati nositi nasuprot pendrecima i cinizmu oko sebe.

S engleskog prevele Merima Ibrišimović i Jasmina Husanović

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Komentar diskutantice**Sandra Prlenda**

Mada se na prvi pogled čini da su današnja izlaganja bila formalno dosta različita, pokušat ću usporediti i kontrastirati neke zajedničke ideje o kojima su oboje izlagatelja govorili. U svom je tekstu Stef Jansen istaknuo da je primijenio minimalistički, praktični pristup prilikom istraživanja pomirbenih praksi, istovremeno ih i propitujući. On to čini istražujući međusobno prepoznavanje aktera putem njihove performativne kompetencije, pri čemu je njegov etnografski pristup usporediv s onim Elisse Helms, čije smo izlaganje slušali jučer. Ta su dva izlaganja komplementarna i zato što je oboje autora koristilo etnografsku metodu sudioničkog promatranja u bosanskoj sredini. S druge strane, kod Jasmine Husanović o bosanskohercegovačkoj situaciji čujemo jedan domaći glas, što nas upravo na ovom seminaru, čija je tema promišljanje postkolonijalnosti, mora potaknuti na raspravu i usporedbu. Naime, imali smo prilike vidjeti Bosnu kroz zapadnjačke oči, u izlaganjima zapadnjačkih etnologa, a potom jedno bosansko viđenje, insajdersku priču. Ono što uočavam kod usporedbe, između ostalog, jest da su se oboje današnjih izlagatelja usmjerili na ljudskost/čovječnost. Kod Stefa se radi o prepoznavanju/priznavanju ljudskosti kod drugog kroz prepoznavanje njegove rodno-specifične performativne kompetencije. Ono što naglašava Jasmina, citirajući Aleksandra Hemonu, jest ljudskost prepoznavanja, ljudskost subjekata koja se gradi kroz empatiju, osjećaj gubitka i boli, traume i patnje koja je *naša*. Riječ je o moralnoj traumi i patnji, koja nas povezuje i čini zajednicu. Jasmina je, kao insajderski, domaći glas, pokušala raspraviti ono o čemu se ne raspravlja. Iznijela je pitanja usamljenosti, šutnje/bezglasnosti, napora za izražavanjem traume, gubitka i boli o čemu nije lako govoriti. Vidjeli smo, pak, u susretima muškaraca u poslijeratnom kontekstu kako izbjegavaju govor o iskustvu traume i pretpostavljaju mu igranje obrazaca (performans) muškosti, ne pokušavajući postići neku vrstu pomirbe, nego povratak normalnom životu. Stoga ističem, kao prijedlog za raspravu, upravo ovaj kontrast vanjskom promatraču-etnografu vidljive performativnosti roda i problema govorenja i svjedočenja o intimnoj, a zajedničkoj, traumi.

Sljedeća moja intervencija želi onima koji nisu bolje upoznati s bosanskohercegovačkim kulturnim kontekstom pružiti dodatne informacije o Aleksandru Hemonu, na čije se tekstove Jasmina u svom izlaganju višekratno pozivala. Smatram važnim napomenuti da je Hemon pisac koji, u kontekstu balkanskih književnih etnonacionalizama, ima privilegij nepripadanja, s obzirom na svoje ukrajinske korijene (otac mu je ukrajinskog porijekla, a majka crnogorskog), što ga ostavlja izvan strogih etnonacionalnih granica koje su nacionalističkim homogenizacijskim naporima ispresijecale negdašnje jugoslavensko književno polje. Smatram da je za pisca povlaštena pozicija to što ga vernakularni čitatelji ne mogu lako smjestiti u kategorije nacionalnih pisaca i da mu to ostavlja slobodu komuniciranja s publikom koju on koristi za stvaranje nove, građanske imaginarne zajednice temeljene na prepoznavanju ljudskih reakcija, a ne performativnih etnonacionalnih markera. Njegova popularnost u bosanskohercegovačkoj dijaspori i u samoj BiH o tome najbolje svjedoči.

Hemon je prije izbivanja rata otišao u SAD i počeo pisati na engleskom jeziku te su njegova fiktionalna djela tamo postigla uspjeh upravo zbog posebnog korištenja engleskog jezika. Često ga se uspoređuje s Vladimirom Nabokovim jer je jezik učio iz rječnika, a američka publika kod Hemona posebno cijeni njegov neuobičajen jezični izraz, ali i tematiziranje izmještenosti, bivanja između, imigrantskog iskustva i iskustva podčinjenosti. Kroz svoje pisanje pokušava izraziti osjećaj dislociranosti i rasrgranosti nastao napuštanjem zemlje i prekidom naših bivših života.

Treća stvar koju želim istaknuti jest temeljni argument Jasmininog teksta, a to je politika nade, odnosno nada politike svjedočenja. Jasmina u Hemonovoj kolumni, koja je naročito čitana u bosanskoj dijaspori, vidi prostor izražavanja traume i onoga što ne može biti izgovoreno u rigidnim, etnonacionalističkim politikama identiteta, koje ona naziva identitarnim fantazijama. Elissa i Stef su, pak, govorili o granicama (*boundaries*) i striktnim identitetima, ili barem o naporima za njihovim učvršćivanjem. Ovdje imamo bivanje-između (*in-betweeness*) i pokušaj izbjegavanja identitarnih zamki. Naposljetku, upravo je to nada politike; feministička solidarnost, solidarnost čitatelja umjetničkog i književnog djela te pronalaženja mjesta za suočavanje s traumom i traumatičnom prošlošću. Pomirba koju Jasmina zaziva je pomirba temeljena na podijeljenoj odgovornosti i vernakularnom kozmopolitizmu, nasuprot identitetskim politikama.

Na kraju bih još jednom pozvala na raspravu i o našem osjećaju promatranosti, kako nas dotiče i oblikuje to što nas promatraju zapadnjačke oči. Moram reći da sam osobno osjetila fizičku nelagodu i tjelesnu reakciju jučer i danas, i da nisam jedina ovdje koja je to iskusila, shvaćajući opet iznova da nas *sa Zapada* promatraju **upravo zbog** naše traume koju smo proživjeli/e. U političkoj geografiji znanstvenih interesa postali smo subjekt istraživanja i pogleda zbog nasilja kroz koje smo prošli i podsjećanje na to i fizički boli.

Komentar diskutantice**Ines Prica**

Moj prilog je sukladan Sandrinom budući da govori o ključnom, i vjerojatno najtežem pitanju postkolonijalnog mišljenja, a to je pitanje zastupanja. Za neke to je vrlo izravni problem govora o ili iz traumatskog iskustva, ali to je i pitanje sraza unutarnjeg i vanjskog znanja kao temelja spoznaje “jedne te iste” realnosti. Na taj način to nije samo mjesto međusobnosti i višeglasja nego i neslaganja i zamjerki: optužaba za egzoticizam koje idu s jedne strane, i onih za, rekao bi van de Port, “tvrdoglavu drugost” koje se vraćaju s druge strane.

Zapravo je površna razina ovoga problema pitati se zašto je i kako netko opunomoćen govoriti u ime žrtve, ili recimo Bosne uopće. Bolnije postavljeno, pitanje glasi – tko su uistinu oni u čije ime govorimo? Metafore ili stvarni ljudi? I kako da ih predstavimo kao “stvarne”, njihovim osobnim imenom ili? Kao što je Hemonova strategija, on kaže “Azmir Avdispahić jest jedna od tih srebreničkih žrtava o kojima govorim”. Ili ćemo ih samo zvati bosanskim žrtvama ili Bošnjacima? To je, mislim, jedno od najotvorenijih pitanja suvremenog “realističnog” etnografskog pisanja, ne samo o Bosni. Dakle ako se i odlučimo govoriti o traumi unatoč ozbiljnih zamki govora o traumi, jer je šutnja ovdje još zamršenija i okrutnija, onda nas čeka još jedan problem. Jasmininim riječima, to je problem načina na koji postižemo konkretne osjećaje i djela pravde. Ne samo pisati o traumi, pitanje je što postižemo pisanjem o zlu, genocidu i ratovima.

Koncept reparativnog, izlječujućeg pisanja koji je predložila Jasmina čini mi se obećavajućim. Za one koji nisu imali prilike doznati, to je Chambersov termin predviđen kao oblik analitičkog pisanja usuprot *paranoičnom čitanju*, onoj “lukavoj supstanciji” koja se nalazi u središtu današnje srednjostrojne, recimo, kritike, ali također i antropološkog pisanja. Kritičko paranoično čitanje ne odnosi se samo na tekstove nego i na čitave kulture, na paranoično čitanje kultura i događaja, i suprotstaviti mu se znači biti na putu prema izlječujućem diskursu, politici nade i pravde. No poput drugih postkolonijalno nadahnutih koncepata reparativno pisanje nije podržano nikakvim specifičnim metodološkim ili retoričkim instrukcijama, ako sam dobro razumjela. To je samo dobro, “neparanoično” pisanje o kulturi.

Ali kako možemo biti sigurni da će ono biti prepoznato kao takvo, da ono neće ponovno biti pročitano u “paranoičnom okviru”, gdje je pisanje o traumi uglavnom prepoznato kao “nacionalno opterećeno”, patetično i orijentirano na “profesionalne žrtve”? Sve ove kvalifikacije (zajedno s mojom omiljenom “antropologijom suza i straha”) posuđujem iz vlastita iskustva pisanja iz hrvatske ratne perspektive, iskustva koje me je toliko puta nagnalo da pomislim – je li stvar u tomu da su hrvatske etnologinje bile jače izložene paranoičnom čitanju stoga što nisu izravno objavile svoju feminističku pripadnost. Ili Hrvatska jednostavno nije (bila) pravi primjer postkolonijalnosti. Može biti i da je oboje. Ali, dakako, tko normalan priziva traumatično iskustvo da bi potvrdio ispravnost postkolonijalnog mjesta pisanja.

Osim toga, kao što mnogi autori naglašuju, sama trauma ne može biti marker postkolonijalne korektnosti. Ne radi se o tomu tko pati više od drugih, trauma je,

kako reče i Jasmina, svugdje i svagda. No s druge strane, nije svaka trauma genocid. Kao oblik zla koji proizvodi traumu, genocid je najčešće neotklonjivo rasno, etnički ili nacionalno određen. Pa možemo li onda, hoćemo li, i smijemo li prevesti sve njegove potencionalno “paranoidne” determinantne u istu struju izlječujućeg pisanja? Za mene je to veliko i vrlo zamršeno pitanje. Gdje mislite da je to prožimanje feminističkog i postkolonijalnog pojmovlja stvarno optimistično a ne samo izloženo varljivoj politici nade koja nas, kako si rekla, ostavlja u nedoumici jesmo li učinili dovoljno da izbjegnemo sljedeće traume i genocide?

I moj zadnji komentar odnosi se na dojmove s prvih dana konferencije. Kao što je i Sandra primijetila, insajderi općenito više naginju govoru o traumi, dok autsajderi govore o normalitetu. Prvi “bombardiraju” teorijom, drugi umiruju vinjetama iz vlastita terenskog iskustva, nije li to malo čudno? Dobro, možemo reći da su to samo dva, nesavršena ali zakonita, načina davanja imena bosanskoj zbilji, ali problem s početka ostaje: tko je iza tih imena? Na tom tragu, Stef, bilo mi je vrlo indikativno kada si iznenada zastao – tijekom prepričavanja epizoda svog bosanskog iskustva – na mjestu na kojem si htio nešto zaključiti “na strukturalistički način”. Kao da si pomislio – evo gdje je opasno biti zapadnim antropologom, teoretizirati o “drugom”, stavljati općenite pojmove ispred stvarnih imena. Ja pak mislim da je čak i obratno. Da su nas upravo ti “post-nešto” diskursi ostavili da se koprcamo s tvrdokornim pitanjem “govora u ime”. Jer strukturalizam nije angažirao stvarne, imenovljive subjekte da stoje kao podrška njegovim kategorijama. Slobodan si reći, na primjer, da je “balkanska muškost” to što stoji iza tvojih analitičkih kategorija. Za razliku od post-žargona gdje se pozivamo na stvarne događaje i osobna imena. Možda je ono neprikladna, čak i kukavička praksa za današnji zahtjev pisanja o kulturnim zbiljama, a zbilje su uglavnom ružne i kaotične. Ali ti strogi, trans-ljudski metodološki koncepti kao da su bili sigurniji, na neki način. To je moje pitanje tebi.

Nastavak diskusije donosimo u izvornom engleskom obliku. Vidi str. 216-220.

ULLA VUORELA

TRANSNACIONALNE OBITELJI: ZAMIŠLJENE I STVARNE ZAJEDNICE¹

Obitelji koje žive istodobno u različitim nacionalnim državama i između njih, a riječ može biti kako o obiteljima migranata i migrantica tako i o obiteljima etničkih manjina, mogu biti izvor osjetljivosti i neizvjesnosti za nacionalnu državu, kao što je primjerice bilo očito u nasilnu istjerivanju Azijaca i Azijki iz Ugande 1972. godine. Isto tako, lojalnost različitim zemljama vlade mogu smatrati prijjetnom svojoj nacionalnoj ekonomiji i koheziji. S druge strane, iz perspektive pojedinaca i pojedinki te njihovih obitelji, problem mogu biti nacionalne države i ograničenja kretanja što ih one nameću. Pokazalo se to u učestalo promjenjivim načinima na koje su imigracijski zakoni i politike definirali obitelji i propisivali sjedinjavanje obitelji.

U ovom se tekstu tvrdi da transnacionalni život iz perspektive obitelji i pojedinaca/ki nije nužno problem i da ne mora biti u opreci sa stvaranjem nacija. I obitelji i nacije može se promatrati kao zamišljene i stvarne zajednice: pripadanje obitelji i pripadanje naciji konstrukti su s političkim i emocionalnim temeljima i ne podrazumijevaju nužno jedno drugo.

Susret s azijskom² obitelji u Tanzaniji potaknuo me je na razmišljanje o konceptu transnacionalnih obitelji. Kako ljudi stvaraju jedinstvo rodbinskih odnosa i obiteljski osjećaj kad žive odvojeno? Kakve se vrste mreža oblikuju unutar transnacionalnih obitelji i njihovim formiranjem? Kakvi su procesi posljedica odvojenog života? Kako su se ljudi s transnacionalnim životnim pričama prilagodili nacionalnim državama primateljicama? Kakvi problemi državljanstva, roda te generacijski problemi proizlaze iz “fisije i fuzije” kućanstava?

¹ Tekst je prethodno objavljen na engleskom jeziku pod naslovom “Transnational Families: Imagined and Real Communities” u D.F. Bryceson i U. Vuorela (ur.) (2002) *The Transnational Family: new European frontiers and global networks*. Oxford – New York: Berg, 63-81.

² Nazivanje osoba južnoazijskoga podrijetla “Azijcima/Azijkama” usvojeno je u Africi nakon podjele Indije. Tako je izbjegnuta potreba da se specificira vode li nečiji korijeni do Indije, Pakistana ili Bangladeša.

Kako pojedinci i pojedinke koji žive transnacionalne živote pregovaraju o svom osjećaju pripadnosti? Kako razmišljaju o svom pripadanju obitelji i mjestima gdje su živjeli? Ovo je poglavlje usredotočeno na obitelj koja je u četiri naraštaja obuhvatila četiri kontinenta: Aziju, Afriku, Europu i Sjevernu Ameriku.

Metodološki problem u razmatranju obitelji raspršene poput obitelji o kojoj govori ovaj tekst jest to što članovi i članice obitelji žive toliko daleko jedni od drugih te se priča razlikuje ovisno o tomu tko je pripovijeda. Neki će možda smatrati da bi istraživanje trebalo pratiti što je više moguće članova/članica obitelji da bi se stvorilo potpunu sliku, ali razumijevanje "višestruko smještenih" (*multi-sited*) obitelji u smislu pitanja što se postavljaju u promišljanju transnacionalne obitelji ne zahtijeva nužno višestruko smještenu etnografiju.

Pričanje priče iz pozicije samo jedne članice obitelji, kao u ovom slučaju, na prikladan način otkriva složenost raspršenosti i ponovnog okupljanja transnacionalne obitelji. Priča se temelji na razgovorima s Fawzi, ženom u kasnim četrdesetim godinama života, sveučilišnom predavačicom engleske i svjetske književnosti u New Yorku. Njezinu priču dopunjuje nekoliko intervjua s ostalim članovima obitelji i njihovi objavljeni autobiografski materijali. Te su "priče" smještene u povijesni kontekst da bi se dobilo dodatno objašnjenje kako su članovi i članice obitelji pregovarali globalnost i lokalnost. Naglasak je stavljen na imovinu i simbolični kapital što su ih rabili u tome povijesnom vremenskom okviru. Postavljanjem Fawzi u središte istražuje se značenje mjesta i nacionalne pripadnosti.

Načini na koje se obiteljske grane i ogranci povezuju s novim mjestima i u njima pronalaze utočište nude nebrojene priče o raznovrsnim životnim stazama i postupcima izgradnje identiteta. U tim su pričama identifikacije i lojalnosti raznovrsne koliko i same obitelji.

Fawzina obitelj

Rasprave s Fawzi hranila je činjenica da sam od sredine 1970-ih dio njezine osobne povijesti dijelila s njezinom obitelji. Fawzi sam upoznala 1979. godine dok sam u Dar es Salaamu u Tanzaniji surađivala s njezinim bratom na finsko-tanzanijskom istraživačkom projektu. Postala sam i ostala posvojena članica njezine obitelji toliko da sam, poput rodbine, povremeno mogla najaviti dolazak i očekivati dobar prijam, i vice versa. Poslije deset godina provedenih u Tanzaniji, vratila sam se u Finsku, svoju domovinu. Danas smo svi raspršeni po svijetu, ali još smo u bliskoj vezi.

Priča o Fawzi i njezinim obiteljskim i nacionalnim lojalnostima priča je postkolonijalne znanstvenice koja živi u New Yorku, Tanzanijke i istočnoafričke Azijke druge generacije, državljanke Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, obrazovane u Keniji, Pakistanu, Engleskoj i Sjedinjenim Državama. Fawzi je rođena u azijskoj obitelji u Arushi, u ondašnjoj britanskoj koloniji Tanganjiki, a današnjoj

Tanzaniji. Premda Fawzi nikad nije živjela u Tanzaniji dulje od godine dana neprekidno, to je zemlja s kojom se najsnažnije poistovjećuje. Tanzanija je postala njezinom domovinom kako kao mjesto rođenja tako i kao mjesto na kojemu su njezini roditelji najdulje živjeli. Tu je također i “osobita, možda čak i sentimentalna povezanost”, kako Fawzi opisuje svoj osjećaj da je Tanzanijka:

Cijeloga se života izjašnjavam kao Tanzanijka. U različitim kontekstima u kojima iznosim tu tvrdnju katkad je netočna utoliko što nisam državljanka Tanzanije. Veći dio svojega života nisam ondje živjela i ne postoje utvrđeni načini na koje bih pripadala bilo kojem obliku nacionalnoga entiteta koji se zove Tanzanija. Da, uvijek je to bilo... ali riječ je o posredovanom osjećaju da je čovjek nešto. (...)

No, istovremeno je postojao i otuđeni osjećaj, otuđen tako što je bio doista udaljen od vlastitoga iskustva. Otuđeni osjećaj da smo labavo pripadali nekakvoj etničkoj skupini iako riječ etničko nije baš bila dio našega vokabulara. Dakle, shvaćali smo da je preko podrijetla i nasljedstva postojala određena povezanost s azijskim zajednicama, ali da zapravo nismo pripadali nijednoj. U istočnoafričkom okruženju i u tanzanijskom okruženju, one su bile vrlo izolirane, sa samodefiniranim i koherentnim podgrupama, a mi nismo bili dio veće zajednice. Uvijek je postojala ta misao da potječemo iz dalekih krajeva kao što su Indija i Kina, ali nikada to nije bio organski, stvaran osjećaj.

Fawzina majka Sophia rođena je u Pandžabu u Indiji, dok su joj roditelji, koji su inače živjeli u Nairobiju u Keniji, bili na godišnjem odmoru u zavičaju. Sophia je djetinjstvo provela u Keniji, dok je njezin suprug Abdulla rođen u Hong Kongu, od majke Kineskinje i oca iz Jammua, područja što graniči s Pandžabom i Kašmirom. Njegov je otac bio državni službenik u doba kad je kralj Eduard, sin kraljice Viktorije, bio car Indije.

Abdulla je upoznao Sophiju u Nairobiju, gdje su se 1941. godine i vjenčali. Nairobi je bio izvorni obiteljski dom u istočnoj Africi, u koji su svi stigli iz različitih dijelova britanskoga carstva u južnoj i jugoistočnoj Aziji. Sophijina je obitelj u Nairobiju bila od 1910-ih. Njezin je djed radio kao činovnik za britansku kolonijalnu vlast u Indiji, a nakon što je preživio pokolj u Amritsaru, otputovao je u Keniju posjetiti staroga školskoga druga. Zemlja mu se svidjela pa je izvršio pritisak na svoje sinove da emigriraju. Njegov sin, Sophijin otac, doselio se u Keniju i zaposlio u poduzeću što je postavljalo prva električna postrojenja u zemlji, a poslije u građevinskom poduzeću u kojem je radio i Jomo Kenyatta.³ Vratio se u Indiju da bi se oženio Sophijinom bakom. Par se nastanio u Nairobiju i dobio pet sinova i kćer, Sophiju.

³ Jomo Kenyatta prvi je kenijski predsjednik poslije proglašenja nacionalne nezavisnosti.

(...)

Promotrimo li Fawzinu užu obitelj u 2000. godini, nalazimo brata koji u Namibiji živi sa suprugom i sinom, sestru i njezina supruga koji kao kanadski državljani borave u SAD-u te roditelje, Sophiju i Abdullu, koji žive u Kanadi. Umjesto da ostanu u Tanzaniji, odlučili su odseliti se u Sjevernu Ameriku da bi u starosti bili bliže unuci i najstarijoj kćeri. Na njihovu odluku da se odsele iz istočne Afrike također je utjecao i kanadski zdravstveni sustav.

Rasprostranjena poliglotska šira obitelj

Raspršenost Fawzine šire obitelji još je veća. Fawzina je majka imala četvoricu braće, odraslih u Nairobiju. Jedan se skrasio u Dublinu sa suprugom Irkinjom. Dvojica su se preselila u London, a četvrti je postao stanovnikom Islamabada u Pakistanu, gdje je visokopozicionirani časnik u pakistanskim zračnim snagama.

Raspršenost je nastavljena i u sljedećem naraštaju: jedan od rođaka, sin Fawzina “irskog ujaka” s entuzijazmom je prigrlio švedsku kulturu i jezik te boravak u Švedskoj i postao lik o kojemu se u obitelji puno priča. Nakon karijere u švedskoj glazbenoj industriji, neslavno je optužen za veze s adolescenticama. U svoju je obranu objavio memoare na švedskom jeziku, knjigu što sam je slučajno pronašla u knjižari u Helsinkiju. U njoj zaključuje:

No zeleni otok više nije moj “dom” [Irska]. Ovdje, u Švedskoj, pronašao sam istinskoga sebe – svoje pravo ja. Stoga razmišljam o svom životu u ovoj mračnoj, ali krasnoj zemlji s Jantelagenom, ljubomorom i neusporedivom kvalitetom života. Na isti način na koji je moj otac u srce prigrlio malenu Irsku prije 50 godina, ja sam u svoje prigrlio Švedsku. On je živio i umro u Irskoj. Povijest će se ponoviti – jer ja ću živjeti i umrijeti u nordijskoj zemlji (Butt, 1997: 333).

U svojoj raspršenosti obitelj nije samo višestruko smještena nego je u dva naraštaja postala višejezičnom i višenacionalnom. Višenacionalna znači da su različiti članovi i članice obitelji postali državljanima i državljkama različitih država, da su nositelji i nositeljice različitih putovnica i da moraju prelaziti državne granice radi obiteljskih susreta. Dok neki mogu misliti da transnacionalne obiteljske lojalnosti nadilaze individualan osjećaj lojalnosti naciji, zapravo se nacionalne lojalnosti mogu naći na putu obiteljskim lojalnostima. Najneposrednija i najpraktičnija teškoća jest nepreklapanje znanja jezika unutar obitelji.

Višestrukost obiteljskoga života možemo pojmiti proučimo li doseg prostora doma i jezika što su zajednički Fawzinoj nuklearnoj obitelji. Odrastajući u Nairobiju, Fawzina je majka naučila svahili i engleski, uz urdu

i pandžabi svojih roditelja. Fawzina starija sestra Hana dijeli s majkom urdu, pandžabi i svahili, dok brat s majkom razgovara na engleskom ili svahiliju. Fawzi, koja je većinu djetinjstva provela izvan roditeljskoga doma, govori samo engleski iako joj je prvi jezik svahili i još se sjeća nekih riječi na tom jeziku. Kako nitko od njih nikad nije naučio očev školski jezik, kineski, a engleski je zajednički svima, engleski je postao temeljem međusobne komunikacije u obitelji. U istočnoafričkom kontekstu, to je obitelj učinilo različitom od ostalih azijskih obitelji u istočnoj Africi. (...)

Povremeno bi to stvaralo probleme u komunikaciji u široj obitelji. Fawzina je majka, poznavajući najviše jezika u obitelji, morala biti prevoditeljica za svoju djecu i rodbinu. Kad je Fawzi pri put posjetila Pakistan i upoznala svoje tete i stričeve te njihove obitelji, najprije nije bilo gotovo nikakve komunikacije, osim među djecom jer ona su jedina znala engleski.

Obitelj kao identitet i zajednica

Odvojen život na velikim udaljenostima ipak ne sprječava Fawzi da o svojim roditeljima, sestri i bratu govori kao o svojoj “užoj obitelji”.

(...)

U svojoj je neposrednosti obitelj istodobno višestruko smješten entitet, rasprostranjen u više država i kontinenata. Ona je i višenacionalna s obzirom na raznovrsnost putovnica što ih članovi i članice obitelji posjeduju. Unutar uže obitelji nacionalne su lojalnosti višestruke.

U dva je naraštaja Fawzina obitelj doživjela kontinentalnu raspršenost nuklearne obitelji. Sophia i njezina braća izgradili su domove u Engleskoj, Irskoj, Keniji, Tanzaniji i Pakistanu. Nisu svi iz obitelji uvijek bili u kontaktu, a katkad bi mnogo vremena proteklo i između obiteljskih susreta najbliže rodbine. Unatoč udaljenostima, na razini svakodnevnog života obiteljski je osjećaj uvijek bio snažan. Fawzi obrazlaže:

Dakle, [imamo] vrlo snažan osjećaj, moguće čak i prenaplašen, zato što [smo propustili] uobičajene i redovne procese kroz koje obitelji prolaze kad žive zajedno... Dakle, na mnogo načina još trebamo razraditi svoje međusobne odnose onako kao što to čine druge obitelji... Svakako, moji su roditelji bili sasvim angažirani onim što su njihova djeca radila i kako su se definirala... Na mnoge su načine živjeli svoje živote kroza svoju djecu. No, svi smo vodili vrlo odvojene egzistencije, ali vrlo je snažan osjećaj lojalnosti, kako zdrave tako i nezdrave naravi.

Isto tako, Fawzi je vrlo svjesna svojega mjesta u lancu povijesnih događaja. Način na koji se predstavljala drugim ljudima mijenjao se u skladu s okolnostima.

Ako ljudi u dijelu svijetu u kojemu sam se nalazila nisu znali ništa o tomu kakvu je dijasporu stvorio kolonijalizam, morala sam objašnjavati da sam dio toga pokreta. Riječima koje sam upotrebljavala – sada ih više ne rabim često – samo bih se nazvala istočnoafričkom Azijkom druge generacije.

Znate, od kada znam za sebe, uvijek sam znala da sam netko, proizvod povijesnoga procesa i da sam na mnogo načina vrlo ran i vrlo temeljit primjer nekoga tko je angliziran.

Obitelj u britanskom kolonijalnom projektu: školovanje i engleski jezik

U Fawzinoj pripovijesti proces anglicizacije zauzima središnje mjesto. Vodi nas u vrijeme Fawzina odrastanja između obitelji i nacija. U skladu s običajima obrazovanih klasa u britanskim dominionima 1950-ih, suočeni s beskompromisnom rasnom segregacijom u kolonijalnom sustavu obrazovanja, sve je troje djece poslano u internate u Englesku. Dok su njezini stariji brat i sestra već bili u internatu, Fawzi su kao dvogodišnjakinju poslali ujaku u Irsku jer je majka na dulje vrijeme bila hospitalizirana u Londonu. Iz Irske su Fawzi poslali u Britaniju, kod stanodavke. Između njezine druge i treće godine života ambiciozna je dama, nezadovoljna djetetovim irskim naglaskom, silom Fawzin engleski pretvorila u izgovaranje s “pravilnim naglaskom”. Tako se temeljito potrudila da Fawzina majka poslije povratka iz bolnice nije prepoznala naglasak svoje kćeri. Fawzi kazuje:

Ono čega se sjećam od toga iskustva jest – sjećam se vrlo živo... Očigledno se dogodilo to da tim ljudima nije bio prihvatljiv engleski koji sam govorila u Irskoj. Pa su me preuvježbali, usredotočivši se na moj izgovor u tolikoj mjeri da sam kad se moja majka vratila iz bolnice govorila engleski kakav govorim sada, što je bio potpuni preobražaj onoga što je mama poznavala prije odlaska u bolnicu.

Ponovno sjedinjenje Fawzi smatra vrlo značajnim zato što su se ona i njezina majka vratile u istočnu Afriku, dok su starija sestra i brat ostali u internatima u Engleskoj. Dijete se samo moralo suočiti s novim istočnoafričkim okruženjem:

Navodno je moja reakcija na povratak kući u Arushu, koje se nisam sjećala, bila to da su mi i otac i majka neprestano morali ponavljati da je to uistinu moj dom. Nije bilo stanodavke koja bi me upozoravala da budem mirna. Da, to je stvarno moj dom, bio je samo moj. Mogla sam se kretati po cijeloj kući i nikakva mi stanodavka ne bi došla praviti probleme. I navodno je trebalo proći neko vrijeme da prihvatim kako je to bio moj otac, ja ga jednostavno nisam prepoznala. Sve mi se to dogodilo prije četvrte godine života.

U dobi od šest godina i Fawzi su poslali u internat. Unatoč činjenici da je poslije toga većinu djetinjstva provela odvojena od roditelja, brata i sestre, Fawzi je jako vezana za svoju užu obitelj. Na moje pitanje je li joj uvijek bilo jasno tko su joj roditelji, Fawzi odgovara:

Koliko mi je poznato, da. Poslije, kad sam kao šestogodišnjakinja otišla u internat, bilo je trenutaka kad nisam bila sigurna kako izgledaju moji roditelji, osim na slikama što sam ih imala, i nisam se mogla sjetiti majčina glasa.

S obzirom na troškove međunarodnoga prijevoza i komunikacije tijekom 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina, slanje djece u školu u inozemstvo značilo je da su ih roditelji vidali samo za najduljih školskih praznika, u europskim ljetnim mjesecima, ako su se uopće i vidali. Boravak u inozemnim internatima stvarao je golemu fizičku odvojenost djece od njihovih roditelja, a u glavama djece često i drukčiji svijet. (...)

Međutim, obiteljsko je međurazdoblje trajalo kratko. Iz dnevne škole u Arushi, Fawzi je otišla u internatsku školu u Keniji jer se smatralo da kenijske škole imaju bolje akademske standarde, bliže onima privatnih škola u Engleskoj. Škola u kojoj je provela pet godina pokazala se okrutnim iskustvom jer je u njoj prvi put bila izložena i rasizmu. Bila je jedina obojena učenica i poslije okončanja školovanja ondje rekla je svojim roditeljima da ne želi nastaviti školovanje u bjelačkim školama u Keniji.

Članovi i članice obitelji imaju raznolike verzije o tomu što se poslije toga događalo i je li ideja o odlasku na koledž za djevojčice u Pakistan bila ideja Fawzi ili njezine majke. Što god da je bio slučaj, obitelj se složila s odlukom. Postojala je i dodatna pogodnost za Fawzino školovanje u Pakistanu. Upoznala je pakistansku granu šire obitelji, a roditelji su dobili mogućnost za ponovni obiteljski susret. Roditelji su je dopratili u Pakistan da bi je smjestili u novu školu pa su proputovali zemlju posjećujući rodbinu. Otac je poslije dvadeset godina opet vidio sestru.

Na koledžu Kinnaird u Lahoreu Fawzi se suočila s novom verzijom rasističke predrasude. Njezine su je suučenice hitro proglasile "smeđom Europljankom". No, uskoro se početno učeničko neprijateljstvo otopilo i promijenilo u prihvaćanje jer se Fawzi isticala u predmetima koje su u školi smatrali važnima. Njezine sportske vještine i britanski naglasak, onako bolno stečen, pridonijeli su prihvaćanju i uzdigli njezin položaj među učenicama. Ipak, uvijek je imala osjećaj da je smatraju ozbiljnim fenomenom, na što je povremeno igrala. Vještina da u kazališnoj predstavi imitira *cockney*, što bi, prema Fawzinim riječima, "sasvim lako mogao svatko tko je neko vrijeme proveo u Britaniji", donijela joj je poseban ugled.

U anglizirajućem okružju koledža Kinnaird bila je “autentična” kao netko tko je doista živio u Britaniji. Britanska joj je veza nastavila pomagati i kasnije u životu. Fawzi sama priča, u šali, da je njezin nepogrešiv britanski naglasak bio jedan od čimbenika što su joj pomogli kod donošenja konačne odluke o ponudenu poslu profesorice engleske književnosti u New Yorku.

(...)

Nakon sedam godina na koledžu Kinnaird i sveučilištu Pandžab, i Fawzi i Suleri* preselile su se u Sjedinjene Američke Države, gdje su zajedno živjele i studirale englesku književnost. Poslije su obje postale profesoricama engleske književnosti na različitim sveučilištima u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama.

Obitelj – nacija – država

Fawzi, govornica najčišćega engleskoga jezika, nosi snažan osjećaj da je Tanzanijka, suprotstavljajući se svojemu britanskom kolonijalnom podrijetlu. Ustrajno se definira kao Tanzanijka, ali nikad nije imala tanzanijsku putovnicu niti je u Tanzaniji živjela dulje od godine – koju je provela u školi u Arushi. Imala je britansku putovnicu D-stupnja koju britanske vlasti nisu priznavale 1971. godine, u vrijeme rata što je odvojio Pakistan od Bangladeša. Nakon niza godina bez državljanstva, nedavno je postala državljankom Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Fawzi priča:

Britanci su izdavali putovnice, s različitim statusima za različite ljude iz različitih dijelova britanskih dominiona. A stupnjevanje se odnosilo na ograničena prava pristupa. Za rad u Britaniji, stanovanje u Britaniji i stanovanje u nekadašnjim britanskim kolonijama. Najproblematičniji aspekt bio je (ne)status odobran britanskim podanicima azijskoga podrijetla u Africi i britanskim podanicima kineskoga podrijetla u Hong Kongu, a ja sam spadala u obje kategorije. Posljednja britanska putovnica koju sam imala – kad sam je obnovila ranih 1990-ih – davala mi je pravo da stanujem u Hong Kongu. Na određeni me je način učinila Kineskinjom – moj je otac rođen u Hong Kongu – u definiranju tko je tko primjenjivali su patrilinarno načelo. I to je u biti bio jedan od glavnih razloga zašto sam odlučila da ću postati državljankom SAD-a (na temelju dugogodišnjega boravka u zemlji). A to nije bilo samo zbog neobičnosti mogega nebritanskoga statusa jer putovanje s britanskom putovnicom bilo je problematično zato što mi u neke zemlje nisu dopuštali ulazak... Nacionalnost i državljanstvo danas imaju sasvim drukčije značenje od onoga koje su imali sredinom dvadesetoga stoljeća, u doba dekolonizacije, pa sam mogla izbjeći mnoge probleme iako sam velik dio života provela u statusu apatrida.

* Sara Suleri, Fawzina nekadašnja školska kolegica i dugogodišnja prijateljica.

U Tanganjiki, marginaliziranom dijelu britanskoga kolonijalnoga carstva, Fawzina majka Sophia povela se za svojim osjećajima i 1950-ih aktivno se uključila u borbu Tanganjike za nezavisnost od britanske kolonijalne vladavine. Pridružila se afričkoj nacionalističkoj stranci pod vodstvom Juliusa Nyerere, TANU (Tanganjikanska afrička nacionalna unija), i putovala zemljom u koaliciji RAINBOW, agitirajući za okončanje britanske vladavine. Nakon što je 1961. godine Nyerere postao prvi predsjednik Tanzanije, Sophia je izabrana u parlament, u kojemu je kao zastupnica ostala prvih godina nezavisnosti. Dolazeći u Tanzaniju tijekom školskih praznika, Fawzi je postala dijelom obiteljskoga okružja duboko odanoga nacionalističkomu pokretu i izgradnji nacije postkolonijalne ere, što potvrđuje i njezina primjedba:

...kao Sophijina djeca i mi smo osjećali tu vrstu političke pripadnosti. Bila je to vrlo sentimentalna pripadnost: bilo je to nešto čemu se pridavalo veliku važnost, nešto na čemu se ustrajavalo.

No, među djecom je postojala razlika. Dok je dvoje mlađih razvilo dubok osjećaj pripadnosti Tanzaniji, najstarija je sestra našla čvršće utočište u Keniji. Za Fawzi, koja je znatan dio mladosti provela u Pakistanu, poistovjećivanje s Tanzanijom ostalo je snažno:

Kad sam otišla u Pakistan, stvari su se na mnogo načina zakomplicirale jer se nikad nisam osjećala kao da pripadam ondje. Unatoč tomu što sam kulturološki gledano i s obzirom na podrijetlo svojih roditelja trebala biti odande, nikad nisam osjećala blizinu. Na određen sam se način čak svrstala uz ideju da sam više Tanzanijka nego Indijka ili Pakistanka.

Godine 1958. Sophia je pristala izaći na izbore kao nezavisna kandidatkinja i pripalo joj je mjesto u zakonodavnom vijeću rezervirano za Azijce Arushe. Potom je, 1963. godine, postala prva Azijka u parlamentu nezavisne Tanzanije. U svojem radu pozivala Azijce da zaborave svoje raznorodne sekte i zajednice te da se smatraju Tanganjikancima. (...)

Dakle, Sophia je postala aktivnom sudionicom u izgradnji Tanganjike/Tanzanije, nacije što se rađala, dok je jedan od njezine braće jednako snažno zastupao ideju nacionalne države Pakistana. Oboje su se ozbiljno uključili u procese dekolonizacije i borbe za političku nezavisnost. Jedan je brat postao odani irski državljanin, a preostala su se dvojica s obiteljima nastanila u Engleskoj. U sljedećem naraštaju dvije kćeri i sin nositelji su različitih putovnica: kenijske, tanzanijske, britanske (različitih kategorija), kanadske i američke. Tijekom svih razdoblja užu obitelj nikad nije napustio osjećaj isprepletenosti.

Neopipljivosti obiteljskog jedinstva

U tri se generacije Fawzina obitelj nekoliko puta selila između Azije, Europe i Afrike. Nakon što je stigla u Keniju, kao rezultat radne migracije u britanskom carstvu, obitelj se rasprišla u brojnim smjerovima. Sastav Sophijina roditeljskog doma s petero djece u Nairobiju širio se i sužavao tijekom godina. Nakon majčine smrti, Sophia je 1940-ih preuzela ulogu majke za svoju mlađu braću, iako je sama već bila u braku. Otada su članovi obitelji prelazili nacionalne granice i nalazili utočište u svojim novim državama, čime je nastala zajednica koja je višestruko smještena i višenacionalna. Unatoč fizičkoj udaljenosti, zadržan je vrlo snažan osjećaj obitelji i srodstva premda svi ne dijele isti osjećaj. (...)

Unatoč tome, ideja bliske povezanosti roditelja, djece i unučadi koji žive odvojeno zahtijeva poseban način prerade osjećaja bliskosti i zajedništva. Slike i pripovijesti izgradile su osjećaj zajednice koja je i zamišljena i materijalizirana raznovrsnim praksama, i kao prisutnost i *in absentia*. Osjećaj zajedništva proizvodi se dopisivanjem, čestitkama i darovima što ih donose posjetitelji i posjetiteljice. Učvršćen je u fotografijama i predmetima što postaju talismanima doma i pripadanja. Fawzi su to majčina pisma, knjiga koju je napisala i u kojoj poimence spominje svoju djecu, obiteljske fotografije te slika planine Meru u Tanzaniji. Njezinu su bratu to bili voćni kolači i *chevra* za popodnevni čaj, koji su podsjećali na obiteljske rituale popodnevnoga čaja, a slali su mu ih u Dar es Salaam iz Nairobija, pažljivo upakirane u limene kutije. Majci je to bilo ritualno opisivanje rođenja svakoga djeteta na njegov ili njezin rođendan.

Tijekom godina provedenih na školovanju u internatima majčina su pisma bila točna kao sat, stizala su jednom tjedno, gdje god da su djeca bila, stvarajući snažan osjećaj obiteljske povezanosti. Majka je svjesno poklanjala pozornost svakomu djetetu i slala im pojedinačno naslovljena pisma. Osim toga, majka je čuvala pisma, svjesno, kao način održavanja prisutnosti svoje djece čak i u njihovoj odsutnosti. Trajalo je to dok nisu odrasli, pa je tako sačuvala sva 52 Fawzina pisma iz njezina osamnaestomjesečnoga boravka u Kini. Praksa čuvanja pisama nestala je tek pojavom elektroničke pošte, prema Fawzinim riječima:

Znaš što je zanimljivo, Ulla, ne samo da je sačuvala mnoga moja pisma, ako ne i sva, od prvoga do zadnjega, nego i puno mojih uspomena iz djetinjstva... To mi govori o borbi kroz koju je moja majka morala prolaziti živeći odvojeno od svoje djece i kako je pronašla ove načine da oko sebe zadrži našu prisutnost. Puno nam je stvari ponovno podijelila.

I životne staze svakoga naraštaja daju obiteljskoj priči nove obrate i zaokrete. Ilustriranje cijele dinamike tijekom različitih desetljeća zahtijevalo bi pozorno mapiranje. Dodatnu dinamiku stvara fokusiranje na Fawzi kao zaposlenu ženu

koja živi sama u New Yorku – neudanu ženu koja nije sama, nego je integralni dio vibrirajuće obiteljske mreže što se susreće uvijek kad im se putevi nađu na fizičkom križanju. U tom je smislu New York idealna lokacija za sjecišta. U New Yorku se Fawzi skrasila u vlastitom stanu koji je postao središnjim čvorom u obiteljskoj mreži transnacionalne gostoljubivosti. (...)

Takva politika otvorenih vrata križa se s mrežom lokalnoga susjedstva da bi stvorila metež srdačnih i zabavnih multietničkih susreta, što sam i sama doživjela kad sam u New Yorku posjetila Fawzi. Uživala sam u božićnom ručku kod Fawzinih susjeda, obitelji iz Gvatemale koja je otvorila svoja vrata društvu “stranaca” i “strankinja” ne samo iz Finske nego i iz drugih dalekih krajeva. Poslije ručka, pridružili smo se Newyorčanima i Newyorčankama koji su se šetali oko golema božićnog drvca (norveške donacije) u Centru Rockefeller, gdje je običaj da se na Božić na klizaljčkama kruži pod drvcem. Susjedne su ulice bile pune prodavača i prodavačica hrane i odjeće, koji su koristili priliku što se tu našla gomila ljudi. Rekli su mi: “Pogledaš li ljude pozornije, uvidjet ćeš da su većina došljaci/kinje u New York.” Za razliku od zatvorenoga finskoga Božića na koji sam bila naviknuta i koji je strogo ograničen na nuklearnu obitelj u vlastitom domu, Božić u New Yorku bio je usmjeren prema van i sastavljen od neobične skupine osoba iz različitih obitelji, različitih etničkih okruženja, različitih vjeroispovijesti koje na državni praznik slave različita značenja zajedništva.

Zaključak: transnacionalne obitelji u postkolonijalnosti

Ispričala sam priču o Fawzi i njezinoj obitelji kako bih istražila transnacionalne načine življenja. Obitelj je izuzetno raspršena, ali posjeduje zamišljeno i stvarno jedinstvo. Ono što je svima zajedničko, materijalno je i duhovno. Priča je to kako o nestabilnosti lokacija tako i o povijesno promjenjivoj prirodi identifikacije i nacionalnosti. Obiteljska mapa koja je 1930-ih obuhvaćala samo Hong Kong, Keniju i Britaniju do 1980-ih se proširila na različite europske i sjevernoameričke zemlje. A 1990-ih nitko od članova i članica obitelji koji su se blisko poistovjećivali s dekolonizacijom Tanzanije nije zapravo živio u Tanzaniji. Prisutnost obitelji i rodbine u istočnoj Africi trajala je samo dva ili najviše tri naraštaja, a do kraja 1990-ih sasvim je izbljedjela. Dogodilo se to u tolikoj mjeri da se Fawzi, planirajući povratak kao istraživačica, obratila meni kao “najbližoj srodnici” u smislu veza s Tanzanijom. Kad je stigla u Tanzaniju, toplo su je dočekali nekadašnji bratovi kolege i kolegice te prijatelji i prijateljice. Kolonijalno je razdoblje pružalo osobite uvjete za transnacionalnu mobilnost. U nezavisnoj je Tanzaniji “era razvoja” stvorila drukčiji oblik transnacionalnih susreta s radnicima i radnicama na razvojnim projektima koji su u prijašnji kolonijalni prostor stizali iz brojnih država. Takav je kontekst meni, finskoj državljanki, omogućio da se uključim u niz suvremenih transnacionalnih praksa, da u njima sudjelujem te da ih promatram.

U retrospektivi, europski se kolonijalizam čini povijesnim momentom globalizacije. Robertson (1992) gleda na kolonijalne početke nacionalnih država i njihovih nacionalnih društava od otprilike prije jednoga stoljeća kao na aspekt globalizacije. Proces je uključivao priključivanje brojnih neeuropskih društava međunarodnom društvu. On objašnjava izuzetno stratificiran društveni utjecaj europskih kolonijalnih carstava. Preciznije kazano, kolonijalno širenje zapadne Europe stvorilo je vlastiti prostor za kretanje kapitala i ljudi, kojim se centralizirano i silom upravljalo iz europskih metropola. U tom je prostoru pristup resursima postao dramatično rascijepljen duž klasnih i rasnih linija. Unutar toga kolonijalnog projekta golemo je fizičko kretanje ljudi bilo povezano sa zapošljavanjem radne snage na izgradnji kolonijalnih ekonomija. Što je tada počelo kao širenjem imperija potaknuto prostorno kretanje, nastavilo se sve do danas kao transformativni kulturalni proces. Vidljivo je to u povijestima obitelji i zajednica te u načinima na koji se nastavlja razrađivati njihove priče.

Obrazovanje i socijalne vještine što se dovode u vezu s britanskim kolonijalnim carstvom bili su potporan u izgradnji *modus operandi* Fawzine obitelji i nebrojenih drugih obitelji u Aziji i Africi koje su bile uključene u europske kolonizacijske projekte. G. Viswanathan (1992) pokazala je kako se stvaralo školske programe za engleski jezik i književnost u procesu uspostavljanja škola u europskim kolonijama, kako za djecu kolonizatora tako i za djecu kolonizirane više klase. Nisu samo obitelji kolonizatora razdvajane zbog obrazovnih aranžmana za djecu nego se, kao što je vidljivo na primjeru Fawzine obitelji, isto odnosilo i na obitelji u kolonijama, koje su počele svoju djecu slati na školovanje u kolonijalna središta. Bio je to jedan od aspekata u izgradnji transnacionalnih kolonijalnih elita. Uloga internata u obučavanju ljudi za život odvojen od obitelji nedovoljno je istraženo područje. Odvajanje se nije događalo samo kao odvajanje djece od roditelja; djeca bi bila iščupana i iz obiteljskih tradicija. U tom su procesu transnacionalne elite pronalazile plodno tlo, različito ovisno o tome jesu li u njemu dominirale britanske, francuske, belgijske ili portugalske metropole. Pieterse i Parekh (1995) taj proces vide kao doprinos kolektivnim ljudskim resursima za kolonijalne vladare, ali i za odabrane kolonijalne podanike. No u potonjem je slučaju moralo biti višestrukih lojalnosti i potrebe da čovjek bude svjestan kolonijalnog iskustva i sudionitva što ga je ono podrazumijevalo. Ti su čimbenici pridonijeli tomu da Fawzi kao intelektualka prigrli postkolonijalne studije sa željom da kritički ispita i ocijeni priču o kolonijalizmu.

S pomoću Bourdieuova (1998) koncepta *habitus* moguće je prikladno opisati kako su određeni ljudi zauzimali položaje u kolonijalnom prostoru i kako njihov *habitus* to odražava. Kulturološki gledano, tragovi kolonijalne povijesti simbolički se manifestiraju kao navike posluživanja engleskog doručka i poslijepodnevnog čaja, prije i između kašmirskog i pandžapskog

ručka i večere. U kolonijalnom naslijeđu naglasak na obrazovanje u elitnim školama, ovladavanje europskim jezicima, posebna društvena etiketa i odabir sportova te vještine vođenja i angažmana u lokalnoj politici, uz obiteljske i rodbinske umreženosti, metaforički rečeno “krvne veze”, pridonose stvaranju transnacionalnoga *habitusa* današnjice. Kreiran je prostor dijasporne, kako ga naziva Brah (1996), pri čemu su kolonijalni susret i njegove obrazovne politike pridonijeli stvaranju “transnacionalne elite” slične naobrazbe i *habitusa*, što olakšava pronalaženje zajedništva u nekadašnjem kolonijalnom prostoru.

Unatoč dugotrajnoj fizičkoj odvojenosti i dubokim kulturalnim pukotinama, čini se da je raspršena obitelj multicentrirana: svaka nova obitelj stvara vlastiti osjećaj pripadanja i lojalnosti. Članovi i članice obitelji centriraju svoje priče s različitim početnim točkama i različitim uporištima. U Fawzinu je slučaju upadljiva odsutnost osjećaja obiteljskoga pripadanja kući ili zemlji. Čini se da je za njih vezanost bila antitetična visoku stupnju pokretljivosti obitelji. Kuća je bila samo nastamba u određeno vrijeme i na određenom mjestu. Nije simbolično upućivala na vlastito podrijetlo. Nostalgično sjećanje nije se vezalo uz mjesto podrijetla, već prije za povijest obitelji i rodbine: njihova postignuća, pogreške i trenutke spajanja.

U Fawzinoj su priči važni i višenacionalni i transnacionalni elementi. Kad je o naraštaju njezinih roditelja riječ, majka i ujaci našli su utočište u različitim nacionalnim državama i na koncu postali nositeljima različitih putovnica vezanih uz različite nacije: riječima Fog-Olwig (1997) različito su se “lokalizirali”. U Fawzinu naraštaju, ona te njezini brat i sestra u različitim su razdobljima života imali različite putovnice. Njihovu mobilnost pokreću i dalje stvari vezane uz posao ili brak, kao i u kolonijalno doba, kad je obitelj naseljavala “kolonijalni prostor”, u velikoj mjeri definiran kolonijalnim interesima u zapošljavanju obrazovanih i vještih službenika za službu kolonijalnomu carstvu. Za ambicioznu elitu ili ljude koje je zanimao uspon na društvenoj ljestvici obrazovanje je postalo najvrednijim simboličnim i društvenim kapitalom, u koji je vrijedilo ulagati čak i na štetu života kod kuće i obiteljskog okružja. Kao i kod migrantskih obitelji, obiteljska mudrost, razmjena pisama, praznici i značajni simbolični predmeti pridonosili su izgradnji osjećaja pripadanja i zajedništva.

Zaključno, transnacionalnu obitelj kakva je istaknuta u ovom poglavlju može se promatrati i kao manifestaciju postkolonijalne problematike. Putanje pojedinih članova/članica obitelji nose u vlastitim životima tragove kolonijalizma i njegova propadanja. Moglo bi se reći da je kolonijalno i postkolonijalno iskustvo upisano u njihovim životima. Stoga, transnacionalna povijest obitelji manifestira nešto od besmislenosti debata o “tajmingu” postkolonijalnosti. Kolonijalni projekt i njegove globalizacijske dimenzije uvećali su raspršenost obitelji u tri naraštaja.

Kolonijalni je projekt potaknuo nastajanje imperijalnih i transnacionalnih elita s bogatstvom simboličkoga kapitala, koje su iskusile relativno širok raspon transnacionalne i kozmopolitske mobilnosti i životnoga stila. Međutim, projektu je inherentna osobna i obiteljska prikraćenost u smislu dugoročne obiteljske razdvojenosti, činjenica koju se, čini se, prihvaća manje-više filozofski. Bilo je i zavođenja i ograničenja.

Učenjem iz obiteljske priče što sam je iznijela može se uočiti da postoje utjecaji i nastavci kolonijalizma koje se ne može poništiti. Isto tako, nakon što kretanje počne, malo se obitelji vraća na mjesto obiteljskih korijena. O povratku se razmišlja samo u zamišljanju i privrženosti povijestima i društvenim odnosima što su dijelovi takvih povijesti. U tom je smislu transnacionalna obitelj neprekidno okrenuta prema naprijed i prema van, sasvim drukčije od dijaspore, koja postavlja društveni imperativ povratka na mjesto podrijetla. Dijaspore transnacionalnih obitelji podrazumijevaju raspršenost, no ne i ideju povratka.

S engleskog prevela Anđelka Rudić

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LAURA HUTTUNEN

POJAM DOMA ZA NEODLUČNU BOSANSKU DIJASPORU U FINSKOJ¹

Uvod

Ovim se radom propituje radikalna i specifična, nasilna transformacija “doma” u kontekstu razornog djelovanja rata u Bosni od 1992. do 1995. godine. Moje je istraživanje zapravo počelo nakon što me zaprepastio golem broj porušenih kuća u vrijeme moga prvog posjeta Bosni 2001. godine. Prema nekim statistikama, u Bosni je tijekom i poslije završetka rata uništeno 600.000 kuća. Od tada ih je dosta obnovljeno tako da su neke trajno nastanjene, dok u drugima vlasnici žive povremeno, prebivajući u dijaspori, na različitim stranama svijeta. Kako uopće pristupiti istraživanju takve dramatične transformacije kuća i domova?²

Dosad sam provela višekratno etnografsko terensko istraživanje među Bošnjacima koji žive u Finskoj od 2001. godine. Gotovo su svi u Finsku stigli kao izbjeglice tijekom i neposredno nakon rata. Većina su njih bosanski Muslimani/Bošnjaci, odnosno, mješovita podrijetla. U Finskoj čine relativno malobrojnu zajednicu koja broji 2000 ljudi te je razasuta po različitim krajevima Finske. Iako dio bosanskih izbjeglica potječe iz urbanih sredina: Sarajeva, Banje Luke i Tuzle,

¹ Prva verzija ovog teksta predstavljena je na Petoj konferenciji europskoga sociološkog društva pod naslovom *Visions and Divisions*, održanoj u Helsinkiju, u Finskoj, od 28. kolovoza do 1. rujna 2001., u sekciji *From one culture to another: Life-stories of migrants*. Istraživanje je financirala finska Akademija u sklopu istraživačkog programa *Marginalization, exclusion and ethnic relations*. Duža verzija rada objavljena je pod nazivom “‘Home’ and ethnicity in the context of war: Hesitant diasporas of Bosnian refugees”. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 8/2, 2005, 177–195.

² Vidi Stefanssonovu (2004) zanimljivu raspravu o domovima u kontekstu povratka raseljenih osoba u Sarajevo. Dok Stefansson opisuje živote bosanskih prognanika koji su se vratili u Bosnu, u urbanu sredinu, u ovom se radu usredotočujem na ruralni kontekst i prognanike koji žive transnacionalnim životima. Vidi također Jansen 2007, odnosno kritičku raspravu o inozemnim intervencijama u rješavanje pitanja povratka prognanika i izbjeglica. Jansenova argumentacija o nesigurnosti života u poslijeratnoj i postsocijalističkoj Bosni objašnjava uvjete povratka stanovništva, o kojima raspravljam u ovom radu.

većina ih je pristigla iz ruralnih područja, dakle sa sela i iz ruralnih naselja.

Većina ih u Finskoj ima stalne boravišne dozvole, koje im osiguravaju većinu građanskih prava, dok je samo nekolicina njih tražila finsko državljanstvo (što je najvjerojatnije vezano uz nerazjašnjeno pitanje dvojnog državljanstva u Bosni i Hercegovini). Ipak, unatoč relativno stabilnoj situaciji u zemlji primitka, većina Bošnjaka u Finskoj putem različitih transnacionalnih praksi zadržava čvrstu vezu s Bosnom.

Dva su načina konceptualizacije doma u akademskom diskursu: prvi je esencijalistički i njime se razmatraju ukorijenjenost, povezanost s mjestom i kulturom. Drugi, fluidniji i sveobuhvatniji pristup, usmjeren je na pokretljivost, mobilnost i transnacionalne veze do te mjere da pitanja *korjenitosti* pripadanja poima patološkima. Na temelju tih dvaju krajnjih pristupa, nastojat ću upozoriti na ambivalentnosti razumijevanja “domova” u slučaju Bošnjaka u egzilu.

Nadalje, vrlo veliku ulogu u određivanju doma bosanskih imigranata na pojedinim mjestima imali su politički diskursi; iznimno utjecajan diskurs u Finskoj (i drugdje) onaj je što se odnosi na integracijsku politiku za imigrante, kao i na programe za povratak izbjeglica u Bosnu. Njima se implicira mjesto “pravog” doma Bošnjaka. U ovom ću radu razmotriti načine na koji se spomenuti diskursi i življene prakse bosanskih izbjeglica međusobno prepleću.

Obično smatramo kako svatko ima dom, svoje jedinstveno utočište, ili kako bi ga barem trebao imati. Međutim, u određenim okolnostima, “dom”, dotad univerzalno samorazumljiv, može postati problematičnim mjestom. Takve nam izvanredne okolnosti omogućuju detaljniju analizu kompleksnosti društvene dinamike stvaranja i održavanja doma.

Gdje je nečiji dom i što je dom u situaciji kad je on nasilnim ratom uništen i kad je osoba primorana na bijeg? U ovom radu raspravljam o značenjima “doma” u životima bosanskih prognanika. Osnovni su okvir za diskusiju tri dimenzije, odnosno prijepora oko koncepta “doma”: najprije, “dom” istodobno predstavlja privatan i javan prostor; drugo, dom se (prije svega) ostvaruje konkretnim, življenim, tjelesnim praksama, ali i putem emocionalno i politički važnih simboličnih pripovijesti o pripadanju; treće, iako tradicionalno poiman kao stabilan i statičan u prostoru, rastućom mobilnošću i migracijama, sama statičnost, ukorijenjenost pripadanja, postaje sporna. Konačno, složeno pitanje etničkih identiteta u bosanskom kontekstu zadire u sve tri dimenzije i ovaj će rad naglasiti upravo njegovu ambivalentnu ulogu u razumijevanju “doma” u prognostvu.

Osnovna građa za pristup pitanju “doma” u životima bosanskih prognanika bit će pisane životne priča dvoje bosanskih prognanika u Finskoj, oboje podrijetlom Muslimana. Bosnu su napustili tijekom rata (1992. –

1995.) te u Finsku stigli kao prognanici.³ Obje su priče napisane u povodu natječaja objavljenog 1997. godine za useljenike u Finskoj te objavljene u antologiji useljeničkih tekstova (Huttunen 1999). Moj se rad temelji na širem istraživačkom projektu o konceptima doma i pripadanja u životnim pričama useljenika s različitim kulturno-povijesnim pozadinama. Ovdje donosim dvije priče iz Bosne nastojeći istaknuti njihove specifične značajke.

Čitanje životnih priča treba istodobno razumjeti kao komunikaciju s drugima i kao mjesto autorefleksije. Životne su priče tekstovi nastali u specifičnom kontekstu za specifičnu (pretpostavljenu) publiku. Pisanje je, osim toga, praksa koja ovisi o osobi koja i mjestu gdje piše. Dvije priče koje donosim nastale su u Finskoj u kasnim devedesetima, u razdoblju pojačana useljavanja u zemlju s dotad prilično malobrojnomo useljeničkom populacijom. Veoma je važno razumjeti pozadinski kontekst tih priča, dakle posljedice rata u Bosni. U progonstvu naracije su sredstvo održavanja kontinuiteta, premošćivanja rezova, prijelomnih događaja iz stvarnog života (cf. Eastmond 1996; vidi također Kaplan 1996). “Domovi” jesu mjesta življenog iskustva, ali u situacijama naglih prijeloma oni mogu biti ispričovijedani, prepričovani i posredovani jezikom i pripovijedanjem. Stoga priče koje donosim ne promatram kao objektivne prikaze prošlih događanja iz života njihovih autora, nego u njima iščitavam problematično poimanje doma i identiteta, rastrganih između dvaju zemljopisno udaljenih mjesta: Finske te Bosne i Hercegovine. Kazivači posežu za narativnom formom u svrhu strukturiranja vlastitih sjećanja na njima smislen način. Istovremeno, priče im omogućuju da prihvate svoj izbjeglički položaj unutar transnacionalnog prostora. Istražujući značenja doma u okviru priča koje donosim, posebnu pozornost posvetit ću načinima na koje etničku pripadnost shvaćaju njihovi autori.⁴ Propitat ću načine na koje ona, odnosno etnička podjela, ima ulogu u koncepciji “pravog” doma.

³ Natječaj je bio raspisao Odsjek za sociologiju i društvenu psihologiju na Sveučilištu u Tampereu, u suradnji s Finskim književnim društvom te Savjetodavnim vijećem za izbjeglice i migracijske poslove. Imigrante se pozvalo da pričaju o svom životu, prije i poslije preseljenja u Finsku. Poticani su da pišu o onome što smatraju bitnim i vrijednim. Natječaj je bio otvoren za sve useljenike u Finskoj bez obzira na zemlju podrijetla ili razlog useljavanja, a pristigle su 72 priče koje su napisali autori iz ukupno 25 zemalja, uključujući i pet autora iz Bosne. Na drugom sam mjestu već raspravljala o strukturi i formi tih priča (Huttunen 2002a).

⁴ Prema uopćenim tumačenjima, ratna zbivanja na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije uzrokovana su “davnim” i duboko ukorijenjenim animozitetom etničkih i nacionalnih skupina. Socijalistička jednopartijska vladavina, a posebice ujedinjujuće djelovanje Titove karizme, suspregnuli su tu nesnošljivost i mržnju. Titovom smrću te skorim urušavanjem socijalističkog sistema uklonjene su prepreke jačanju etnonacionalizama. Raspadom Jugoslavije, etnička pripadnost dobiva novo i snažno, ispolitizirano značenje iako su spomenuti procesi također znatno složenije naravi od uopćenih tumačenja (vidi, primjerice, Verdery 1993; Halpern i Kideckel 2000).

“Dom” kao prostor, dom kao naracija

“Dom” kao riječ i kao koncept sadržava mnogostruka značenja koja se mogu grupirati u dvije osnovne kategorije: prva se veže uz privatni prostor. “Dom”, odnosno kuća ili stan, intiman je prostor, zaklon, mjesto obiteljskog života. S druge strane, o “domu” možemo govoriti kao o “rodnoj zemlji” i mjestu podrijetla, odnosno kao o javnim prostorima obilježenim političkim kategorijama pripadnosti koje pokreću pitanja podrijetla, postojbine i sjećanja što ih vežemo uz određeno mjesto. Stoga je “dom” emocionalno nabijen pojam, veoma pogodan za manipulacije u političke svrhe. Biti “kod kuće”, “doma” posebno je tjelesno iskustvo prostora i mjesta. Dom označava poznato ozračje i blizak krajolik koji se doživljavaju prije svega tjelesno (usp. Brah 1996:2; Ahmed 1999:341), ali dom se također stvara i održava pripovijedanjem: to je mjesto odakle ja potječem i gdje su “moji” (Ahmed 1999:342–344).

Mary Douglas (1991) upozorila je na to kako se prostor pretvara u “dom” time što biva stavljen pod nadzor. U tom smislu, svaka kuća ili zaklon ne mogu biti dom. S druge strane, kuća ili stan gube značenje doma u trenutku kad je kontrola nad prostornim granicama i ulazom u prostor izgubljena. O tom ću aspektu detaljnije raspravljati u analizi priča koje donosim.

Dom, kao privatni prostor, neizostavno je povezan s vanjskim prostorom i odnosima moći. U kontekstu rasprava o domu kao javnome mjestu, primjerice onima o pravu useljavanja, pitanje “doma” jasno je politizirano: Na temelju čega netko polaže pravo na svoj/u dom/ovinu? Tko sve u nekoj zemlji može ostvarivati politička i socijalna prava? Javni su prostori organizirani prema različitim režimima moći te se u njima netko može osjećati više ili manje “kod kuće” – imajući veću ili manju kontrolu nad svojim odnosom s tim (javnim) prostorom. O problemu odnosa useljenika i javnog prostora u zemlji doseljenja, često se raspravljalo u okviru migracijskih studija. Institucionalna kontrola nad useljeničkim i boravišnim dozvolama, hijerarhizirana struktura odnosa na radnom mjestu, te iskustva svakodnevnih kontakata, stvaraju dihotomiju “mi” i “oni” koja regulira život u javnim prostorima (usp. Metcalf 1996). Time se one koji su vidljivo drukčiji kontinuirano upozorava na to kako ne pripadaju, odnosno kako pripadaju djelomično. Predložila bih stoga da se, osobito u problemske rasprave o izbjeglicama, uvede analiza njihova često problematičnog odnosa s javnim prostorom u zemlji podrijetla. Kad se netko na javnom prostoru u zemlji podrijetla ne osjeća više kao “kod kuće”, onda bira egzil u svrhu pronalazjenja drugoga, sigurnijega javnog prostora.

Novije teorijske rasprave o migracijama i transnacionalizmu (Cohen 1997; Wahlbeck 1999; Ong 1999; Bryceson i Vuorela 2002) upozorile su na kompleksnost značenja “doma” s obzirom na različite oblike pokretljivosti ljudi u suvremenom svijetu (usp. Urry 1999). Tim se smjerom istraživanja koncept doma razumijeva na neesencijalan način, s obzirom na činjenicu da

mnogi migranti u globalnom prostoru nekoliko mjesta istodobno poimaju vlastitim referentnim točkama. Dom se uspostavlja kako mogućnostima tako i ograničenjima koje nalazimo u određenome mjestu. Domovi nisu isključivo “ovdje” ili “ondje”, već mogu postojati na više različitih mjesta istodobno.

Vrijeme je dodatna dimenzija koja koncept doma čini dinamičnim: domovi iz prošlosti nisu jednaki onima u sadašnjem vremenu ili onima o kojima maštamo kao budućim domovima. Veoma je važno istražiti trenutak u kojem dom u egzilu postaje mjestom svakodnevice, prostorom koji se ne propituje, nego se prihvaća u vlastitom ponavljanju (Hannerz 1996:25-28). Useljenici se dolaskom u novo okruženje zatječu u situaciji kada treba uskladiti odnos prema zemlji useljenja s odnosom prema prošlosti i zemlji podrijetla. Prošlost tako u velikoj mjeri nosi značenje koje je određeno kontekstom sadašnjosti.

Ipak, kako ističe Liisa Malkki (1997), univerzalno izbjegličko (odnosno useljeničko) iskustvo ne postoji. Postati i biti izbjeglicom uvijek je snažno određeno konkretnim društvenopolitičkim odnosima i uokvireno specifičnim kulturnim i političkim kontekstom. Cilj je ovog rada raspravljati o načinima na koje su bosanske izbjeglice potkraj devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća posredovali i razumijevali dom i osjećaj pripadnosti. Pritom ne nastojim ponuditi univerzalan obrazac izbjegličkog “udomljavanja”, nego prije želim istaknuti dinamičnost tih procesa te pokazati uzajamno prožimanje nekoliko aspekata pripadnosti.

Bosna prije rata: dom kakav se pamti

U radu donosim dvije priče koje ću detaljnije analizirati. Prvu je napisala Jasminka, rođena u Banjoj Luci 1959. godine, gdje je i studirala pravo.⁵ U Banjoj Luci je živjela do 1995. godine, kad je bila prognana nakon što je srpska vojska okupira grad. Drugu je priču napisao Esad, rođen u malenu mjestu u blizini Prijedora, u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1973. godine. Obje osobne priče ističu mogućnost pregovaranja pojma doma u kontekstu prognaničkog života, kao i neke pojedinosti vezane uz konkretno iskustvo rata u Bosni. Na primjeru tih priča nastojat ću pratiti promjenljiva značenja “doma” i načine na koje iskustvo rata utječe na proces pregovaranja značenja.

Središnji je element oko kojeg se grade obje naracije rat u Bosni. Vrijeme o kojemu se pripovijeda jasno je podijeljeno na prijeratno i poslijeratno razdoblje.⁶ Jasminka i Esad prisjećaju se prijeratne Bosne kao svekoliko ugodnog doma. U oba je slučaja krajolik opisan do u detalje, kao blizak i poznat fizički prostor koji je doživljen prije svega tjelesno. Psihički doživljaj fizičkog prostora oživljen

⁵ Oba imena su pseudonimi.

⁶ Marita Eastmond (1996) predlaže podjelu prema kojoj bi se životne priče useljenika dijelile na vrijeme prije i poslije progonstva. U pričama iz Bosne rat je osobit događaj koji snažno dijeli vrijeme, a progonstvo je shvaćeno isključivo kao rezultat rata.

je sjećanjem na interakciju s drugim ljudima; društveni značaj doma time je tijesno povezan s psihičkim i osjetilnim, o čemu svjedoči i dio Jasminkinih sjećanja na djetinjstvo.

Društvena i osobna, osjetilna iskustva u procesu sjećanja na življeni prostor međusobno su tijesno isprepletena te čine opipljiv doživljaj doma. Jasminka, primjerice, u svoju priču uključuje opis kulinarskih recepata. Upravo su takvi segmenti ritualizirane svakodnevne prakse dio izgubljene svakidašnjice za kojom u progonstvu autori priča najviše čeznu. Osim sjećanja na razgranatost društvenih mreža koje su im nekad pružale značajnu pomoć, autori hranu doživljavaju kao djelić tjelesne, osjetilne dimenzije doma. Ista vrsta hrane nekad pripremana u svakoj kući donosi, pruža opipljiv (omirisani!) sadržaj svakodnevnog života koji su nekoć dijelile različite etničke skupine. Netko ovdje može primijetiti kako je samo postojanje zajedničke (bosanske) kuhinje dokinulo etničke podjele, učinivši ih nevidljivima i nepostojećima. Važno je primijetiti i kako u tim pričama etnička pripadnost protagonista nije isticana.⁷ Poslije će takve podjele biti izrečene i jasne, no u opisima prijeratnog razdoblja etnička diferencijacija ne postoji.

Esad svoju priču počinje prisjećanjem na konkretan događaj: gradnju kuće u malom ruralnom mjestu u Bosni:

Da li me je bio probudio cvrkut ptica, otkucaji sata, zvukovi izvana, miris drveća i proljeća, lupkanje šalica i tanjura u kuhinji, ili nešto drugo... Ustao sam i izašao. Vani je bilo mnogo ljudi, a još više ih je pristizalo. Tada se prisjetih kako smo trebali nastaviti gradnju naše obiteljske kuće. Rodbina i susjedi su dolazili pomoći, kao i obično. Svatko je znao raditi ponešto, a neki su bili i profesionalni graditelji te su se ponašali poput šefova. Upravo stoga nismo nikoga trebali unajmljivati za rad.⁸

Ovo se sjećanje odnosi na gradnju konkretne obiteljske kuće. U ruralnoj Bosni obiteljska kuća zauzima istaknuto mjesto, odnosno ona je utjelovljenje obiteljskih prilika i prestiža te je vidljiv pokazatelj zajedničkog napora članova obitelji (vidi Bringa 1995:65–73, 85–91).⁹ Društvene i emotivne sastavnice ponovno čine neodvojiv dio sjećanja na prijeratni život u Bosni. Važno je uočiti

⁷ Tijekom etnografskog istraživanja među bosanskim prognanicima koji žive u Finskoj sugovornici koji dolaze iz urbanih sredina iznova su mi ponavljali kako su u tim sredinama u vrijeme Jugoslavije etničke podjele u svakodnevnoj interakciji gubile dominantno značenje. Vidi također bilješku 10.

⁸ Autorica je analizirala prikupljene izbjegličke priče u finskom prijevodu Eeve-Kaarine Belaic, koje je zatim sama prevela na engleski jezik. U nedostatku izvornog rukopisa, iskazi su ovdje prevedeni prema engleskoj verziji.

⁹ Spaljivanje kuća drugih etničkih grupa tijekom bosanskog rata bio je dio etnički određene strategije ratovanja.

kako priča posebno naglašava da se kuća gradila s prijateljima i susjedima. Na ovome se mjestu etničke diferencijacije također ne spominju.¹⁰ U nastavku ću upozoriti na to kako zbog ratnog iskustva Esad mijenja odnos prema vlastitom sjećanju – na sretno djetinjstvo, na bliskost s krajolikom, na iskrenost (prijateljskih) društvenih odnosa.

Jasminka pripada starijoj generaciji. Rat je proživjela kao odrasla te se u njezinoj priči osjećaji sreće i sklada ne vežu uz djetinjstvo. Većim dijelom Jasminka opisuje vlastiti život kao život odvjernice, članice obitelji i uže zajednice. Različite uloge u profesionalnom životu te uloge majke i prijateljice međusobno se prepleću i tako čine mozaik bogatog i ispunjenog života:

Tijekom polusatne pauze za ručak običavali smo odlaziti do obližnjeg kafića, *Tanga*, gdje su nas svi konobari poznavali. Znali su kakvu kavu pijemo, *kapučino* ili običnu. Provodili smo zajedno lijepe trenutke i uživali u njima, jer smo znali da nekamo pripadamo. Poznavali smo konobare i ljude koji su zalazili u taj kafić te smo se tamo osjećali kao kod kuće.

Biti članom zajednice važan je dio prošloga životnog iskustva. Kafić je simbol prijateljstva i zajednice unutar kojeg nacionalne ili etničke diferencijacije nisu imale nikakvu ulogu. Obje su priče napisane u izbjeglištvu u Finskoj, stoga je značenje prijeratnog razdoblja opisano iz perspektive prognaničkog života. S jedne strane, dirljive opise bosanskoga krajolika moguće je promatrati kao nostalgiju za nepovratno izgubljenim djetinjstvom ili prošlim vremenom. Općenita sklonost da se djetinjstva i mladenaštva prisjećamo s nostalgijom¹¹ još je jače istaknuta kontekstom progonstva.

Izabrani odlomci podupiru formulaciju Aviara Braha, koji dom tumači kao “življeno iskustvo mjesta, njegovih zvukova i mirisa” (1996:192). Sara Ahmed proširila je ideju utjelovljenog bivanja u lokalnom prostoru rekavši da se subjekt i okoliš “prelijevaju jedan u drugog” (1999:341). Biti “doma” znači cijelim tijelom iskusiti bivanje u bliskom okruženju koje ulijeva sigurnost. Migracijom se premještamo u novo okruženje, što stvara jak, tjelesni osjećaj nelagode. Kako objašnjava Ahmed: premještanje u novi prostor nerijetko je doživljeno kao napad na osjetila, kao “upad neočekivanog prostora u tijelo” (1999:342). Esad i Jasminka

¹⁰ Prema istraživanju prijeratnog razdoblja u ruralnoj Bosni, međuetnički su brakovi bili slabije zastupljeni u ruralnim sredinama, te je i svijest o pripadnosti etničkoj skupini bila izraženija no u gradovima. Vidi npr. Bringa 1995; također Botev 2000. Ipak, autor ove osobne priče svoje djetinjstvo ne opisuje tako da ističe etničke razlike.

¹¹ Anni Vilkkko, finska znanstvenica koja se bavi proučavanjem finških autobiografskih tekstova, upozorava na to kako se u većini tekstova krajolici iz djetinstva snažnije pamte nego oni iz kasnijeg razdoblja života; vidi Vilkkko 1998.

svoje su priče napisali netom nakon dolaska u Finsku, stoga je razumljiva nostalgija za emotivno bliskim krajolikom u stanju “tjelesne otuđenosti”.

Ipak, u tim su pripovijestima trenuci nostalgичnog prisjećanja uokvireni pričom o političkim previranjima i drastičnim razdorima koji pojmu doma daju nova, specifična značenja. U nekim od ranijih radova (Huttunen 2000, 2002) raspravljala sam o tome kako su u kazivanjima onih izbjeglica koji su preživjeli mučenja i zatvoreništvo u domovini, društveni i emotivni krajolik nerijetko zasjenjeni sjećanjima na proživljenu patnju. Njihove priče ne otkrivaju nostalgiju za domovinom, ona se više ne pamti kao dom. Stoga smatram kako nostalgija za djetinjstvom nije univerzalna. S druge strane, činjenica da strahote rata nisu potisnule lijepa sjećanja u Esadovoj i Jasminkinoj priči te da se Bosna pamti kao lijep dom, omogućuje da oboje stvore dijasporske identitete u budućnosti.

Nostalgiju za prošlošću treba razumjeti u odnosu na iskustvo rata. Moguće je da je opisana harmoničnost prijeratnog razdoblja zapravo rezultat iskustva ratnog nasilja. Sjećanje je važno sredstvo prisvajanja, prihvaćanja sadašnjosti. S druge strane, različita sadašnja iskustva rezultiraju različitim načinima na koje se prisjećamo prošlosti (usp. Malkki 1995; Ganguly 1992). No, ono što bih željela istaknuti jest da je sjećanje na prijeratni vrijeme lišeno naznaka etničkih sukoba. Sjećanje na prijeratno razdoblje zapravo je kritika etničkih sukoba u Bosni, a ne samo izraz nostalgije za prošlošću.

Politiziran dom – problematiziran dom

Etnonacionalizam se kao ideologija, odnosno kao oblik političkog organiziranja, ne javlja ni u jednoj od priča o Bosni prije 1990. godine. Zapravo, “politika” se pojavljuje kao metoda vježbanja moći odozgo koja se u pričama doživljava kao nasilna sila što može razmrskati i uništiti skladan korpus ranijih sjećanja. U Esadovoj priči Titova je smrt prekretnica između skladnog društva i ratnih strahota. Odjednom u priči postoji distinkcija “mi” i “oni”, “Srbi” i ostali. Esad se osobno ne “sjeća” djelovanja nacionalističkih politika. On naknadno promišlja prošlost i pretpostavlja kako su one postojale te da su pritajeno djelovale na nesrbe u Bosni. U njegovu osobnom prisjećanju život tijekom 1980-ih nesmetano teče:

Išao sam u školu, otac je radio i život je tekao uobičajeno. [...] Mislio sam kako još uvijek živimo u bratstvu i jedinstvu te da još postoji osjećaj pripadnosti jednih drugima zbog kojeg nitko ne bi poželio nautiti nekome radi etničke pripadnosti. [...] U školi nije bilo problema po pitanju nacionalnosti. U mojem je razredu bilo djece različitog podrijetla, kao i uvijek.

U trenutku dok piše, Esad proživljava nasilje rata u Bosni. Tijekom rata bivši susjedi i prijatelji borili su se jedan protiv drugog na suprotnim stranama etnički podijeljene bojišnice. Ta ga iskustva zbunjuju u odnosu na njegova sjećanja te se

čini kako oklijeva u dekonstrukciji “bratstva i jedinstva”, koje je obilježilo godine njegovog djetinjstva, kako ga oklijeva vrednovati kao stvarno ili lažno. Postoji nesklad između njegovih sjećanja na suživot etničkih grupa i kasnijih sjećanja na nasilje. Taj nesklad, odnosno oklijevanje ostaje neriješeno u Esadovoj priči. Način na koji će on i ostali Bošnjaci moći razriješiti taj nesklad imat će bitne posljedice na poimanje “doma”. Je li moguće vratiti se u životni sklad kakav se pamti? Je li taj sklad iluzija ili su, u određenom trenutku, bratska solidarnost i “pravi” dom u Bosni doista postojali? Može li Bosna ponovno biti “pravim” domom u budućnosti?

Slično tome, Jasminka kroz iskustvo rata i progonstva prošle događaje promatra u novom svjetlu. Primjerice, događaj iz tinejdžerskih dana i uhićenje prijateljeva oca reinterpretira pod utjecajem kasnijih iskustava.

Čini se kako oba autora različito adresiraju krivnju za rat i uništenje harmoničnoga prijeratnog društva. Jasminka “političare” imenuje zločincima, dok Esad krivi “Srbe”. Ipak, nakon što Srbe okrivi za pokretanje sukoba, počinje preispitivati vlastita stajališta na temelju toga što je među Srbima imao i prijatelja i kumova u vlastitoj obitelji (vidi idući citat). Što je izazvalo ratne brutalnosti? Pomnije gledano, Srbi pod utjecajem nacionalističke politike oni su koji su postali prijateljom za društvo i njegovu budućnost, a ne Srbi kao takvi.

Etničke podjele nisu prisutne u svakodnevnom životu opisanih zajednica. Oba autora smatraju kako su te podjele izazvali malevolentni (etnonacionalistički orijentirani) političari. Dom postaje izrazito problematičnim mjestom u trenutku kada biva politiziran u etničkom ili nacionalističkom smislu. Postaje dom koji to više nije. Gube se temeljne značajke, osjećaji sigurnosti i zajedništva, koje bitno određuju dom. Oba autora stoga čeznu za vremenom kad je bilo moguće živjeti uobičajenim životom, bez upletanja politike.¹²

Rat: uništeni domovi, politička svjedočanstva

U obje priče početak rata prekretnica je oko koje se gradi priča. Oboje se sjećaju i iscrpno opisuju trenutak kad su shvatili neizbježnost i sveprisutnost rata u svojim životima. U Esadovoj priči rat se primiče postupno i polako:

Slovenija je tražila neovisnost i izbio je rat. Gledali smo televiziju ne vjerujući da se tako nešto događa u našoj zemlji.¹³ U to smo vrijeme

¹² Ova se tvrdnja na zanimljiv način podudara s tezom Davida Campbella (1999) prema kojoj podjelu Bosne u etnički demarkirane teritorijalne cjeline prema Daytonskom sporazumu podupiru bosanski nacionalistički političari, a protivni joj se većina “običnih” ljudi, usp. Bringa 1995.

¹³ Zanimljivo je napomenuti kako se pojam “zemlje u kojoj živimo/živjeli smo” odnosi na Jugoslaviju, dok kasnije Esad u priči govori o Bosni kao zemlji podrijetla ili domovini. Ta smjena značenja upućuje na to koliko su tim ljudima rat i raspad Jugoslavije promijenili sustav razumijevanja svijeta.

pratili ratna događanja na Bliskom istoku i u Iraku koja su bila tako daleko od nas i nitko nije vjerovao da bi takav rat mogao izbiti i kod nas. [...] Sjedio sam u vrtu i slušao topovsku paljbu koja je dopirala s druge strane kozaračkog brda, iz Hrvatske. Sada je rat blizu, nije više daleko na Bliskom istoku ili bilo gdje drugdje; rat se približavao upravo ovamo. Bilo je nezamislivo da bi rat došao k nama. Nikada se nismo svađali sa Srbima, imali smo Srbe za prijatelje i kumove s obje obiteljske strane. [...] Oni koji su došli s oružjem pucali su u zrak, električne žice su stalno bile presječene. Sjedali bi na vrhove tenkova i vikali: 'Ovo će sve da bude Srbija!', imajući tri prsta uzdignuta, što predstavlja simbol srpstva. Na tenkovima su bili ovješeni natpisi: Ovo je Srbija, Turci (mislili su na nas Bošnjake), idite u Tursku, katolici, idite u Vatikan!'

Esad se s nevjericom prisjeća kako je rat narušio poznati krajolik te ga pretvorio u mjesto straha i nasilja. Izražava mržnju prema vojsci koja je upala u njega, što je ujedno prvi zapamćeni incident u Esadovoj priči u kojem je etnička podjela izrazito naglašena. Bitno je napomenuti kako je nasilna interpretacija etničkih podjela pripisana onima izvan lokalne zajednice; unutar nje, prema Esadu, takva mržnja ne može "prirodno" postojati. Diskurz etničkih razlika bio je zamjetan i prije rata, ali ne i nasilje kao njegova interpretativna značajka. Također, bitno je primijetiti kako se praksa označavanja drugosti odvijala različitim nazivljem: Srbi koji ulaze u Bosnu lokalne Muslimane nazivaju "Turcima" i time indiciraju njihovu nepripadnost danom području. To odražava promjenu dinamike etničkog nacionalizma na Balkanu: dok su srpski i hrvatski nacionalisti u 19. stoljeću vodili žestoke razmirice zbog pitanja bosanskih Muslimana koji su se preobratali na islam pod otomanskom vladavinom (vidi npr. Donia i Fine 1994) – treba li ih smatrati Srbima ili Hrvatima – u devedesetim godinama 20. stoljeća radikalni nacionalisti Muslimane sve češće nazivaju "Turcima". Potkraj 20. stoljeća nacionalizam na Balkanu poprima sve specifičnije i nasilnije oblike.

U Jasminkinoj priči u ratnu se stvarnost uvlači i njezina obitelj.

"Osobno" i "političko" ovdje su nerazdvojivo isprepleteni. Rat razdvaja njezinu obitelj, odnosno intimno okruženje obiteljskog života biva narušeno i uništeno političkim. Nemiri u "domu" kao javnom prostoru prodiru u privatnu sferu, čime "dobar" život, odnosno "pravi" dom postaju neodrživima. U obje priče rat poznat krajolik pretvara u strani, prijeteći, opasan i označen nasiljem. U Esadovoj priči, Srbi su okupirali njegov grad:

Jednog travanjskog jutra na ceste su postavljene barikade, strojnice i vreće s pijeskom. Policajci Srbi su zauzeli policiju, a ostalima je bilo

bolje da ne ulaze u zgradu. Gradom su patrolirale grupe naoružanih ljudi koje su provjeravale svakog prolaznika. Lokalna radiopostaja je objavila kako je toga dana područje Prijedora proglašeno Srpskom krajinom. Svi Bošnjaci i Hrvati bili su otpravljeni sa svojih poslova. Srbi su bili zauzeli njihovo mjesto, bez obzira jesu li bili kvalificirani za određenu vrstu posla. Važna je bila samo njihova odanost srpskoj strani. Potom su počeli napadati Kozarac.

Na ovom se mjestu Esadova priča pretvara u niz anegdotalnih zapisa o strahotama koje su počinili Srbi. Osobna dimenzija pripovijedanja životne priče na neko je vrijeme potisnuta; umjesto vlastitih sjećanja Esad pomno opisuje događaje koji su se dogodili drugim ljudima. Njegova se priča pretvara u svjedočanstvo nasilja i nepravde učinjene nad bosanskim Muslimanima tijekom rata. "Osobno" se ovdje spaja s "javnim" i "političkim". U Esadovoj priči nasilni su Srbi preoteli javni prostor i pretvorili ga u arenu ekstremnog nasilja. Isto tako, u Jasminkinoj je priči značenje doma kao privatnog prostora, mjesta utočišta i intimnosti bitno narušeno:

Ožujak 1994. je donio nove traume mojoj obitelji. Jedne večeri u naš stan su upala tri vojnika. Prijetili su nam govoreći kako stan treba biti ispražnjen u roku tri dana kako bi se jedan od njihovih vojnika mogao useliti. Nakon toga su nastavili s prijetećim pozivima i vrijeđanjem telefonom, no ostali smo u stanu do srpnja. Svejedno, nakon toga više nisam mogao mirno spavati. Svaki bi me zvuk budio, bilo zvonjava telefona ili kad bi netko, na hodniku ili ulici, govorio malo glasnije.

Granice doma kao privatnog prostora više nije moguće kontrolirati. Strah obuzima Jasminkino tijelo. Granica između "javnog" i "privatnog" se rastače, a oba prostora izložena su prijetnji nasilja i gubitka kontrole nad vlastitom sudbinom. U tom trenutku i granice vlastitoga tijela postaju ranjive.

Pojedine razlike između ovih dviju priča mogu se objasniti time što protagonisti obitavaju na različitim mjestima: u selima sjeverne i istočne Bosne vođene su teške borbe, dok je Banja Luka, odakle dolazi Jasminka, bila udaljenija od bojišnice. Dakle, rat se i mogao osjetiti na različite načine premda u obje priče poznati krajolik odjednom postaje neprijateljski i stran. Nacionalističke politike razbijaju "domove" te ni javni, društveni krajolik, ni prostor vlastitog stana ne nude više osjećaj doma.

Egzil: neodlučna dijaspora

Kao što je već spomenuto, obje priče pokazuju kako su rat i događaji koji su ga uzrokovali promijenili autorov odnos prema Bosni kao domu. Napuštanje zemlje i odlazak u progonstvo zadnji je korak u postupnom procesu

pretvaranja društveno i emotivno bliskoga krajolika, nekad poimanog domom, u neprijateljsko i prijeteće mjesto. Bosna tako više nije dobar dom u kojem se može živjeti.

Međutim, teorije o iseljeništvu i transnacionalizmu, kao i etnografski izvori, pokazuju kako brojne migrantske skupine održavaju simbolične i praktične veze sa svojim domovima. Društvena okupljanja u dijaspori znače snažnu orijentaciju prema zemlji podrijetla (Saffran 1991; Wahlbeck 1999) kao “pravom” domu prema kojemu se usmjeravaju političke i ekonomske aktivnosti. Nada u povratak određuje život grupe i pojedinaca u dijaspori, dok pojedina okupljanja u dijaspori znače i veću otvorenost prema transnacionalnim praksama grupa i pojedinaca (Ong 1999; Bryceson i Vuorela 2002).

Obje su priče napisane netom nakon dolaska u Finsku. Nemoguće je predvidjeti kakve će odnose oni, odnosno bosanske izbjeglice općenito, stvoriti s današnjom Bosnom i Hercegovinom te s državama u kojima obitavaju. Umjesto da nudim “konačne odgovore”, cilj mi je putem ovih priča otkriti naznake i mogućnosti stvaranja budućeg doma.

Već spomenuto Esadovo sjećanje na gradnju obiteljske kuće u Bosni – doma u konkretnom smislu – upućuje na to kako se cijeli projekt građenja kuće morao reinterpretirati tijekom pisanja, s obzirom na naknadno proživljeno iskustvo rata i progonstva:

Finci su također željeli neovisnost, no oni nisu svojoj rodbini privrženi kao mi. Oni mnogo putuju, u Finskoj i izvan nje, i to je dobro. No mi smo cijeli svoj život gradili kuću i opremali je stvarima, i sada nam od toga ništa nije ostalo. To me je naučilo kako čovjek sa sobom može ponijeti samo svoje znanje, ono što nosi u glavi, to je nešto što ti nitko ne može oduzeti.

Čini se da Esad sugerira kako snažna veza s određenim mjestom čini čovjeka ranjivim u svijetu kojim vladaju nacionalističke i politike moći. Stoga bi neka vrsta kozmopolitske orijentacije (usp. Hannerz 1996:102–111) bila moguće rješenje kao održiv identitet u suvremenom svijetu. Dakle, u Esadovoj je priči dom nekad nedvojbeno bio u Bosni. Međutim, nije jasno određen u pitanju može li dom u budućnosti biti ponovno u Bosni ili bi trebao biti negdje drugdje. Islam postaje sve važnijom sastavnicom njegova privatnoga života, kao i života bosanskih Muslimana općenito. Tema islama na zanimljiv način zaokružuje njegovu priču:

Unatoč svemu neki ljudi su se vratili iz Finske. Ono smo što jesmo, bosanski Muslimani, to ne možemo i ne želimo mijenjati. Ovdje, gdje nema sunca zimi, njegovu toplinu ipak mogu osjetiti onda kada se u molitvi okrenem licem prema istoku.

Prije toga Esad je upotrijebio potpuno iste riječi da bi opisivao tjelesno iskustvo molitve u Bosni: sada se isti osjećaj, dakle, prenosi usprkos zemljopisnoj udaljenosti i oživljava se u tjelesnoj praksi molitve. Ovdje zapažamo oklijevanje u korištenju kako nacionalističkog tako i transnacionalno usmjerenog diskursa. Dom, kakav je određen političkim nacionalnim identitetom, čvrsto je vezan uz specifičan zemljopisni prostor, dok tjelesno prakticanje islama dom može stvoriti bilo gdje (usp. Metcalf 1996), dakle i u Finskoj. Ideja Bosne kao “pravog” doma naglašeno je prisutna u naraciji i u razmatranju mogućnosti povratka. Ipak, s obzirom na to da praksom islama dom nije zemljopisno određen te da može biti gdje god se netko zatekne, pojam “doma” postaje još složenijim. Može se reći kako etnička pripadnost postaje snažan element diskursa o identitetu, ali na nov način: ona Esadu omogućuje da razgovara o vlastitom odnosu s Bosnom dok živi u Finskoj.

No ni identitet ni “dom” nisu nešto što čovjek samostalno kreira i bira u izolaciji. Način na koji Esad i ostali u sličnim okolnostima rješavaju nesigurnost vlastitog identiteta i mogućega budućeg doma ovisi o razvoju događaja i prilikama u Bosni i Finskoj (odnosno, drugim zemljama u kojima borave). Mogućnosti za imigrantski život u finskom društvu te politički i društveni događaji u Bosni,¹⁴ mogu otvoriti ili onemogućiti simbolične i praktične opcije u budućnosti.

Jasminka ne prihvaća nacionalistički diskurz u istoj mjeri kao Esad. U njezinoj je priči svakodnevni život s čvrstim društvenim mrežama i zadovoljavajućim društvenim ulogama stvarao dobar dom u Bosni. Izbjeglištvo u tom smislu uništava dom i opisuje se kao smrt nekadašnjega vlastitoga društvenog bića. Novi je život u Finskoj stoga valoriziran upravo preko društvenih veza:

Mogu osjetiti Sandrinu [njezina kći] toplu ruku kako briše moje suze. Nije sve izgubljeno. Život ide dalje i doista, imam za što živjeti. Kako mora da je teško onima koji su izgubili dragu osobu u tom ratu ili mnoge bližnje, a ipak moraju živjeti dalje. Kad pomislim na njih, moja tuga postaje beznačajnom [...] Živim u Finskoj od siječnja 1997. godine. Obitelj je ponovno na okupu. S bratom kontaktiram telefonom prilično često, a prošlog ljeta smo se i bili susreli. Učim švedski,¹⁵ Sandra je sretna, a i moji roditelji. Kakav mi je život sada? Mislit ću o tome sutra.

¹⁴ Politička i ekonomska situacija u novoj državi Bosni i Hercegovini bile su prilično nestabilne u vrijeme kad su ove priče napisane, a dobrim dijelom takvo se stanje zadržalo do danas. Nestabilna politička situacija, kao i čvrsta podjela Bosne na srpski (Republika Srpska) i tzv. federalni dio, imaju bitnu ulogu u raspravama o mogućnosti povratka unutar izbjegličkih zajednica; Huttunen 2002b. O podjeli Bosne, vidi Campbell 1999.

¹⁵ Neki dijelovi Finske imaju puno švedskih govornika te u tim područjima migranti uče švedski umjesto finskog jezika.

Postoji mogućnost da pojedinac ponovno izgradi svoje društveno biće i socijalne veze. U tom slučaju Finska bi mogla postati novim domom. Obitelj, a ne etnička pripadnost u tom smislu nudi sidrište. U trenutku pisanja Jasminka je živjela u Finskoj samo nekoliko mjeseci: njezina veza s finskim (društvenim i osjetilnim) krajolikom nužno je drukčija od one koju ima s bosanskim krajolikom. Jasminkina priča ima izrazito otvoren završetak: tek će vrijeme pokazati kako će se razvijati njezin odnos prema Bosni i prema Finskoj, uključujući društvene veze te tjelesno iskustvo obitavanja na određenome mjestu.

Završna razmatranja: podijeljeni domovi u dijaspori

“Dom” je u ovim životnim pričama posredovan tjelesnim iskustvom, društvenim vezama te politiziranim i narativiziranim identitetima. Za oba je pripovjedača bivši dom nedvojbeno u Bosni, dok je budući dom otvoreno pitanje. Dosadašnje studije dijaspore i transnacionalizma pokazuju kako je odnos prema domu moguće ostvariti s više različitih mjesta istodobno. Stav Esada i Jasminke stoga nazivam strategijom “neodlučne dijaspore” jer oboje nisu odlučili gdje smjestiti svoje domove u budućnosti niti kako se orijentirati u dijasporskom prostoru. Ishod takve neizvjesnosti ovisi o dinamici promjena u oba mjesta, u Finskoj i u Bosni.

Čini mi se kako postoji intimna veza između doma kao privatnog prostora te pojma “biti doma” u javnom prostoru određenom političkim diskursom i nacionalističkim ustrojima. Kad političko snažno prodire u privatno, odnos pojedinca prema javnom također se bitno mijenja. Dom, dotad mjestom intime i sigurnosti, postaje mjestom nesigurnosti te, na poslijetku, postaje neodrživo u neprijateljskom okruženju otvorenog nasilja. Drugi aspekt “neodlučne dijaspore” otvara pitanje pretpostavljenog čitateljstva. Možemo reći kako ove osobne priče progovaraju u dva smjera istodobno. Ako ih čitaju Finci, ove priče govore o imigrantima u Finskoj, o “stvarnim” i “lažnim” prognanicima te o položaju ostalih bosanskih prognanika u Finskoj. Ove ispovijesti svjedoče o tome kako su bosanske izbjeglice imale opravdane razloge za napuštanje svoje zemlje.

Istodobno, osobne su priče i dio borbe za “istinu” o ratu u Bosni. Pisane su istovremeno s tijekom rasprava o tome što se “stvarno” dogodilo tijekom rata. Sud za ratne zločine u Haagu institucionalizirana je verzija tih rasprava i sukoba koji se odvijaju u medijima, u knjigama što su ih pisali mahom novinari koji su izvještavali o ratu na području bivše Jugoslavije (Maass 1996; Rieff 1995), kao i u domovima bivših Jugoslavena na Balkanu i u dijaspori. “Istina” o ratu usko je vezana uz suprotstavljene teorije o raspadu Jugoslavije. Priče bosanskih izbjeglica ni na koji način ne podupiru teoriju o “drevnoj, plemenskoj mržnji”, nego idu u prilog tvrdnji Katherine Verdery (1993) prema kojoj su etnicitet i nacionalizam u bivšim socijalističkim državama postsocijalistički fenomen, odnosno reakcija na nesigurnost izazvanu padom socijalističkog sustava (vidi također Verdery 1999). U tim pričama nasilje ne izrasta iz etnički miješanih

zajednica, nego je tamo implementira politički diskurs, to jest njegovi protagonisti, koji etničku pripadnost tumače isključivo i nasilno.

Činjenica da se Bosna pamti kao dobar dom omogućuje da ona i dalje bude sidrištem, točkom oslonca za bosansku dijasporu. Bitno je primijetiti kako rasprave o povijesnoj istini ne određuju samo prošlost nego i budućnost (usp. McClintock 1995:328) te su temelj na kojem će se graditi bosansko društvo u budućnosti. Etičke norme bosanskog društva ovdje su dovedene u pitanje. Hoće li neodlučna dijaspora ostvariti svoj povratak, ovisi i o ishodu tih rasprava.

Konačno, kazivanjem o patnjama i gubitku autori pozivaju čitatelja (bez obzira na etničku pripadnost) na suosjećanje. Veena Das (1995) ističe kako dijeljenjem patnje stvaramo zajednice (onih koji suosjećaju). Tako ovi kazivači nastoje stvoriti zajednicu koja nadilazi etničke i nacionalne granice te njihovu političku manipulaciju koju smatraju odgovornom za patnju i razaranje (fizičkih i simboličkih) domova.

Mnogi su Bošnjaci učvrstili način življenja koji je dijeljen između dva (katkad i više) mjesta, primjerice Finske i Bosne. Kako možemo tumačiti odnos između “domova” i “kuća” u njihovim životima?

Kuće, odnosno češće stanovi, u Finskoj (i drugim zemljama dijaspore) postali su domovima prije svega na temelju iskustava svakodnevnog življenja na tim mjestima, na kojima se ostvaruju svakodnevne društvene i materijalne prakse. Finska, kao dom u javnom smislu, može pružiti osjećaj sigurnosti svojstven “domovima”, osjećaj koji nedostaje u današnjoj Bosni – pristup zdravstvenoj zaštiti, mogućnosti obrazovanja djece te osnovna ekonomska sigurnost vezana uz funkcioniranje socijalne države. Žene iz ruralnih područja Bosne osobito naglašavaju važnost tih praktičnih aspekata kad odlučuju o eventualnom povratku ili ostanku. S druge strane, muškarci su skloniji žaljenju za Bosnom u obliku izgubljenog statusa u prijeratnoj lokalnoj zajednici.¹⁶ Naravno, četrnaestogodišnje iskustvo življenja u Finskoj također je stvorilo odnose koji su u međuvremenu utjecali na stvaranje osjećaja doma.

Ipak, odnos prema Bosni ima drugu dimenziju. Bosnu, razumljivo, mnogi pamte kao “pravi” dom, kao mjesto važnih sjećanja i življene pripadnosti zajednici koja je danas razasuta.¹⁷ Iskustva otuđenja, isključenja i neuspjeha, na koja su poslije doseljenja u novu zemlju nailazili, doživljavana su u odnosu na (često nostalgična) sjećanja na život u društvenim zajednicama u prijeratnoj Bosni. Fizički je prostor kuće time konkretno uporište toj nekadašnjoj zajednici

¹⁶ Među Bošnjacima koje sam intervjuirala obrazovanije žene iz urbanih sredina, odnosno one s profesionalnim iskustvom rada u Jugoslaviji, žale za izgubljenim prijeratnim pozicijama, jednako kao i muškarci.

¹⁷ Huttunen 2007 i 2005.

te je vrlo važan u njenu rekonstruiranju. U širem smislu kuća, kao privatan prostor, poprima značenje u odnosu na javno i dijeljeno.

Rekonstrukcija bivše obiteljske kuće u Bosni stoga je važan način novog uspostavljanja pozicije koju je netko imao unutar danas razmještene lokalne zajednice, koja se u Bosni ponovno okuplja tijekom praznika. Osobito su muškarci ti koji simbolično ulažu u proces rekonstrukcije s ciljem vraćanja vlastitog statusa koji su nekoć uživali u lokalnoj zajednici. Taj čin nosi i političko značenje: to je način suprotstavljanja logici etničkog čišćenja te ponovnog upisivanja vlastite osobe u javni prostor i krajolik prijašnjeg doma i domovine.

Novosagrađene su kuće često veće i reprezentativnije od onih prijeratnih. Janet Carsten i Hugh-Jones navode kako "kuće služe jednako predstavljanju i otkrivanju, kao što štite i skrivaju" (1995:2). S obzirom na to da je kuća izgubila sposobnost da zakloni i zaštiti, ona sad ima svrhu pokazati susjedima kako materijalni uspjeh vlasnika tako i neodrživost politike etničkog čišćenja "neprijatelja", odnosno činjenicu da kućna zajednica time nije narušena ili izbrisana iz krajolika. Fizička pojavnost kuća u Bosni čini središte prepletanja društvenih "kuća" i obiteljskog okupljanja onemogućenog ratom; kuće su konkretna mjesta na kojima se disperzirane obitelji iz dijaspora ponovno okupljaju.

Život u dijaspori pokazuje kako jedinstven, nepodvojen dom ne postoji, već da ga čini nekoliko mjesta koja nose značenja doma. Pojedinci i skupine sebi i svojoj obitelji posreduju najprihvatljivije oblike doma u dijasporskom životu. Izgubivši sve – kuću, položaj u lokalnoj zajednici i svoje najbliže – oni zadržavaju osobnu i duboko ukorijenjenu nesigurnost. Pojedinačne težnje za dobrim domom uronjene su u javni prostor u kojem pravo na osjećaj bivanja "kod kuće" može drugima biti sporno – a takvi prijepori variraju između nasilja etničkog čišćenja do praktičnih oblika isključivanja u zemlji stanovanja.

Fizička je kuća bosanskim izbjeglicama vrlo važan aspekt u posredovanju doma. Počinitelji etničkog čišćenja u Bosni nastojali su uništiti domove, dok danas oni koji financiraju programe povratka izbjeglica nastoje posredovati u novom uspostavljanju njihovih domova u tom prostoru. Sami bosanski prognanici-migranti nastoje stvoriti prostor koji će im najprihvatljivije posredovati dom u prostoru dijaspora. Mnogima življenje u tom prostoru znači upravo podijeljenost doma između dvaju (ili više) mjesta.

S engleskog prevela Tihana Rubić

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Komentar diskutantice**Elissa Helms***Komentar na Ullin rad:*

Čini se da ovdje pričamo o vrlo važnoj ulozi koju imaju države i njihovi zakonski okviri kad je riječ o tome ima li netko pravo na posjedovanje dvojnog državljanstva ili pravo glasa i sl. Ali to je također izrazito rodno pitanje jer se često može primjetiti da za žene i muškarce ne vrijedi isto kada je riječ o zakonima o braku i državljanstvu. Također, kad je riječ o Hrvatima i Bosancima iz BiH, puno žena želi imati hrvatsko državljanstvo ili odlaze u Hrvatsku da bi rodile, ne samo zato da bi dijete imalo hrvatsko državljanstvo već da iskoriste veća primanja za vrijeme roditeljnog dopusta ili medicinske usluge koje su u Hrvatskoj jednostavno bolje nego u Bosni. Željela bih znati nešto više o rodnim pitanjima u ovakvim slučajevima. (...)

Ulla nas je podsjetila na imperije, carstva, kako su transnacionalne prakse zapravo postojale i prije. One nisu rijetke pojave niti su nastalu suvremenom globalizacijom. Obitelji su se oduvijek raspršivale diljem zemaljske kugle...a ideja nacije-države i povezivanje etničke pripadnosti s nacionalnim identitetom zapravo je relativno novija pojava. Mislim da bi bilo korisnije obratiti pažnju na druge oblike imperijalnih konfiguracija. Spomenula si Austro-Ugarsko Monarhiju; da, kad pogledamo vidimo da je bilo puno selidbi uzduž i poprijeko Monarhije, rekonfiguracije identiteta i prezimena, putem kojih se to može pratiti. Ali također, možemo promatrati Sovjetski Savez kao kvazi-imperijalističku državu i središte moći; na primjer, sve je bilo usmjereno k Moskvi, ili k nekoj republičkoj metropoli, i kako se to vremenom mijenjalo. Također možemo pogledati Pokret nesvrstanih koji je nudio prilike za mobilnost; ljudi iz tih zemalja su dolazili studirati u Jugoslaviju i Jugoslaveni su na taj način odlazili u druge zemlje.

Komentar na Laurin rad:

Ono što me iznenadilo kada sam čitala tvoj rad je pitanje javnih fondova za obnovu kuća. Moja prva reakcija je bila da to nisu javni fondovi već fondovi donatora, ali sam onda shvatila da je riječ o javnim fondovima u Finskoj, finske vlade. Mislim da je ovo važno naglasiti, da je ovdje riječ o ulozi nekoliko različitih vlada. Nije bosanska vlada ta koja je gradila te kuće, osobito ne vlada Republike Srpske, već je mnogo ovog novca došlo zahvaljujući financiranju od strane vlade i trebali/e bi malo razmisliti o posljedicama toga.

Ono što je također važno jest povijest odnosa ljudi prema vlasništvu kuće. To je bio uistinu dugogodišnji projekt mnogim bosanskim obiteljima. Sve što se imalo se ulagalo u kuću, osobito u ruralnim krajevima. Od mnogih Bosanaca sam čula kako komentiraju one koji su iselili, osobito u Sjedinjene Države gdje je lako dobiti kredit za kuću. Te izbjeglice su relativno brzo uspjele kupiti vlastite kuće i Bosanci koji su ostali u Bosni misle: "Vau, to je bilo brzo, mora da jako puno zarađuju". Ali to zapravo nije slučaj, oni su u ogromnim dugovima. Radi se samo o američkom sustavu koji im dozvoljava kupnju kuće mnogo ranije nego što bi to u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo moguće. Tako da bi bilo zanimljivo vidjeti promjene u razmišljanjima o načinima

ostvarivanja tog cilja, kako se financirati, koliki dug se tolerira i sl. Kao što možemo vidjeti, posjedovanje kuće još je uvijek ideal, čak i za one koji/e ih ne posjećuju toliko često, čak i kad ona postane neka vrsta vikendice.

Također bih željela znati više o statusu Bosanaca u Finskoj. Znam da si pokušala odgovoriti svojoj kolegici koja je htjela znati više o uvjetima života u Bosni, ali mene zanima zapravo kako su ti Bošnjaci/akinje pozicionirani/e u Finskoj i na koji način se rodni obrasci kompliciraju, mijenjaju i preoblikuju. Pretpostavljam da je intuitivno pomisliti da bi se muškarci željeli vratiti tamo gdje su imali viši status, ali tih zajednica tamo više nema, kao što si rekla, one postoje kratkotrajno, one su prolazne, pojavljujući se u potpunosti samo ljeti. Ali ovo je pojava koju redovito nalazimo u radovima o transnacionalnoj migraciji; ljudi koji žive u maloj, skućenoj sobi, cijeli život rade i onda se u lijepom odijelu i velikim automobilima vrate na dva tjedna da bi pokazali svima da su uspjeli. Što se događa kada lokalne zajednice tamo više nema? Kome se to oni pokazuju?

Postavlja se pitanje što kuće pokazuju/predstavljaju, ne samo u smislu bogatstva već i statusa. Ovo je vrlo očigledno u povratničkim zajednicama. Po veličini kuće i njihovoj dotjeranosti, "dizajnu", jasno se vidi tko je otišao vani, a tko nije. Mislim da je korisno razmisliti o ovim promjenama u estetici krajolika, ali također povezati ih s logikom nasilja i obilježavanjem prostora i vlastite prisutnosti, koje govore "pokušali ste nas se riješiti, ali još smo uvijek tu". Kada se vozite po Bosni i dođete u područje pod obnovom, često se može vidjeti da je džamija prva stvar koja se obnavlja, to je najčešći prioritet ljudima koji se vraćaju. Minaret je prvo što se gradi, tako da se vidi, čak prije nego je džamija završena i u mogućnosti da se koristi kao mjesto štovanja. Isto vrijedi i za crkvene tornjeve. Tu je očita poveznica s logikom rata u kojemu je cilj riješiti se ovog dokaza identiteta, prisutnosti neželjenog "drugog", ne samo kuća već i vjerskih objekata.

Konačno, još jedno opažanje o rodu i procesu povratka. Bila sam u Krajini 1996. godine kada su se vraćali Bošnjaci, upravo nakon što su neki od tih gradova, iz njihove perspektive, bili oslobođeni, i ljudi su bili u nekoj vrsti lude strke oko stanova; način na koji su pokušali osigurati mjesto za život jest bio napisati "zauzeto" na vratima (kuća i stanova). Napisali bi ime glave obitelji, ime muškarca, zajedno s njegovim vojnim činom, jedinicom, i s dodatkom "žena i djeca" ili "i obitelj". Tako da je bilo važno reći da to za obitelj, za djecu i žene kojima je, na neki način, trebala zaštita i sklonište. Ali da bi se muškarac smatrao "legitimnim" novim stanarom bilo je vrlo važno da je bio u vojsci, u ovom kraju to je značilo biti u 5. korpusu Armije BiH. Nije bitno samo to što su to bili muškarci i žene već određena vrsta muškaraca i žena; vojni veterani i njihove žene/majke njihove djece. Tako da opet vidimo kako su različite vrste rodnih razlika bitno utjecale na načine povratka ljudi.

S engleskog prevela Iva Bulić

Nastavak diskusije donosimo u izvornom engleskom obliku. Vidi str. 259-262.

MELITA RICHTER

PUTUJUĆI SUBJEKTI DUŽ (I)MIGRACIJSKE STAZE: ŽENSKO ISKUSTVO DRŽAVLJANSTVA¹

U razradi svoga priloga vodila sam se nužnošću dubljega uvida u neke od pojmova koji, po mome mišljenju, određuju srž rasprave o dinamici interkulturalnoga društva: *migracija – identitet – državljanstvo*. Očito je da feministička teorija ne može pravilno definirati te pojmove ako ih promatra izdvojeno od ostalih koji su im bliski, naime “odgovornosti”, “znanja”, “prepoznavanja”... Nadam se da će naša razmatranja u Dubrovniku pronaći veze u mreži tih koncepata i obogatiti našu percepciju i razumijevanje složenosti njihova međudjelovanja.

1.

Kao početnu točku uzet ću koncept *državljanstva* i pokušat ću odgovoriti na pitanje što sam ga sebi postavila: zašto ono ima središnju ulogu u mom životu i zašto ga je nemoguće odvojiti od mogega životnoga iskustva. Unatoč činjenici da ne posjedujem iskustvo življenja u zemlji u kojoj nisam državljanica bez svih prava, svjedočila sam različitim iskustvima državljanstva u raznim državama i normativnim sustavima predvođenima raznovrsnim ideologijama. Istodobno sam, s odmakom “migrantice”, mogla promatrati promjene u tumačenju državljanstva u vlastitoj zemlji, odnosno nekadašnjoj vlastitoj zemlji koju je između 1991. i 1995. godine izbrisala brutalnost rata izazvanoga nacionalističkim ideologijama. Dok se odvijalo razaranje nekadašnje Jugoslavije, žene su prve uočile dubok osjećaj gubitka – gubitka prava, gubitka višestrukog identiteta koji je u svojoj složenosti mogao obuhvatiti sve. Svjedočanstvo Vesne Teršelič dopušta nam uvid u opće raspoloženje u kojemu su živjele žene Jugoslavije u to doba.

¹ Inačica ovog teksta objavljena je na engleskom jeziku pod naslovom “Women Experiencing Citizenship” u Eva Skaerbaek et al. (2006) *Common Passion, Different Voices: Reflections on Citizenship and Intersubjectivity*. Raw Nerve Books, 36-48.

Sjećam se ljeta 1991. godine, vrućine i teškog osjećaja strepnje. I potrebe da nešto učinim, koju sam osjećala kao bol u želucu. Prostor za rad, za disanje prostor koji smo gradile godinama počeo se smanjivati, kopniti, nestajati. Tog sparnoga ljeta bilo mi je sasvim jasno da sve što smo izgradile putem zelenih i ženskih grupa, tone iz dana u dan (Teršelić 1997:19).

Svjedočanstvo feministkinje Vesne Kesić koje slijedi opisuje gubitak prava žena i njihovo novo marginaliziranje. Međutim, ona smatra izuzetno važnom pobunu žena protiv novoga patrijarhalnog vala koji ih je zadesio.

U svakodnevnom su životu žene u Hrvatskoj izgubile mnoge od ranije ostvarenih pogodnosti i prava; gotovo su iščezle iz javnoga života; nasilje nad ženama počelo je rasti; a ekonomsko blagostanje žena smanjeno je. U prvomu sazivu Hrvatskog sabora bilo je samo 5,4% zastupnica. No žene su takvo stanje osporavale i propitivale, tragajući za drugačijim načinima orođenja nacije. Jedan od slogana predizborne kampanje u prosincu 1999. godine pozivao se na tradicionalnu izreku da žena drži tri kuta kuće, upućujući na to da je moć žene locirana u sferi privatnoga, u domu. Ženske su grupe izbacile protuslogan: *Mijenjam jedan kut kuće za mjesto u Saboru* (Kesić 2002:80).

U izgradnji nacionalne države naveliko su se rabile simbolične slike žena i njihovih tijela, naglašavajući njihove spolne uloge i upisujući ih u topografiju Nacije. Glorificira se obitelj, tradicija, žena majka, majka vojnika, udovica narodnog junaka. Rada Iveković piše:

Nacionalne se mitologije oslanjaju na tradicionalne rodne uloge, a nacionalističku se pripovijest puni slikama nacije kao majke, supruge i djevice. Prakse izgradnje nacije primjenjuju društvene konstrukcije muškosti i ženskosti koje podupiru podjelu uloga gdje žene reproduciraju naciju fizički i simbolički, dok je muškarci štite, brane i osvećuju (Iveković i Mostov 2002:10).

Žene su postale simboličnim kolektivom. U nacionalnim državama koje su ojačale na prostoru cijele nekadašnje Jugoslavije državljanstvo je zadobilo "aromu" Nacije. U najboljim su scenarijima prava žena izvedena iz nacionalnih prava kojima su postala podređena (vidi u Iveković 2003).

Državljanstvo nije statičan koncept. U različitim ga se povijesnim razdobljima i u različitim trenucima, čak i ako je bila riječ o istom teritoriju, percipiralo u različitim značenjima i različitim praksama. U Italiji, zemlji moga novog udomljenja, prepoznala sam raznolike načine primjene i kodiranja toga koncepta, ovisno o podrijetlu osobe, njezinoj nacionalnoj pripadnosti, rodu,

te duljini boravka u zemlji prihvata. U toj zemlji sudjelujem u građanskim borbama isključenih, imigranata/imigrantica koji se na različite načine trude da im se prizna identitet i da se prihvati njihovo “pravo na pravo na državljanstvo” (Arendt). Prepoznajem pojavu potrebe za stanovitim *mobilnim državljanstvom*, odvojenim od nacionalnosti, zbog sve veće cirkulacije subjekata u interkulturalnim okruženjima, bili oni izbjeglice, obični imigranti/ce, “extracomunitari” (podrijetlom iz prekomorskih zemalja ili država izvan Europske unije), raseljene osobe... Pluralni prostor s brojnim identitetima oko nas postaje sve uobičajenijim kontekstom našega postojanja. Razmišljanje o državljanstvu i njegovu značenju u suvremenim modernim i postmodernim vremenima odražava našu potrebu da se bavimo civilizirajućim subjektima svoga doba.

Moj osobni interes za usredotočenje na subjekt “imigrantice” u ovom razmišljanju višestrukog je podrijetla i pokazuje želju za izlaskom žena iz sjene *univerzalnoga* državljanstva u kojoj su imigrantice, kao i lokalne žene, podređene hegemoniji muškosti, bez prepoznavanja ili stvaranja vlastite, osobite povijesti, bez borbe za status žene kao povijesnog subjekta.

2.

U kritičkom osvrtu na koncept državljanstva kriteriji bi trebali uzeti u obzir njegovu dvostruku prirodu: normativnu, kao status, tj. subjekte koji nose širok raspon prava, i kao praksu, što uključuje široko definiranu političku participaciju. U oba slučaja, kao praksa i kao odnos između prakse i prava, državljanstvo valja shvatiti kao dinamičan proces, a ne kao dosegnuti rezultat. Taj proces nije, dakle, ograničen na analizu normativnog zbog istog razloga zbog kojega državljanstvo znači puno više od pasivnoga imanja prava; uključuje aktivan angažman u političkim institucijama i na društvenoj sceni. Sličan bi pristup mogao biti koristan za nadilaženje jednostranoga koncepta državljanstva kao bitno ekskluzivnoga, koji povlači granice između onih koji pripadaju i onih koji ne pripadaju nacionalnoj zajednici kao njeni puni članovi/pune članice (Lister 2003:42).

Tijekom dvadesetog stoljeća državljanstvo je bilo podređeno nacionalnosti, što je vodilo, kao što uočava Gallissot, intenziviranju suprotnosti između domaćeg, tzv. nacionalnog stanovništva i stranaca, pa prema tome koaliciji domaćih *protiv* stranaca. “Univerzalnost je samo postulat jer se nalazi unutar nacionalnoga državljanstva i stoga je rezervirana samo za domaće; kao takva ona pretpostavlja asimilaciju za cijenu pokornosti i moguće ju je staviti u službu nacionalističkoga projekta Velike Nacije” (Gallissot 2001:62).

Prema mojemu iskustvu sociologinje-promatračice, prvi je rezultat (asimilacija) rasprostranjen među imigranti/ca/ma u zemljama Europske unije, dok se drugi rezultat (nacionalistički projekt) pojavio s iznenađujućom

snagom poslije raspada Jugoslavije u zemljama sljednicama u kojima su državljani i državljanke postali zatočnici međuetničkih odnosa i nasrtaja etničkog čišćenja. U oba slučaja samo oni i one s nacionalnom pripadnošću mogu biti državljani/ke. Zbog toga bi, iz moje perspektive, jedini mogući izlaz iz te slijepe ulice bio koncept državljanstva shvaćenog u skladu s Habermasovom definicijom koja pokušava nadići pojam nacionalnoga građanina (*civis*) predlažući *druge* građanine, odnosno tip državljanstva koje se ostvaruje u komunikacijskom okrilju kroz relacijski, politički i kulturni prostor otvoren intersubjektivnim suodnošenjima. Tako bi bilo moguće izbjeći krizu kao i ograničenja nacionalnoga državljanstva ne samo u sferi filozofskog tumačenja nego i u svakodnevnoj praksi. Rada Iveković zastupa isti put kad smatra da je državljanstvo ujedno i su-državljanstvo, što znači da ga se može ostvarivati samo unutar “*otvorenoga* političkoga, javnoga, kulturnoga i proizvodnog prostora” (Iveković 2003:24). Interakcija između dvaju subjekata koja se odvija u takvoj društvenoj dimenziji nadvladava tradicionalnu dihotomiju subjekt – objekt i uspostavlja intersubjektivan odnos.

U tom kontekstu željela bih usmjeriti pozornost na imigrantice i modalitete koji im dopuštaju da postanu – ili ih priječe u tomu da postanu – društvenim i političkim subjektima, sudionicama javne društvene scene sve dok ne ostvare aktivno državljanstvo, izraženo pojedinačno ili kolektivno (ili na oba načina). Važno je pritom ne zaboraviti duboko ukorijenjene nejednakosti koje umanjuju prava državljanstva onih koje se smatra *Drugima, negrađanima* i koji su smješteni na marginama društva, što se često događa cjelokupnoj imigrantskoj populaciji.

3.

Zemlja prihvata nameće određene uvjete pod kojima imigrantice i imigranti mogu stvarno i simbolično “ući u grad”. Prema sociologu Adelu Jabbaru, etape integracije stranaca u društvo domaćina jesu sljedeće:

1. **stabilizacija i teritorijalizacija** ili prvi dodir s društvom domaćinom i traženje nužnih sredstava za opstanak;
2. **urbanizacija** ili etapa *istraživanja teritorija*, tj. prvi institucionalni kontakti što će pridošlicama pomoći u prepoznavanju mreža usluga i mogućnosti koje nude javne službe (zdravstvo, školstvo, sudstvo, prefektura, institucije kulture, religije, razonode, sporta...);
3. **nativizacija** ili postupak *društvene naturalizacije* izvediv iz boravka na teritoriju i iz percepcije simbolične veze između stranca i domaćih, autohtonih državljana;
4. **državljanstvo**, *de facto*, ili *ulazak u grad* (pravo građanstva) preko dnevnih interakcija, uporabe javnoga prostora i sudjelovanja u njemu, čime postaju pravi pripadnici/e društva (političko državljanstvo) (Jabbar 1999).

Korijeni prvih etapa integracijske staze, *teritorijalizacija*, *urbanizacija* i *nativizacija* zadiru duboko u sferu zadovoljenja temeljnih ljudskih potreba (smještaj, rad, zdravlje, naobrazba u smislu obuke i osposobljavanja, razvijanje mreže primarnih kontakata s novim fizičkim i društvenim okruženjem) pa stoga uključuju razdoblje vrlo ograničenih mogućnosti da se postane subjektom koji sudjeluje, što je uvjet aktivnoga državljanstva i razvijanja oblika ljudske autonomnosti. U teoriji ljudskih potreba mnogi autori i autorice naglašavaju vezu između ljudske autonomnosti i državljanstva.

Ključna za osobnu autonomiju jest mogućnost sudjelovanja u društvenim ulogama proizvodnje, reprodukcije, kulturnoga prijenosa i političkoga autoriteta. Iznad toga leži 'kritička autonomija – sposobnost da se smjesti, kritizira i, prema potrebi, dovode u pitanje pravila i prakse vlastitoga društva, drugim riječima sposobnost da se djeluje kao kritična državljanka/kritični državljanin (Lister 2003:7).

Razmišljanje o tim problemima u kontekstu "svijeta imigrantica" otvara sljedeća pitanja: koje su stvarne mogućnosti ostvarivanja tih ciljeva za žene koje čine znatan dio strane radne snage, ukotvljen u jedino dopustive gospodarske niše i izložen orođenom tržištu rada koje za njih ostavlja samo poslove usluga i pomoći u kući autohtonih, skrbi za starije i nejake, u turizmu, ugostiteljstvu, zabavi, prostituciji te u industriji seksa? Kako one iz svoje nepovoljne ekonomske pozicije i socijalne nestabilnosti mogu steći sposobnost da djeluju kao (kritične) državljanke?

Većina migrantica predstavlja "nekonstituirane subjekte", "subjekte bez zajednice", "nezastupljive Druge". Ili, kako zamjećuje grčka filozofkinja Assimina Karavanta: "Drugi/Druge su tijelo drukčijega lokalnog unutar lokalnog, prisutnost i izričaj tijela što propituje jednostavnu binarnost između lokalnog i globalnog otkrivanjem treće dimenzije koju se da naučiti" (Karavanta 2006). U "tijelu drukčijega lokalnog unutar lokalnog" *upisan* je rascjep u razinama zanimanja između autohtonih žena i imigrantica. Giovanna Campani podsjeća nas na sljedeći opći trend, uočljiv ne samo u talijanskom kontekstu: "S jedne strane imamo kretanje europskih žena prema poslovima na visokim rukovodećim pozicijama; s druge su strane imigrantice zatočene na dnu ekonomske ljestvice" (Campani 2000:128). G. Campani u tom procesu razlikuje položaj imigrantica prve generacije i tek nedavno doseljenih žena. Zaključak je, međutim, vrlo jasan:

Imigrantice su bez sumnje žrtve diskriminacije i popunjavaju najniže razine pristupa zanimanjima. Promjene u proizvodnoj strukturi (...) pridonijele su njihovu nepovoljnu položaju na tržištu rada (Campani 2000:145).

Uzroci su spomenutih promjena gospodarsko restrukturiranje, kriza u sustavu plaćenih zaposlenja te širenje sive ekonomije – sve okolnosti u kojima se profesionalnost podcjenjuje, obezvređuje i poništava. Stoga je jedan od razloga takvoga društvenog i ekonomskog okruženja, tipičnog za žensku imigraciju, profesionalna diskvalifikacija. Taj fenomen uzrokuje osjećaje frustracije i nezadovoljstva u stanovništvu koje trpi njene posljedice.² Bit će potrebno puno vremena da bi se taj fenomen prevladao, a valjalo bi ga urediti bilateralnim i multilateralnim sporazumima o priznavanju diploma i kvalifikacija. Dok se to ne dogodi, mnogi će profesionalni resursi imigrantica biti nepovratno izgubljeni (Richter 2003).

Dodatno je obilježje imigrantica što rade uglavnom iza zidova domova autohtonih obitelji i svaki se dan nakon završetka posla vraćaju u svoje domove da bi nastavile obiteljske poslove vezane uz skrb o domu, djeci i suprugu, što je stanovita razina društvene nevidljivosti. To se stanje ne odnosi samo na pojedinačne etničke skupine već zahvaća većinu imigrantica različitoga etničkog podrijetla. Svi ti čimbenici pridonose rastu ranjivosti žena imigrantica i njihovoj sve upitnijoj sposobnosti dosezanja aktivnog državljanstva.

4.

Na kraju ovoga kratkog razmatranja ne možemo a da ne spomenemo jedan od puteva ponovnog (p)osvajanja državljanstva izvan ograničenja normativnoga. Jedan od mogućih polja prepoznavanja ženskoga glasa jest tzv. *migracijsko pismo*.³ Kulturalne reprezentacije i tekstovi imigrantica i imigranata ponovno skupljaju fragmente njihovih razjedinjenih života, nastojeći oformiti cjelinu i smisao migracijskog iskustva preko literarnog izraza, nadilazeći pritom privatnu sferu i odrednice vlastite povijesti i zemljopisa. Riječ i jezik postaju tako oružjem u borbi za javnu prisutnost, za prihvaćanje odgovornosti. Pismom se vodi borba za ulazak u mjesta na kojima se oblikuje novo državljanstvo i rađaju nova stanja svijesti. Tako se svakodnevno demonstrira volja da se dijeli i sudjeluje u javnom prostoru, i radost zbog toga. Čini se da je u talijanskom društvu na dnevnom redu nova dimenzija *imigrantnosti* koja

² Vidi: "Immigrant women and the rights of citizenship", Region Friuli Venezia Giulia, RUE Trieste, listopad 2002. godine; i Stefania Maggioni, *Immigrazione al femminile: donne albanesi a Milano*, (diplomski rad) Università degli studi di Milano, akademska godina 1999./2000.

³ Pojava migracijskoga pisma vezana je za prvu i drugu generaciju imigranata koji pišu na talijanskom a ne na materinjem jeziku, unoseći pritom u svoje tekstove jezične kodove, metafore, tonalitete i ritam vlastitih jezičnih i kulturnih obrazaca. Sve veći broj autora imigranata javlja se uglavnom s autobiografskim pismom, kratkim pripovijestima, poezijom i romanom. Širenje tog literarnog izraza pospješilo je rađanje mnogih malih izdavačkih kuća i elektronskih književnih časopisa koji su se specijalizirali za izdavanje djela autora imigranata.

polako i ustrajno ulazi u sferu svakodnevne kulture, u misli, u “nacionalnu” naraciju, putem sposobnosti literarnog izražavanja autora/ica migranata. Taj fenomen najavljuje novu epohu u kojoj će stranac biti percipiran kao “um”, kao kompletno biće, a ne samo kao “ruke”.

Prema Azadei Seyhan, “migrant/ica, egzilant/ica ili putnik/ica ne prekoračuje samo prag u novu povijest i geografiju nego stupa i u ulogu putujućega kulturnog vizionara/ke” (Seyhan 2001:14).

Mnogim muškarcima i ženama taj put znači novo rođenje, stvaran “ulazak u grad”. Da bi on postao moguć, nužno je ostvariti *povoljan globalni kontekst i unutarnju rekonstrukciju društva domaćina*. Potonje bi također moralo biti voljno prihvatiti otvorenosti i promjene u smislu na koji nas upućuje Emmanuel Lévinas:

Takav je izbor moguć samo ako povijesno dominantan subjekt prihvati vlastito de-potenciranje, vlastitu autodestrukciju. Tako bi se stvorili uvjeti za stvaran susret u kojem bi se subjekti odnosili ravnopravno, u sferi ne neke fiktivne, nego stvarne jednakosti u kojoj se ne zahtijeva samo od Drugog da prihvati promjenu već i od nas da se otvorimo stanju kontinuirane mijène (Nanni 1997:33).

S engleskog prevela Anđelka Rudić

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ELIZABETA ŠELEVA

KUĆA I MUČNINA: TJESKOBA MJESTA¹

Postoji li još neko mjesto zvano dom? Je li ikad postojalo?

Aamir Mufti/Ella Shohat

Slika doma i kuće nedvojbeno je jedna od najsnažnijih arhetipskih slika s bogatim rasponom asocijacija.

Međutim, zamisao je ovoga teksta da upozori na neuobičajeno, no teorijski i stvaralački provokativno pojmovno/konceptualno premještanje (prevrednovanje) kategorije Doma/stanovanja, kao i na tipologiju nekih od komplementarnih koncepata koji bi mogli sadržavati određenu, no ne i u tolikoj mjeri transparentnu značenjsku moć: takvi su, primjerice, smještaj, prebivalište, kućanstvo, prenapučenost, premještanje, bezdomnost.

Počela bih s pretpostavkom doma kao nužnog Mjesta, kao prebivališta i skloništa. Ali već se na samom početku mogu razlučiti dva osnovna pristupa razumijevanju doma i stanovanja: prema prvom filozofskom shvaćanju dom je ontološka kategorija, jednaka životu. “Način na koji ti jesi i način na koji ja jesam, način na koji mi – ljudi – jesmo na Zemlji, jest stanovanje”, kaže Martin Heidegger.

Znamenita pjesma Koče Racina *Tatunčo* zapravo je priznanje učinjeno pred nikad dovršenom kućom ili, bolje rečeno, shvaćanje cijelog svijeta kao kuće, vlastita Doma: “Premda ne sagradih kuću s visokim drvenim dvercima, cijeli je bratski svijet moj dom.” Bez obzira na razoran osjećaj beskućništva, lirski subjekt ipak iskazuje snažnu emocionalnu i ideološku kompenzaciju. Premda je bez kuće, doma što bi ga sam bio sagradio, on ipak ostaje otvoren i snažan, i ne uznemiruju ga osjećaji otuđenosti i besmislenosti. Potpuno se

¹ Tekst je prethodno objavljen na makedonskom i engleskom jeziku pod naslovom “House and Queasiness: Anxiety of Location” u Nebojša Vilić (ur.) (2003) *House_Chaos: The Woman and the Destroyed Home Discourse Re-Built*. Skopje: 359°, 35-46. S mak. na engl. prevela Marija Hadžimitrova-Ivanova.

posvećujući optimalnoj projekciji svog života kao projekta, lirski subjekt teži utopiji te je tako lišen tereta beskućništva i nevjerodostojnosti.

Ovdje vidimo projekciju cijeloga svijeta kao doma, što Peter Sloterdijk zove uterocentričnošću, a odnosi se na to da je postojanje u ovom svijetu sinonim za stanovanje. S druge strane, i to na očaravajući način, ono koincidira s Heideggerovom filozofskom tezom o ontološkom karakteru stanovanja, to jest o stanovanju u svijetu kao najopćenitijoj ontološkoj kategoriji. Poistovjetimo li, onako kao što to i Heidegger čini, jezik s kućom Bitka – onda kuća (dom) u svom širem, metaforičkom značenju jednako tako uključuje jezik, naciju, odnosno domovinu kao naš dom.

Drugo, socio-psihološko shvaćanje razmatra dom kao posebno, stvarno mjesto, ističe njegove vitalne funkcije u odnosu na razvitak i oblikovanje osobnog identiteta. Prema tom shvaćanju nepostojanje vlastita doma ima katastrofičan učinak na fizički integritet ljudi zato što podrija osnovni teritorijalni zakon, zakon ognjišta s kojim se teritorijalni aspekt i identitet udružuju tvoreći značajan međusobni odnos. To je vjerojatno razlog zbog kojeg francuski teoretičar Roland Barthes osnovnu motivaciju za mogući tragični konflikt vidi upravo u "krizi prostora", točnije u nedostatku prostora, odnosno neuskладivosti sa su-postavljenim čimbenicima unutar određenoga (zajedničkog premda premalenog za oboje) prostora.

Dakle, ta analitička točka kao primarnu funkciju doma vidi onu zaštitnu, to jest egzistencijalnu zaštitu, čiji se formalni modaliteti, jednako kao i specifični načini stanovanja, mijenjaju ovisno o različitim kulturnim kontekstima. Tako bismo danas, u uvjetima tehnološki ubrzanog razvitka i pojačane potrošnje, jednako tako mogli raspravljati o prenapučenosti, to jest naglašenoj izolaciji ljudi, potpuno posvećenih svojim (televizijskim ili kompjutorskim) ekranima. S druge strane, pokretan i promjenjiv životni prostor, radni odnosi i obveze, to jest česta putovanja i dulji (privremeni) boravci u drugim prostorima rezultiraju nomadskim i slobodnim životom i načinom stanovanja, koji nas prije podsjeća na "gniježđenje" jer se odvija u privremeno prilagođenim i samo privremeno usvojenim boravištima. Govoreći o tome, nomadski pozicionirana Gloria Anzaldúa u svom programskom eseju *Granice* duhovito uspoređuje sebe s "kornjačom koja svoj dom nosi na leđima".

S druge strane, suočeni smo s činjenicom da je kuća (dom) sastavni dio osobne priče, "logistički" uvjet za oblikovanje nečijeg osobnog identiteta, kao i za povratni upis jednog od prepoznatljivih tragova u prostor što ga nastanjuje. U tom slučaju imamo tzv. ekspresivnu funkciju doma, odnosno kuće – priču koja se razlikuje od jedne do druge obitelji, od jednog posebnog primjera (slučaja) do drugog.

Jedan od posljednjih značajnih primjera takve projekcije Kuće kao nerazorive obiteljske arheologije jest film *Uljezi* u kojemu Nicole Kidman,

premda i sama sablast, daje sve od sebe (i uspijeva) da kuću u kojoj je živjela sa svojom obitelji sačuva od uljeza. Tako arheologija kuće, sa svim predmetima što su se očuvali u njoj, zapravo odražava fizionomiju doma (možda se i zato kaže da su tavan i podrum kuće njena podsvijest). Zato depersonalizacija doma počinje kao odbacivanje nekih od njenih bitnih sjećanja, upisanih u same predmete (primjerice, pisama, svjetiljke, pokućstva), čime briše dobro poznata, osobna obilježja. Isprva jedva zamjetljivo i polagano, kuća stari i postupno umire sa svojom pričom. Priča o domu kao o obrascu obiteljske priče veoma je čest, idilično intoniran motiv u pripovjednoj prozi, dobro korišten i u makedonskoj književnosti. Ovdje pripovjedač pokazuje simptomatično preklapanje dvaju motiva – doma i djetinjstva – u novi kronotop djetinjstva, koji se zamišlja kao izgubljeni raj, odnosno kao neiscrpiv stvaralački arsenal. Taj pristup domu polazi od temeljnog doživljaja samosvojnog stanovanja (koje se podudara sa samosvojnošću stanovanja), s brojnim pratećim konotacijama kao što su, primjerice, nepomučen užitak i sklad sa samim sobom, svojim podrijetlom, obitelji i prošlošću. Takvo iskustvo obično pretpostavlja konzervativnu privrženost domu (mjestu), ali jednako tako može biti rezultat retroaktivne, dodatno zamišljene idilične slike i sklada određenog mjesta (najčešće rodnog mjesta ili sela), odnosno razdoblja (primjerice, prije ili poslije rata, u mladosti itd.).

Međutim, slika doma također nameće, odnosno pretpostavlja neku vrstu poetike granica. Evo treće, dosad možda i najmanje znane, premda korisne funkcije doma i stanovanja, kad nasuprot idiličnoj kući-priči upoznajemo različitu kuću, kuću-nelagodu. Taj, na prvi pogled paradoksalan doživljaj nečijeg doma kao neugodne granice može se shvatiti metaforom “tjesne kože” slovenskog pjesnika Aleša Debeljaka: “Daj mi snage da živim kod kuće u svojoj tjesnoj koži.” Potaknute različitim razlozima, te granice gdje idu prilično daleko pa tako u stanara doma pobuđuju trajan osjećaj bezdomnosti, mučnine, nepripadanja prostoru doma. Teoretičar Homi Bhabha kaže kako “biti bez doma nije jednako kao biti bez kuće” – a taj osjećaj neudomljenosti, zazornosti (*unheimlich*), preuzet je iz Freudove psihoanalitičke terminologije. Za njega je *unheimlich* zapravo metafora naše podsvijesti koju nikad ne upoznamo dovoljno temeljito, ali koja ostaje u trajnom neskladu s nama, zračeci mučninom i uznemirujućom otuđenošću.

Zlosretno iskustvo doma kao naše egzistencijalne granice paradigmatski je iskazano u djelu velikog pripovjedača Franza Kafke, čija djela oslikavaju dom kao opasan, sumoran, poremećen, lažan prostor, i onda kad se tiče čovjeka (Gregor Samsa u *Preobražaju*), pa čak i životinje (krtica u *Jazbini*). Stanovanje (boravak u domu) je prožeto neskrivenim osjećajem uterofobije, nepripadanja, otuđenosti, zatočenosti, klaustrofobije, čak i onda kad se tiče vlastita doma.

Protuslovno iskustvo doma zamjetno je i u djelu Glorije Anzaldúa, zaklete sljedbenice granica: u eseju *Granice* služi se riječju *homofobija* (strah od homoseksualnosti) kao doslovnom etimološkom metaforom njezina intimnog, duboko usađena straha od povratka domu. U tom slučaju, *homofobija* (kao strah od doma) potječe od prilično realne mogućnosti da je odbije vlastita majka, kultura ili etnička zajednica (u ovom slučaju konzervativna kultura meksičke zajednice u SAD-u) – zahvaljujući njihovim, za tu kulturu potpuno “neprihvatljivim” značajkama, odnosno shvaćanjima. Taj pristup domu, koji odlikuje nelagoda i stigmatizacija, odnosno neslaganje s vlastitim podrijetlom odnosno prošlošću, zapravo amnezijaska diskrepancija s domom, protiv stanovanja, mogli bismo nazvati ne-stanovanje.

Međutim, ovdje kategorija ne-stanovanja sadrži prilično negativne konotacije, pa se tako dom ne doživljava kao nešto “kao kod kuće”, osobno, intimno, nego kao klaustrofobiju, kao neželjen ugovor sa sivilom, kao s krivo usađenim stablom. Ovdje tzv. represivna funkcija doma dobiva puno značenje.

Mučnina doma također se odlikuje posebno iskazanom rodnom dimenzijom. Već na stupnju legenda možemo naići na neke od dubokih motiva te seksualne tjeskobe: u *Gradnji Skadra* imamo primjernu situaciju – ugrađivanje žene u građevinu kao žrtvenog zaloga i čarobne zaštite radi osiguranja trajnosti građevine (odnosno zajednice). Tako cijeli grad postaje simbolična grobnica pokopanoga (žrtvovanog) ženskog tijela. Dakako, tu je priču moguće razumjeti na različite načine unutar općeg, antropološkog i posebnog, etnološkoga konteksta, u ovom slučaju Balkana. Htjela bih istaknuti autentičnu i veoma stvarnu seksualnu osjetljivost legende onako kako to daje naslutiti Branka Arsić. Prema njoj, motiv ugrađivanja žive žene u građevinu prije je imperativ patrijarhalne kulture nego njena ritualna iznimka. Naime, temeljna se ekspatrijacija (isključenje) drugosti (stranosti) i žene prikazuje kao prijeko potreban uvjet za buduće neprekinuto funkcioniranje istinske patrijarhalne ksenofobije prema drugosti.

Ta tumačenja Branke Arsić u skladu su s trenutačnom feminističkom terminologijom gdje se prostor doma imenuje i uspoređuje s “ružičastim getom”. On se uglavnom odnosi na spavaću sobu i kuhinju kao prikladne ženske prostore, služeći kao sredstvo za djelotvorno ograničavanje ne samo domene arhetipskog nego i stvarnih aktivnosti žena. Takav je primjer što potječe iz usmene književnosti: on uključuje fantazmatske (zabranjene) prostore bajki. Na primjer, bajka o Modrobradom sastoji se od pravog tabuiziranja (osiguranja) zabranjene sobe kao prostora koji ne samo što na početku isključuje nego i u slučaju nepoštovanja također kažnjava samu žensku prisutnost u sobi.

Proturječno iskustvo doma kako ga doživljava žena često proizlazi iz takozvane cirkulacije domova. Premda je riječ o prešutnom pravilu, rješavanje “zagonetke” *tko gdje živi* veoma je bitno. Kad se udaju, žene su u pravilu one

koje napuštaju roditeljski dom i sele se mužu, gdje se očekuje da će se na odgovarajući način prilagoditi (u patrijarhalnom značenju) novim (sadašnjim) koordinatama doma. I tako, premda zapravo nije bez kuće, znatan dio vremena žena može iskusiti mučan osjećaj kako je zapravo daleko od svog doma te da živi na pogrešnoj adresi, a duša joj je i dalje uznemirena.

Danas je kategoriji prognanika, odnosno ljudi rasutih daleko od svog doma/društva/obitelji pridružena nova sociokulturna skupina – kolonizirani ljudi. Vjeruje se da je doživljaj neudomljenosti primjerno postkolonijalno iskustvo te da u koloniziranih ljudi postoji nesklad između doma kao stvarnog prostora i doma kao čežnje. “Kolonizirani muškarci istodobno se nastane na dva mjesta. Ako je to tako, na koliko se onda mjesta nastane kolonizirane žene?” lucidno pita Franz Fanon aludirajući upravo na dvostruko (rodno i etničko) raz-domljavanje žene. U prvom slučaju nju se, u njezinoj “domaćoj”, patrijarhalno uređenoj zajednici, isprva rodno diskriminira, dok u drugom slučaju, u podređenoj (koloniziranoj) kulturi, za koju se pretpostavlja da će funkcionirati po zakonima svojih gospodara, ona postaje dodatno etički diskriminirana osoba.

Dom i izbjeglica – bezdomnost

Vidjeli smo kako se naša zemlja iseljava i napušta nas.
Mi se nismo iselili, to je učinila naša zemlja.
Izjava žene iz bivše Jugoslavije

Dom i gubitak doma dvije su strane jedne teme moderne misli. Možemo napraviti sljedeću tipologiju.

- a) nepripadanje, odnosno “neudomljenost” – prešutna ekspatrijacija, to jest isključivanje i/ili protjerivanje drugosti u patrijarhalnom domu, naciji, kulturi;
- b) odlazak iz doma (egzil) – dobrovoljno napuštanje (kao po pravilu – na Zapad) i nužno nadomještanje vlastita jezika (i nacije) nekim drugim jezikom (odnosno nacijom);
- c) gubitak doma ili “bezdomnost” – etničko čišćenje, to jest nasilno pražnjenje.

Tako nije slučajno da i u području kulturalne kritike, posebice u posljednjem desetljeću kasnoga kapitalizma prevladavaju egzistencijalno utemeljeni pojmovi kao što su dijaspore, migracija, itd.

Danas s pravom možemo reći kako posjedovanje vlastite adrese upućuje na to da netko postoji i djeluje u svijetu. Kartezijanska izreka *Mislim, dakle jesam* u suvremenim okolnostima masovnih i povremenih, dobrovoljnih, odnosno prisilnih migracija, postupno i oprezno pretvara se u *Imam adresu, dakle postojim*. Možda se time odužuje staroj europskoj praksi, točnije helenskoj

hermeneutici barbarizma. Prema starim Grcima, Skiti su *aporoï* (nedohvatni, neuhvatljivi), nevezani za zemlju, bez doma (“bez adrese”), i kao takvi, oni su istodobno barbari.

Bezdomnost se na Balkanu najčešće javlja kao posljedica vojnih djelovanja i nasilja (premda se sve više dodatno komplicira sučeljavanjem sa sporednim pojavama tranzicijske krize kao što su nezaposlenost i siromaštvo). Dakle, iskustva suvremenih, neželjenih *aporoï*, izbjeglica i prognanika, više su nego dramatična. Oni sami kažu da biti izbjeglica znači biti “bez identiteta”, odnosno, kako je rekla žena prognana iz sela Aracinovo: “Nemam oči da bih vidjela budućnost.”

Za razliku od nećijih, još sačuvanih i sigurnih prebivališta, pokazuje se da su njihovi (izbjeglički) domovi manje bitni i manje sveti, manje vrijedni odgovarajuće zaštite, a posebice nedostatan vrijedni da ih se smatra bastionom državnosti (kao kolektivnog doma). Izbjeglica je netko tko doslovce nema izbora u odlučivanju o svojoj sudbini pa je tako ona/on pozicioniran niže od najniže granice čovječnosti. Prema sociologu Ulrichu Biefeldu, izbjeglica, kao i marginalac u razvijenome društvu, zapravo je simbolično mrtav čovjek, onaj kome je nepopravljivo uskraćeno bilo kakvo donošenje društvenih odluka, pa stoga on/ona i nema utjecaja na svoju okolinu.

Međutim, najveća odgovornost koja se tiče razmatranja gubitka i obnove doma ponovno je na ženi. Za razliku od takozvanog neizlječivog, destruktivno nastrojenog muškarca, ne mora se ni reći kako je žena ponovno ta koja još jednom pripitomljuje i preobražava izvorno neutralan prostor u dom te uvodi sve nužne simbolične (i ne samo njih) detalje kako bi ga oživila. Ona počinje još jedan krug “odgođenog iseljenja”. Na Balkanu povijest viri iz svakoga grma i ne znate u kojoj ćete se zemlji probuditi i u koji ćete se dom ili mjesto morati preseliti “još samo ovaj put”.

Zaključak

Premda bi ga se moglo nesvjesno primijeniti, efektno retoričko povezivanje tih dviju riječi (kuća i kaos – engl. *the house and the chaos*) u novu, paronimastičku figuru što ostaje nazivom ovog rada, na semantičkoj (značenjskoj) razini, pokazalo se potpuno opravdanom gestom.

Danas se sve češće (zlo)upotrebljava metafora doma zbog njene velike manipulativne moći.

Pritom mislim na nekoliko aspekata:

- uobičajenu (zlo)upotrebu doma kao “ružičastoga geta”, to jest prostora za preventivno isključenje žene iz javnog prostora.
- ultranacionalističku (zlo)upotrebu tog pojma u militantno obojenoj sintagmi “drevna ognjišta” i potrebi da ga se čak i nasilno obrani;
- širenje eufemističkog izraza “raseljene osobe”, za koji dom ima važno, no ipak određenim razdobljem “ograničeno” značenje.

Mnogima je upitna pripadnost domu (kao mjestu i kao podrijetlu), to jest dvostruka bezdomnost ostaje manje-više stalnim obilježjem njihovih života. To upitno udomljavanje ("nitko se od njih ne osjeća kao doma u ovom svijetu") svojstvo je duhovnog stanja i u djelima dobitnika Nobelove nagrade za književnost Vidiadhura Naipola. Ženski likovi spisateljice Toni Morrison također pate od upitne pripadnosti domu gdje žive i rade, i njih neprekidno opsjeda pitanje "čija je ovo kuća? "

- Mnogima se, a ne samo nekolicini fikcionalnih likova, čini da žive na pogrešnoj adresi. Kao da su podvrgnuti "utjecaju" Sartreova egzistencijalizma, oni na koncu otkrivaju kako "nisu" ondje gdje žive zato što žive posvuda, ondje gdje nema adrese.
- To se stanje posebno odnosi na žene koje, osim gubitka i uništenja doma, različito (premda gdjekad veoma sofisticirano) i neprestance doživljavaju stvarnost unutarnjeg egzila i pražnjenja. Zato Jane Marcus nimalo slučajno ustvrđuje: "Feministička je kritika prirodan medij i metoda za istraživanje egzila."

Dom je ipak nešto složenije i ozbiljnije od malenog idiličnog Candideova vrta. Dok smo neki od nas (hotimično ili prisilno) postali zatočnici Doma, druge je trajno zarazio herpes neudomljenosti. Nekima dom postoji samo u području virtualnog, kao neiscrpiva čežnja, kao važan energetska i motivacijski naboj. Dom je, možda, samo projekt koji se ne može doista dovršiti, dosegnuti, procijeniti... Dakle, posljednje pitanje ovog teksta odnosi se na osnovnu dvojbu: ima li naš dom svoju adresu u stvarnosti? Svoje jasne prostorne (ili, ako hoćete, brojčane) koordinate? I, znamo li, ovdje i sada, koja je adresa "doma" zvanog Makedonija?

S engleskog preveo Miroslav Kirin

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Komentar diskutantice**Biljana Kašić**

Oba izlaganja su sadržajno vrlo gusta, inspiriraju i izazivaju mnoga pitanja; slažem se s Ullom da ne bismo trebale trošiti puno vremena na osobne priloge izlaganjima već otvoriti raspravu i pozvati sve sudionike/ce da podijele svoja mišljenja s nama.

Iako unaprijed imam pripremljene neke zapise vezane uz Melitin tekst, slušajući obje izlagateljice promijenih mišljenje i trenutno sam puna, bolje rečeno preplavljena novim idejama, momentima i pitanjima koji bi mogli biti mogući ulazi u razgovor. I, uz to, u posve sam drukčijem raspoloženju. Pažljivo slušajući izlaganja, pokušala sam u njima pronaći neke dodirne točke koje oblikuju, obujmljuju i upućuju/promiču pitanja i Meliti i Elizabeti, i stoga odlučih podijeliti ove važne 'dragulje' koje sam otkrila.

Ono što sam osjetila slušajući, izvjesno jest tjeskoba mjesta ili smještenosti, bez obzira je li bila jasno naznačena, naslovljena ili ne, a koja se odnosi na neizvjesnost Sebstva neovisno o tomu koliko pomičnost ili kretanje na to utječu. Ovdje je ključna mjesto.

Druga stvar koja je bitna, a nije eksplicitno izrečena, jest pitanje melankolije koja funkcionira unutar feminističkog diskursa, a još više unutar postkolonijalnog diskursa, kao najzagonetnija vrijednost i snaga. S jedne strane, osjećam da bi melankolija ili radikalni potencijal melankolije mogao riješiti neke od naših dilema u tumačenju ne onoga što je izgubljeno već onoga što je ostalo, kao što to zorno pokazuju umjetnički radovi izvanrednog kubanskog umjetnika Félix González-Torresa. S druge strane, u potpunosti se slažem s Elizabetom da svakako mnogo dilema ostaje neriješeno.

Trebali/e bismo se stoga suočiti s tjeskobom ne(raz)rješivih dilema oko nekih egzistencijalnih pitanja o kojima smo pričali/e jutros. U tom je smislu Melita kao glavne koncepte koristila koncepte državljanstva, intersubjektivnosti i odgovornosti, dok je Elizabeta, da bi se pozabavila s mnogostrukim tjeskobama, postavila intrigantno pitanje *bivanja* s ili *bez adrese*, kako je to Ulla također naznačila. Ovaj vrlo snažan izraz: što znači biti adresiran/a, ili točnije, biti nositelj/ica adrese, imati adresu, biti u osobitoj vrsti subjektivnog vlasništva i posjedovanja vlastitog subjektiviteta označenog putem adrese ili što znači živjeti bez ovog značenja/oznake, i kako se ono podudara s pitanjem pripadnosti ili nepripadnosti u smislu kako to primjerice rabi Homi Bhabha, potiče nova pitanja. Jedno od onih pitanja koje zaslužuje našu pažnju u današnjem vremenu multipliciranih pomičnosti jest: gdje se nalazi mjesto između i, odlazeći korak dalje, koji su to ljudski potencijali koji omogućuju iskorak ili prijelaz na drugu stranu. Oba motrišta poticajna su za razgovor.

Sada bih htjela samo nabrojati neke zajednička, poveziva mjesta u izlaganjima premda Melita i Elizabeta koriste različite diskurzivne prakse kao i motrišta iz posve određenih područja. Prva povezivo mjesto je ono koji se odnosi na život. Tvrdnja da je život po sebi projekt i da se stoga može promišljati i artikulirati kao putujući koncept otvara nam novi pogled važan za raspravu i dekonstrukciju značenja zarobljenih u metaforama doma ili 'bezdomnosti', ali još više daje šansu za promišljanje života kao nečeg neizvjesnog.

Povezivo s tim, pojavljuje se pitanje sigurnosti i osjećaja osobne sigurnosti i kako se nositi sa svim ovim konceptima i metaforama ili kako se sučeliti sa supripadnim tvorbama našeg bivanja u svoj kompleksnosti i dvosmislenosti/nejasnosti, ma kako ih moguće odredili/e.

Tu je i koncept mapiranja kao neka vrsta postkolonijalne alatke. Tko nas mapira i kako se dogodilo da smo mapirani/e na toliko različitih načina – javno, privatno, u prostoru unutarnjem, u prostoru izvanjskom, a što, okupirajući različite prostore i mjesta, pulsira hegemonijski poredak/tke, nepravедnost i nemogućnost usporedivosti. Oba izlaganja to sadrže. Kada su različite vrste mapa ucrtane unutar ljudskih/prostornih geografija tada se mogu pronaći granice i prepreke svakojakih tipova, one zacementirane, fizičke i mentalne i tad smo u nevolji kako se s tim nositi.

Promišljajući dalje, ono zajedničko što se pojavljuje u radovima jest ono što je Elizabeta eksplicitno naznačila kao krizu prostora. U oba izlaganja kriza prostora se pojavljuje kao razlog ili motiv za, ili uništenje, ili dekonstrukciju/rekonfiguraciju konceptata doma, kuće, migranata, slike o migrantima, pripadanja, transgresije, egzila. Koncept krize prostora predstavlja početak rasprave o ljudskosti kada se ona iznova pojavljuje kao hitna potreba: kriza je to ne samo života, nego življenja života. I tada se pojavljuje zahtjev za gledanjem rodno označenih mjesta i kako se suočiti sa svim tim rodno označenim mjestima i prostorima oko nas, kao i pitanje stvaranja imaginarija novih 'orođenih' mjesta.

I naposljetku želim reći da postoji ne samo filozofijsko, već puno stvarnije, konkretno pitanje koje je ovdje posebno naglašeno, a to je pitanje: gdje se nalazi subjekt? I tko je subjekt? Kako sada možemo locirati i osloviti/imenovati subjekt? Mislim na feministički subjekt, ženski subjekt, etički subjekt, migracijski subjekt. Melita je govorila o migrantima kao vrsti nekonstituiranih subjekata dok je Elizabeta govorila o subjektima bez adrese. Mislim da je to ključno za našu današnju diskusiju.

S engleskog prevele Iva Bulić i Biljana Kašić

Nastavak diskusije donosimo u izvornom engleskom obliku. Vidi str. 283-291.

RENATA JAMBREŠIĆ KIRIN

INTRODUCTION: RETHINKING NORTH AND SOUTH IN FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

Any minute now, any second, a new, completely different tribe will arise from the post-Communist underbush bearing doctoral dissertations with telling titles like *Understanding the Past – Looking Ahead*. (...) They will form a vibrant young contingent of specialists, organizers and, above all, managers, experts in business management, political management, ecological management, cultural management, disaster management – the management of life (Ugrešić 2008:244).

Dubravka Ugrešić's literary image of a forest-army of walking young people from the "post-communist underbush" who have been flooding the international labour market and perfectly adjusting themselves to the needs of the global economy and western academia, made me think of the difficulties in conceptualising locality/place/home in social theory. Between the criticized essentialist understanding of home as *rootedness* and attachment and the post-modern preference for transitional and shifting *placing/positioning*¹, in the traditional imagery there is also a third mode of residing/being, which is metaphorically presented in the image of the walking forest, the trees in movement. Such a folk image of the "revolutionary nature of the multitude" (Hardt & Negri 2000:394)² – of the energy of multitude in autonomous movement – is an expression of the social openness by the non-

¹ Inspiring lines on vegetative metaphors describing the (im)possibility of successful migration and "rooting" of exiles and migrants were written by Vilém Flusser: "It can happen that the expelled becomes conscious of the vegetable, almost vegetative aspect of his exile; that he uncovers that the human being is not a tree; and that perhaps human dignity consists in not having roots – that a man first becomes a human being when he hacks off the vegetable roots that bind him" (2002:107). Shakespeare has described challenges and dangers of this deeply human possibility in Macbeth: "That will never be/ Who can impress the forest, bid the tree/ Unfix his earth-bound root?" (Act 4, scene I).

² "Autonomous movement is what defines the place proper to the multitude. (...) A new geography is established by the multitude as the productive flows of bodies define new rivers and ports. (...) Through circulation the multitude re-appropriates space and constitutes itself as an active subject. (...) The multitude is not formed simply by throwing together and mixing nations and peoples indifferently; it is the singular power of a *new city*" (Hardt & Negri 2000:397).

privileged towards a utopian and phantasmagoric space, towards a revolutionary overthrow of the known world by which divisions fall between the privileged and the disfranchised, the animal and the vegetative, the living and the non-living. “The forest” of self-movable human resources is a product of modern fears of further impoverishment, the loss of status and provincialism rather than fear of mass death on the battlefields – which this image mainly symbolizes in the oral narratives: a revived dead army. Within the post-Yugoslav context an abundance of cultural and experiential material indeed feeds both kinds of fears, anxieties and internal Balkan aversions towards those located further to the wooded east and south in the “heart of darkness”, in the Bosnian “dark vilayet”, in the highland hiding-places of the war criminals, in the Albanian mountain enclaves where the “time stands still” and anthropologists are always welcome. The attributes that Ugrešić attaches to the multitude of young, ambitious and adjustable individuals moving from the South-East of Europe to the North and West, makes the mythic figure of the “moving forest” an appropriate illustration of postcolonial identities – mimicry, self-irony, resistance, endurance, the capacity to adjust to but also to resist against the post-industrial “life management” – on the basis of which lies the capitalist “ideological illusion that all humans are interchangeable” (Hardt & Negri 2000:395). The self-ironic instruction for an optimistic self-positioning *Understanding Past – Looking Ahead* can be understood also as a *plaidoyer* for a change of the anthropological paradigm of researching the Balkans and the countries created by the break-up of Yugoslavia: from an “anthropology of tears, fear and despair” *towards an anthropology of hope*.³

The idea to start a new round of feminist seminars in Dubrovnik was suggested by Rada Borić and Biljana Kašić on the terrace of one of the town’s hotels, and it crystallized in the furthest North of Europe, between Tampere and Lapland, in the Heideggerian forest home of Ulla Vuorela in Karkku.⁴ Between

³ Anthropology workshop with the name *Towards an anthropology of hope? Comparative post-Yugoslav Ethnographies*, intended for PhD students and young researchers from “the region”, was organized by Stef Jansen at the University of Manchester from 9 - 11 November 2007 – cf. Potkonjak 2007.

⁴ Most credits for the realisation of this idea go to Rada Borić, the leader of the bilateral Croatian-Finnish project *Gender, Nationalism and Citizenship: South-North Comparative Analysis (2005-2007)*, and a good connoisseur of the conditions in both academic and feminist communities with a few immediate contacts. During their study stay in Finland (27 January – 3 February 2006) Rada Borić, Biljana Kašić, Snježana Vasiljević and Renata Jambrešić Kirin visited the Department of Women’s Studies of the Tampere University and two respected (and compatible in terms of gender) University institutes in Helsinki: Christina Institute for Women’s Studies and Aleksanteri Institute: Finnish Centre for Russian and Eastern European Studies. At the Aleksanteri Institute on February 1st, 2006 they presented their research and findings at the panel discussion “*Between the Balkans and the EU: Gender Perspective from Croatia*”. Ulla Vuorela, on behalf of the four members of the Finnish Project Team, organized a working meeting in Karkku.

the palaces of Dubrovnik, the Finnish *high-tech* University of Tampere and the wooden house, a small group of women decided to unite the theoretical and ethical postulates of transversal feminist politics and the methodology of feminist pedagogy with their intellectual curiosity: what happens with epistemological concepts if they travel from western academic centres to the scientific communities at the European periphery?⁵ We agreed that between the Croatian and the Finnish recent g-location on the European map there are connecting points, that in the national narratives there are similarities (both “small nations” have formed their identities under the constant assimilation threat from their mighty, imperial neighbours, as well as by repressing civil war consequences) and that post-colonial theory is illuminative for understanding them, that it is necessary to investigate why a part of the post-Yugoslav refugee wave stopped at the Finnish North, and that, regardless of the economic development and legal orderliness of the Finnish society, the priorities of feminist action overlap to a large extent.

Parallel and divergent processes of *scandinavisation and balkanisation* have been formed on the resistance against the hegemony of Christianity, capitalism, Enlightenment and technological superiority that encouraged the rest of the Europeans to see them as a civilization model for the rest of the world. A source of frustrations and trauma in those marginal regions of appropriating interest zones can be found simultaneously in the feeling of “the great power’s uninterestedness” and in the (harmful or beneficial) experience of their real political, economic or cultural “colonization”.

A strong need to challenge the relationship between feminist epistemology and post-colonial theory arrived from both *outside*, from the need for women to question the narratives in which they are embedded, the knowledge production and the governing “truth regimes” as well as the domination of “scattered hegemonies” (Grewal and Kaplan 1994), and *inside*. Namely, after the return from Helsinki, Tampere and Karkku to our overcrowded offices and schedules, it was hard to resist the special kind of mixed feelings between feminist enthusiasm and the condition which Paul Gilroy has named *postcolonial melancholia*. In short, *postcolonial melancholia* is a “blend of guilt, denial, laughter”, the structure of feeling typical for a *vernacular cosmopolitanist*

⁵ It ought to be noted that the Finnish universities (like other Scandinavian universities too) have long given up on ethnocentricity and have opened their doors to the Third World and “the other Europe”, to guest scholars from all over the world. The environment which has turned its geographic margin into a meeting-place of scientific and social ideas, the burden of the civil war and historical legacy into the imaginativeness of a post-colonial project, and the rigidity of religious and humanistic tradition in the shadow of the imperial Other into a superb modernistic (re)design of space, has recognized the importance of gender mainstreaming in economic, political and academic structures.

who has been learning “that hard lesson of ambivalence and forbearance” (Bhabha 2002:24), particularly for those who have inherited balkanism as a problematic “discourse on an imputed ambiguity” (Todorova 1997:17), and which continuously transforms the passive melancholic state into the vehemence of redefining and observing one’s own schizoid selfness.

What is the “home” address for transnational families?

If appropriation of the ‘colonialism’ metaphor and the postcolonial state for the former socialist countries is “unfair – mostly because of the *real* postcolonial peoples”⁶, searching for epistemological backing from theoreticians of post-coloniality is certainly not such, in particular if one is trying to understand the practice of East European intellectuals and politicians to non-critically accept the diagnosis on “the situation in the region” as a deviation of the western/European norm of liberal democracy without investigating the causes and global consequences of the new forms of biopolitical power produced by corrupted governments and postindustrialisation, with consequences in trafficking, “the growing inequality that has been prompted by turbo-capitalism” and destruction of the “once proud welfare state” (Gilroy 2004:149).⁷ By presenting the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an exemplary neocolonial “space of exception”, Jasmina Husanović has analysed (both in her presentation and in these proceedings) the usefulness of postcolonial theory and transnational feminism for an understanding of this “violent mélange of bio-politics, capital and body, where we are reduced to ‘bare life’ and where the modern category of citizen is radically destroyed”.

As feminists we knew that there was no place for resignation and that our theoretical reflections should begin from the most painful consequences of the reorganization of gender as a part of the global strategy of capitalism – from

⁶ “In contrast with the ‘West-Orient’ situation, I am convinced that in the West – BEE [Broader Eastern Europe] – relation the *informational inequality* was even the opposite. Broader Eastern Europe, as a half-periphery of the West has a very long tradition to acquire knowledge about the Western (cultural, political, economical, technical, etc.) patterns. (...) Furthermore... BEE was the first region which realized how important it is to influence (or to manipulate) the Western images about itself. (...) [T]he Balkans in the early 19th century began to affirm their Europeanness, and to try to more share the Western-type knowledge. Although this process was not free of traumas, sometimes shocks..., it was not the same as the ex-colonial territories catastrophes, when they had met with the ‘white man’. The ‘colonialism’-metaphor in the case of BEE is unfair – mostly because of the *real* postcolonial peoples” (Dupcsik 2001:37-8).

⁷ As a consequence of these processes, Rosi Braidotti mentions some new “regressive” types of female migrant identities: “the bride by mail order, the illegal prostitute; the victim of war rape, seeking political asylum in the EU and not being granted one because rape does not qualify one for political refugee status; the house maid from the Philippines, replacing

the feminisation of poverty as the starting point of any other discrimination,⁸ from the fundamentalist defence of the “female” pride and integrity of nation, which is often implemented by the “national elites integrated into the culture of transnationalism” (Shohat 1998:47) to the spreading of the consumeristic “norms of Eurocentric aesthetics” that “come to invade even the intimacy of self-consciousness, leaving severe psychic wounds” (ibid.:27) in non-European women. Namely, in the three envisioned *Feminisms in transnational perspective* seminars (2007-2009) we have decided to link diverse feminisms in order to analyse new aspects of embodiment, imagining and representation of gendered identities that have been changing along with the social modes of existence: from the family to the citizen’s belonging, in particular where “the borderlining”, redefining and reinforcing of the permeable borders of the European fortress is most intense: on its North-Eastern and South-Eastern margins.

The non-transparent capital flow and human trafficking, as well as the cheap “fluid labour”⁹ flow take place along the South-East North-West Europe

the more familiar au pair girl” (1999:46). According to statistics by the Italian Caritas, among 227,249 domestic servants with legal status more than 50% come from the Philippines, then Peru, Sri Lanka, Romania, Poland, Albania, Croatia etc. In the sense of G. Campani, Melita Richter points out the general trend: “on one hand, there is a movement of European women towards managerial highly qualified jobs; on the other hand immigrant women are confined to the bottom of the economic scale”.

⁸ Sam Vaknin, longtime economic advisor to the Macedonian government, gives an extremely negative picture of the influence of neo-liberal capitalism and unfinished democratisation in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe, according to which and based on statistics, women are “the prime victims of the historical process of transition”: “They saw their jobs consumed by male-dominated privatisation and male-biased technological modernization. Men in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are three times more likely to find a job; 60 to 80 percent of all women’s jobs were lost (for instance in the textile and clothing industries; and the highest rates of unemployment are among middle-aged and older women (...). The only ray of light is higher education, where women’s participation actually increased in certain countries. But this blessing is confined to ‘feminine’ (low pay and low status) professions. Even in feminised professions (such as university teaching), women make less than 20% of the upper rungs (eg. full professorships). Studies have shown that, with rising costs, women’s educational opportunities decline. (...) The day of CEE feminism will come. But first, CEE has to become more Westernised” (2000 http).

⁹ According to McClintock, “while some countries may be postcolonial with respect to their erstwhile European masters, they may not be postcolonial with respect to their new colonizing neighbours” (1995: 13). This applies in particular to the transborder socio-economic processes in the Alps-Adria region where the interests of the erstwhile colonizers are identical to those of the present employers in search of cheap domestic workers (nurses, cooks, house maids). A peculiar story of almost 7000 Slovenian children nurses and servant-girls employed by wealthy European families in Alexandria and Cairo between 1869 (the opening of the Suez Canal) and the 1960s because of their reputation of cleanliness and trustworthiness, could be compared with current needs for “fluid”, inexpensive and women’s labour of high quality. The

axis, in the direction opposite from the post-industrial “geography of poverty” the contours of which have started to appear in leading European countries since the 1980s. Namely, the collapse in the most important industrial areas in Great Britain and Germany brought about an enormous movement of work places and people to the South (known in Germany as *Nord-Süd Gefälle*). After the fall of the “Iron Curtain”, the social, political and moral aspects of border-making in the eastern semiperiphery of Europe confirmed its *liminal* position “at the interstices between worlds, histories and continents”, rather than the *marginal* position; to be *liminal* “is a sort of centrality... is to be *between* (and overlapping) two or more domains” (Flaming 2000:1232). This *liminal-central* space in the contact zone between Central and Eastern Europe stimulated the neo-colonial processes: the import of “wild capitalism” and the conquest of new markets as well as the transfer of skills and know-how (including feminist projects).

The course addressed the phenomena of transnationalism primarily from the vantage point of transnational families, where the public and the private spheres overlap. It is the social and symbolic networks which present a “threat” to the nation state because “the transnational family is continually onward and outward bound, quite different from diasporic communities that instil social imperatives for going back to their places of origin” (Ulla Vuorela), and within which hybrid, mimicry-like and multiple identities are formed. Those which can not be adequately understood if the Western narratives of national, cultural and historical homogeneity are adopted as an unquestionable norm, and the sociological understanding of forced and voluntary migrations/exiles that *no lens volens* result in voluntary or “forced transnationality” (Al-Alli 2000:115) is replaced by the glorification of mobility, flexibility and the free flux and flow¹⁰. On the other hand, anthropological research on the members of privileged “imperial-cum-transnational elites with a wealth of symbolic capital” shows that also those individuals who through several generations “experienced a relatively

inscription at the memorial plaque recently posted in Cairo reads: “This plaque is in memory of the fate of the Slovene women, les Goriciennes, les Slaves, les Slovenes. For an entire century they come to Egypt as wet nurses, nannies, cooks, governesses and seamstresses. With their earnings they saved their families and homesteads from ruin” (Daily paper *Večer*, 10 January 2007).

¹⁰ “Location is so important for the immigrant. Firstly, I would say it depends on the starting point and the point of the arrival as cardinal points in the migratory project, and the distance in between; from where are the people coming, are they located close or far from their homeland. The distance determines the arising of the illusion of double belonging and of the belief to be able to live in both spaces – “here” and “there”. (...) Only those migrants who “continue to go back and forward and to cultivate some interest in what is going on in their native society” show that it is nevertheless possible “to connect the two separate segments of their migratory project” (Richter).

wide scope for transnational and cosmopolitan movement and lifestyle” have a feeling of “inherent personal and family deprivations” and discontinuity, which it seems have been “accepted more or less philosophically” (Vuorela). And the basic parameters of the (often non-corresponding) philosophical, literary and feminist understanding of deprivation and benefit, saturation and anxiety because of the state of being *homed* und *unhomed* in the contemporary world in which “*the house* and *the chaos*” are paronomastically united, have been analysed in a paper by Elizabeta Šeleva. Promoting the basic feminist position that “the home is nevertheless something more complex and more serious than the small idyllic garden of *Candid*” and that the home metaphor possesses a huge manipulative power in conservative discourses (from the ultra-nationalist, the religious to the consumeristic), Šeleva has demonstrated that for many – not only for the privileged, transnational migrants – home “exists only in the domain of the virtual, as an inexhaustible craving, as an important energetic and motivational charge”. Her key question *what is the address of “home” called Macedonia?* brings us back to the endemic *nesting* Balkan Euro-Orientalism, in which the chain of negative mapping of the close “other” (as Eastern/Balkanite/“Asiatic”) suggests an immanent problem of self-definition, while positive Balkan identities are often ethnographically realised in mimicry-like or crypto manifestations.

Bosnia in focus of the feminist ethical geography

The basic aim of the course is an exchange of knowledge and experience between renowned lecturers, researchers and activists with young scholars, students and interested participants who share a special interest in women’s and gender studies, transnational studies, cultural studies, postcolonial theory and anthropology. In providing a creative space for discussion, seminar work and students’ presentations during the course, we were guided by feminist pedagogy that promotes an “altered vision of knowledge, aesthetics, and social relations” (Shohat 1998:41), as well as transnational, trans-disciplinary and trans-generational communication among women for the purpose of empowering them for a “cultural production within academic disciplines” and for their socio-political work. This Proceedings of selected contributions invokes the pedagogical character and the tone of the workshops, dialogues and negotiations in which all the participants could tell “alternate stories of difference, culture, power and agency” (Mohanty 2003:247). Due to a lack of resources, the Proceedings, in addition to the morning discussions, do not include the transcripts of the afternoon workshops where positional papers, research findings, themes of masters and PhD thesis were discussed. The diversity of the issues has significantly enriched the course with intellectual curiosity and the readiness of young people not only to fully engage with the

realities of a transnational world but also to become aware of the limits and possibilities arising from their social and personal positions. Their research papers addressed strategies for the self-definition and self-presentation of Muslim women and young people in West European cities (Synnove Bendixsen); the practice of veiling as interpreted by Muslim women in Sarajevo (Andreja Mesarić); the transnational practice of new “mixed” marriages between citizens of the old and new EU member states (Anna Matyska and Tatiana Tiaynen); the contribution of women volunteers in international peace movements in Palestine (Anđelka Rudić); the role of a women’s NGO network within the EU (Malin Björk) and Finland (Salla Johanna Tuori) and a Finnish feminist network for enhancing migrant women’s employment (Saraleena Aarnitaival); women’s political activism in former socialist countries (Emilia Korytkowska) and the role of traditional folklore practices in the life of Egyptian women (Khalid Abouel-Lail).

Though our call for papers stated that we were interested in the logics of an intensified transnational movement of people, identities and symbols, the circulations of expert knowledge, professional assistance and humanitarian relief in a global context in which North-South tensions may be more relevant than West-East polarisation, and particularly in feminist concerns about moral discourses of *counter-Empire* on the margins of the European continent, most of the received and presented contributions focused on the research of socio-cultural politics of the representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and its diaspora) through dominant attributes of masculinity and femininity associated to (geographical, ethnical, religious/secular and moral) characteristics of collective identities. Four authors (Elissa Helms, Jasmina Husanović, Laura Huttunen and Stef Jansen) followed Mohatny’s appeal for a full-scale, scrutinized analysis versus monolithic and essentialist categorizations of women (i.e. the representations of veiled Muslim versus “European” Bosnian women) and man (*father* and *frayer* patriarchal masculine figure). Helms’ analysis of media content and public communication revealed a practice of “the gendering of orientalist and balkanist constructions” in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as how the “essentialized notions of gender equality, ‘women’s emancipation’ and sexual morality were frequently the vehicles through which the relative advantages and disadvantages of ‘east’ and ‘west’ were portrayed.” Yet even those whose gender (self)representation regimes promoted “Western” values “did not necessarily escape patriarchal hierarchies or an androcentric gaze”. The only consistent voices against this re-domestication of the patriarchal “Balkan mentality” were the voices of women activists from non-governmental organisations. But, as presented by Jansen, the endurance and vitality of the patriarchal mainstream was in particular revealed while creating the new old normative masculinities in post-war Bosnia based on the “performance competence” of the two socio-

cultural roles that hegemonize masculinity: the role of the father, “a provider to a household constituted through patriarchal kinship”, and the role of the *frayer*, “stylised subject of heterosexual desire”. Jansen concludes that the reproduction of hegemonizing (patriarchal) patterns rules of that which is called a “normal life” and “consolidation of gender differences” not leaving much place for a “new experience of sociality” and “alternative” (anti-nationalist, pacifist) masculinity. Yet it suffices to look at the members of the same Bosnian-Herzegovinian socio-cultural community in the diaspora, searching for new “alternative” backing for a consolidation of their ethno-national, social and gender identities, which have been “dislocated” by their war experiences. Huttunen’s analysis of two personal narratives, by a woman and a man, from the Bosnian diaspora in Finland finds that they share some general experiences of forced migrants – the experience of home as a (geographically and chronologically) divided place; “the knowledge of that insecurity is very personal and deeply-rooted” and caused by a loss of “their house, their positions in local communities and often also their loved ones”; thus “experiences of strangeness, exclusion or failure in the new country of settlement are assessed in relation to the (often nostalgic) memories of life in communities in pre-war Bosnia”. Even though the issue here is about the strategies of a “hesitant diaspora” whose decision on staying or returning depends on the “dynamics of changes in both places”, in Finland and in Bosnia, and on the establishment of law, justice and ethical norms in the Bosnian society. Namely, without the social engagement of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina who advocate a politics of hope, “resistance and imagination”, solidarity and ideals of justice, “the past and the present will keep haunting the future rather violently” (Husanović).

Contesting the European fortress by feminist transversal politics

Positions presented during the discussions also confirmed that instead of celebrating the transnational “possibility of having multiple identities and multiple localities” the majority of participants were concerned with concrete problems of the least privileged subjects of transnational practices, who endure the difficulties of regulating the bureaucratic status, physical separation, anxiety, constant doubts and the impossibility of deciding about one’s own life; and frequently addressed Bosnia as the best test for social theories and their research tools (cf. Doubt 2000)¹¹. Even though it may seem that their efforts to

¹¹ “Can sociology sustain itself as a viable study of society when it ignores perhaps the most pressing and difficult subject in this time? (...) However incomparable and unique events in Bosnia are, it is a mistake, I believe, to assume that they are unrelated to events outside of and external to Bosnia. It is a mistake to assume that events in Bosnia cannot be shared with outsiders. Such a position is unhealthy for both Bosnia and the world. (...) If unimaginable, never-ending crimes are events that defy discourse, then all we can do is gaze at the event as if it occurred in the realm of nature rather than the social world” (Doubt 2000:4).

shed some light on the apparently secondary elements of tropes, images, literary, journalistic, ethnographic and visual representations of Bosnia and its citizens are less relevant, it is precisely this “provision of symbolic space from which a community can re-imagine and reconstruct itself” (Husanović) that is the only way for an internal consolidation of Bosnia of incomprehensible losses, a ruined social order, fractured realities and neocolonial rules (comp. *Discussion* 167-172). In addition, the seemingly hair-splitting intra-disciplinary discussion on “failed” and “successful” performative representation of anthropological findings of the *participant observation* method (Jansen – Prica) shows that any mediation of “expert” insight and “firsthand”, “local”, “native” knowledge is not a naïve, benevolent trans-action, because it is precisely the scholars who must break into the framework of socio-linguistic and cultural conventions, stereotypes, mentalities and world views, which their texts reveal as much as (not rarely) reproduce.¹² Even the disciplines which are by definition supposed to unify and interpret unspoken knowledge, embodied experience, site-specific silence and gendered perceptions, can with difficulties free themselves of the discourse constellation “through which experience becomes *articulated* in itself and *articulable* with other accounts” (Pfeil 1994:211), particularly in the situation where the local, insider voice aims to articulate that what can hardly be discussed (the experiences of loss and trauma) unlike the expert gaze that slides over the surface of cultural images and practices (Prleđa, comp. *Discussion* 210-220).

The new, ambivalent experiences of dislocation are “articulable” thanks to new notions (*diasporic identities, transnational affiliations, virtual ethnospaces* etc.) that sometimes cover the threat of a “heroic oversimplification and ideologization”, but individual experiences depend predominantly on immigration legislation and international law, on discriminatory bureaucratic procedures of granting (dual) citizenship rights, asylum, working permits, private property and “limiting” the number of an immigrant family’s members. At the same time, one must keep in mind that there is no place without transnational moments in the historical narrative of nation and family, without a planned or a violent colonization of the population and displacement of individuals, and that the relatively more successful acculturation of women from former Yugoslavia in their new communities, environments can be explained by their historical and cultural heritage; the woman was the one who most frequently “had to ‘adjust’ to a new life in a new family and new community” (Borić). However, the sense of belonging (and longing) is still very important in the

¹² According to Fred Pfeil, the idea of homogenous *identification strategies* in itself “reproduces that ‘simplicity of essences’ and ‘leveling of differences’ within subordinated groups that has historically been wielded by hegemonizing oppressors with such signal success” (1994:209).

contemporary world but in terms of commitments towards the future and not towards the past because for most people “where they might be going back is not the same” as what they left behind (Vuorela, comp. *Discussion* 259-262).

Multiculturalism or conviviality are just some of the buzz-words describing an ideal situation, an acceptance “of the new-comers as an element of potential richness” in the sense of “Levinas’s philosophy of *changing together* on the path of immigration” (Richter). In reality, there are only a few open societies that “accept the Otherness as richness of society” and many of “an unequal social environment of deprivation”, surveillance and control for immigrants in separated “ethnic communities and monocultural associations” (ibid.). Where they are accused of misusing hospitality, of crime, of growing unemployment rates and weakening of national identity, it is difficult to find an alternative for a paradox community “made up of foreigners who are reconciled with themselves to the extent that they recognize themselves as foreigners” (Kristeva 1997:294), and in particular to help those “who are living or breathing the stigma” (Šeleva) of the collective memory of slavery, racial discrimination, prosecution and pogrom. In light of this, the question “is there a place such as home from a feminist perspective?” (cf. Kašić 2007), i.e. if there is a feminist location where it is possible to create “a safe house for difference”, “a space of emotional knowledge and feminist language” (Shohat 1998:13), “to create a home from a loss” (Borić), has lost nothing of its actuality (comp. *Discussion* 283-291).

By presentations and selected theoretical texts from the Reader¹³, the course has encouraged a critical and transversal feminist reading of the “neo-imperial state”¹⁴ and its accompanying conceptualizations, highlighting the need for an anthropological and feminist redefinition of the ex-Yugoslav position in both time and space and by means of new paradigms. Specifically those that

¹³ The Reader with the working material for the participants included the following authors: Ch. T. Mohanty, Th. Faist, D. Zarkov, X. Bougarel/G. Duijzings/E. Helms, J. Chambers-Letson, K. E. Fleming, S. Green, D. Bryceson/U. Vuorela, N. Al-Alli, S. Ahmed, S. Jansen, D. Duhaček, R. Iveković/J. Mostov, M. L. King.

¹⁴ After accusations by “Third World” feminists of “Eurocentrism, capitalism, and heterosexism” in the “Western-based global sisterhood that has been blind to the privileges it has derived from its comfortable station on the neoimperial pyramid” (Shohat 1998:11), the feminist project has been thoroughly redefined as polycentric, multicultural feminism. One of its basic characteristics is an attempt to “to treat time palimpsestically, beyond the binarism of good modernism/bad tradition (or vice versa), it also does not have to choose between the false dichotomies of ‘good’ local and ‘bad’ global (or vice versa)” (op.cit.:52). A comprehensive feminist critique of postcolonial theory in the sense that its focus “is shifted from the binary axis of power to the binary axis of time which does not distinguish between the beneficiaries and the casualties of colonialism” is presented by Anne McClintock in the Introduction of *Imperial Leather* (1995).

instead of prejudices of balkanism and Euro-orientalism open up a space for understanding the multiplicity and contingency of socio-cultural processes in the present understood as “the past future” as well as a rich, future, regional “women’s history”. As evident from the presentation on Dubrovnik women of the Renaissance by historian Slavica Stojan (2003)¹⁵, and as highlighted by Natka Badurina in her comment, if not prisoners of their (aristocratic or conventual) house sanctuaries, being left to fight for their citizen’s existence (to violence, disputes, stigmatization and discrimination), women were relevant agents in processes of socio-cultural translation between the *high* and the *low*, legal and folk, local and *foreign* cultures. Thus if women in the most beautiful Adriatic fortress (of the autocratic freedom defenders) did not have a Renaissance, some of them did win the right to shout their public opinion, scorn and protest against the power structures under the windows of the Duke’s Palace. As Badurina pointed out in her comment, recent methodological changes in the research of women’s histories demonstrated how political issues are central for discussing the past and future of all women’s projects.

Ideologized and problematic notions like transition, emancipation/regression, socialism/post-socialism, feminism/post-feminism, open up for a new rethinking in the moment when the analysis focuses on the dis/continuity of producing gender differences in the social symbolic order.¹⁶ A rare example of continuing autonomous activities based on a positive acceptance of female identity is the intensive international and domestic activity of feminists in the region, who withstand not only neo-liberal capitalism and its commodification of patriarchal desire, but also the paternalistic attitudes of individual Western colleagues, sponsors and advisors. This course is in particular valuable because it creates preconditions for a different relationship, based on mutual respect, dialogue on equal terms and critical awareness. It seems that for those who have only started to make their first steps in the academic community

¹⁵ Papers by Slavica Stojan and Branka Galić (on the quantitative survey about sexuality and religiosity in the Croatian society) are not included in this selection because they did not follow the key theme and concept of the course, but the vigorous discussions inspired by them has made us consider a “non-linear” history of European women and on sexism/religiosity as subjects for a future seminar.

¹⁶ Parallel processes taking place along the borderlands running from the north-east (the Baltics and the environs) to the south-east (the Balkans and the environs) with a special focus on money, gender and sexuality, ought to be researched by social scientists from the north and the south of Europe in the framework of the research network “Remaking eastern borders in Europe: a network exploring social, moral and material relocations in Europe’s eastern peripheries”, the activities of which have been organized by Sara Green from the University of Manchester. The idea of the “European concerted research action” is to combine “empirical with conceptual specialists to tackle the complexities of what happens in everyday, informal terms around border regions during periods of transformation” (2008:3).

imbued with feminist ethics, the most attractive task is to describe “how people in different locations and circumstances are linked by the spread of and resistance to modern capitalist social formations” (Grewal and Kaplan 1994:5), while avoiding the pitfalls of homogenization and fetishization of such everyday vernacular “alterglobalistic” resistance tactics. Yet, it is not simple to simultaneously incline towards the tactics of resisting against the instances of power, and to count on g-local resources that sponsor academic gatherings at an elite tourist destination. The hope that the feminist seminars organized by the four partner institutions (two from Zagreb and two from Finland – from Helsinki and Tampere) will continue, respecting the planned rhythm and rotation of coordinators, is guided by one thought. Namely, that only fostering of the (utopian) feminist space for a fully self-reflexive understanding and dialogue establishes links between the local and the global contexts of women’s struggles and a principled intervention into the geopolitical reality by creating possibilities for alternative alliances.

Translated from Croatian by Anđelka Rudić

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ELISSA HELMS

EAST AND WEST KISS: GENDER, ORIENTALISM, AND BALKANISM IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA¹

“East and West Kiss”



Image 1. “East and West kiss”, *Dani*, 04.01.1999. cover.

In January 1999, a provocative image appeared on billboards and tram-stop shelters all over the city of Sarajevo. Pictured were two young women, one in a black Islamic head scarf smiling up at another dressed in a red bra and Santa hat as she embraced the “Muslim” woman, kissing her on the nose. The accompanying caption, in a play on the words of a socialist World War II Partisan song, read “Ljubi se istok i zapad.”² The posters were advertisements for the latest issue of the independent news magazine *Dani*, for which this picture served as the cover page.

The image was created by this antinationalist, secular magazine in response to calls by Muslim religious nationalists to suppress the widely popular New Year celebration and its well-known symbol, Deda Mraz as un-Islamic. This charge was led by “pan-Islamists” in and around leaders of the Stranka Demokratske Akcije (SDA), the prominent Bosniac (Bosnian Muslim) party that took power in 1990 as socialist Yugoslavia was disintegrating.³ The SDA and its

¹ This is an abbreviated version of Elissa Helms, “East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina,” published in *Slavic Review* 67(1), Spring 2008.

² *Dani*, 4 January 1999: cover. The original song begins: “Budi se istok i zapad!”

³ I take the term “pan-Islamist” from Xavier Bougarel’s description of this group’s influence on what became the SDA (Bougarel 1997:533).

allies in the religious establishment have dominated efforts to define Bosniac national identity, advocating a major political and cultural role for Islam in a population that includes large numbers of atheist, secularist, and nonpracticing “Muslims.”⁴ Their objections to the New Year celebration were based, not only on resistance to the Christian calendar and Deda Mraz’s resemblance to St. Nicholas, but just as intently on the holiday’s association with socialism. As in other socialist states, Yugoslavia, of which Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereafter Bosnia or BiH) had until recently been a part, had successfully incorporated the Christmas tree and St. Nicholas into a redefined secular celebration of the New Year.⁵ In the eyes of the pan-Islamists, then, Bosniac identity was to be directly opposed to socialism, secularism, and Christianity. Further, as *Dani*’s cover conveyed, this controversy was widely seen as part of a struggle between east and west, tradition and modernity, Islam and Europe.

What is especially noteworthy about this image is that these dichotomies were indexed by gendered representations – of women, as is frequently the case. While scholars have brought to light the discursive and political work of such imagery in and toward the Balkans through concepts like orientalism and balkanism, the frequent appearance of gendered representations in this region has received little notice. Attention to gender reveals some recent shifts in orientalist and balkanist rhetoric, shifts that operate not only in the Balkans but globally as well.⁶ I take Muslim-majority Bosnia-Herzegovina – a place and population imagined as straddling historical fault-lines of eastern and western culture, religion, and civilization – as a productive site from which to view these changes, examining the specific forms they take in this particular setting. Through an ethnographic analysis of media, political, and “everyday” discourses, I show how the various gendered reconfigurations of east/west, Islam/Europe, tradition/modernity ultimately reaffirm such dichotomous representations, masking a much greater complexity of global, regional, and local dynamics at play.

⁴ The SDA was formed by pan-Islamists around the late Alija Izetbegović, but its base encompassed urban intellectuals, former Communist Party networks, and more secular-minded Bosniacs (Bougarel 1997). Here my concern is primarily the period of the war up until the end of 2000, when pan-Islamists dominated the SDA leadership and conservative (religious) articulations of Bosniac identity. Since that time, the balance between religious and secular nationalists has been redistributed through new political parties and institutions, but debates over the place of Islam continue.

⁵ The redefined Deda Mraz and the New Year’s Tree (themselves resignifications of older pagan symbols) shifted the focus from a religious holiday to a secular one that could be celebrated by all in the spirit of socialist (multiethnic) “brotherhood and unity” (Sklevicky 1990).

⁶ Debates over Turkish authenticity, for example, revolve around women’s dress and are frequently expressed in terms of east and west. See especially Yael Navaro-Yashin (2002).

Symbolic Geographies and Bosnia

A well-established symbolic geography towards eastern Europe and the Balkans has been evoked by both “western” powers and local actors to construct a superior west and a backward East, much like the workings of orientalism as described by Edward Said.⁷ To account for the specificities of representations of southeast Europe, Maria Todorova has introduced “balkanism” as the term for the derivative but distinct project of constructing the Balkans as “the other within” Europe, more a backward and primitive “self” than an alien “other” (Todorova 1997; Fleming 2000). Furthermore, while Said’s orientalism was tied to (histories of) direct western colonization, balkanism was built on much more diffuse and indirect relationships of domination and subordination vis-à-vis “the west.” Nevertheless, especially when the subject is Islam or Muslims, whether European or not, western dominance has been evoked and constructed in relation to the Balkans through the *language* of orientalism (Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992:3; Fleming 2000). Crucially then, as Katherine Fleming has argued, “when divorced from those [colonial] structures, orientalism loses much of its unidirectionality (as a discourse imposed by the West on the East) and becomes instead embedded and internalized in East and West alike. Or, . . . through the adoption of ‘orientalist’ rhetoric by both East and West, the boundaries between the two categories begin to blur” (Fleming 2000:1224). It is precisely this blurriness, or ambiguity, born of the liminal position “between poles” of east and west, that provides Balkaners, and especially Bosniacs and Bosnians, with the materials with which to invert, challenge, and transform such frameworks.⁸

It is also crucial to note the specific pattern of “nesting orientalisms” in what was Yugoslavia, in which members of one nation have attempted to portray themselves as superior/western/European while casting their southern and eastern neighbors as part of the inferior, oriental “east” (Bakić-Hayden 1995; see also Patterson 2003; Razsa and Lindstrom 2004; Živković 2001). These formulations follow a more general pattern of social distinctions, what sociolinguists have called fractal recursions, in that oppositional pairs such as west/east, European/Oriental, male/female, public/private can recur within one half of a broader oppositional pair, making for endless possibilities of repositioning within categories of superiority and inferiority like those associated with east and west.⁹ As Islam and association with the Ottoman past

⁷ Said 1978. On western constructions of this region, see Goldsworthy 1998; Todorova 1997; Wolff 1994. On “local” discourses in former Yugoslavia, see Bakić-Hayden 1995; Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992.

⁸ On ambiguity in Balkan symbolic geographies, see Green 2005.

⁹ See, e.g., Gal 2002; Gal and Kligman 2000; Irvine and Gal, 2000. For a critique, see Green 2005:128–58.

occupy the lowest rungs of nesting orientalist hierarchies, Bosnian Muslims are often placed outside the symbolic borders of Europe and thus the west. Bosniacs themselves have in different ways attempted to defy such negative portrayals, reflecting the malleable quality of dichotomous frameworks.¹⁰ Yet, as I argue here, rather than rejecting the polarization of east and west, they instead tend to shift the valences or boundaries of such dichotomies to suit specific political agendas.

This is also true of attempts to posit a hybrid identity. Arguments that ethnonational differences are irreconcilable, and a functioning Bosnian state therefore unattainable, frequently reproduce a Huntington-esque view of “clashing” European (Christian) and Islamic civilizations where Serbs and/or Croats are the defenders of Europeaness against the alien Muslims.¹¹ In contrast, those supporting the idea of a multiethnic, unified state often favor images of Bosnia as a bridge or crossroads between east and west.¹² These metaphors were invoked over and over by Bosnians I met in the course of my research when they tried to explain everything from politics to religion to ethnic relations to the status of women in BiH. As Pamela Ballinger has argued for the case of Istrian “hybrid” identity, while this stance can be mobilized in support of a multiethnic society – in this case a Bosnian state – and/or ethnic tolerance, it also effectively reinforces the notion of separate and different east (Islamic) and west (European) civilizations (2004).¹³

Furthermore, these reconfigurations – like the various expressions of nationalism in the service of which they are often invoked – are frequently accomplished through gendered representations, especially of women, which

¹⁰ Outside supporters of Bosnia also attempted to reconfigure balkanist mappings: in arguing that western governments should intervene to help the Bosniacs or a united BiH, they emphasized the war damage done to cosmopolitan Sarajevo, whose inhabitants could be understood to look and behave “just like us” white Europeans/westerners rather than “true” Muslims.

¹¹ Note that “Islam” is often opposed to “Europe” rather than to the analogous religious term “Christianity,” implying the association—positive for some, negative for others—of “Europe” with secularism and of “Islam” as a totalizing descriptor of “oriental” culture. Such formulations nevertheless reconfigured even Huntington, moving Orthodox Christian countries to the side of “the west” rather than grouping them with Islamic countries and “the rest” (Huntington 1996).

For examples, see Hayden 2000:116–24; Jansen 2003. These formulations were also gendered: Jansen found Serbs who expressed fears that Muslims would lock Serb women into harems and impregnate them with Muslim sperm while circumcising Serb men (219).

¹² These metaphors imply different things and have different histories, explorations of which are beyond the scope of this paper. On “crossroads” see Moranjak-Bamburać 2001. On the bridge see Bjelić 2002; Bougarel, Helms and Duijzings 2007:1–2; Green 2005.

¹³ It is important to note that a “multiethnic society” and “ethnic tolerance” do not necessarily overlap; Bosniac nationalists also support a unified Bosnian state.

tend to naturalize differences and legitimize hierarchies.¹⁴ In the former Yugoslavia as a whole, both nationalist and orientalist/balkanist depictions have relied on gendered representations, often invoking, for different purposes, Bosnian women or gender relations among the Bosniacs.¹⁵ However, there has been virtually no attention to the ways in which such representations appear or resonate within BiH itself.

This article thus sketches the forms this takes through the lens of gender and from the perspective of Bosnians themselves. My aim is first to point to the frequency with which discourses about ethnonational and state identity are constituted around gendered representations and further to argue that this approach makes visible some recent shifts in wider orientalist and balkanist representations – shifts that turn precisely upon depictions of gender and sexuality. I now outline these shifts one by one.

Orientalism: Though Said did not analyze it, his material makes clear that orientalism was infused with representations of gender and sexuality (Abu-Lughod 2001; Lewis 1996; Nader 1989). Eastern otherness was constructed through images of “deviant” erotic behavior and alluring, unrestrained female sexuality – albeit often within the confines of the notorious harem (El Guindi 1999; Said 1978). Muslim religious leaders, along with others in the postcolonial world, have recast this opposition in gendered terms, describing instead the dangers of a decadent west where the threat to Muslim values is posed by open displays of female sexuality and sex outside patriarchal marriage (Nader 1989). Further, as Neil Macmaster and Toni Lewis have noted, western orientalist depictions have also shifted since decolonization. Whereas Said described an eastern threat conveyed through images of uncontrolled female and (feminized) homosexual male sexuality, the political threat of the Muslim world is now depicted primarily through images of strictly *controlled* female sexuality: “hyperveiled” women in all-encompassing coverings (Macmaster and Lewis 1998). With the American-led “War on Terror,” and growing anti-Muslim immigrant sentiment in Europe (embedded in its own symbolic geography involving east/west as well as north/south), such depictions have become ever more visible tools of political rhetoric:¹⁶ women in *burqas* and

¹⁴ In a large literature on gender and nationalism, see, e.g., McClintock 1993; Mosse 1985; Yuval-Davis 1997. On gender as a “naturalizing” framework, see Scott 1999.

¹⁵ For analyses of nationalist representations, see, e.g., Kesić 2001; Korać 1998; Žarkov 2007. On orientalist depictions, see, e.g., Kesić 2002; Žarkov 1995 and Žarkov 2007.

¹⁶ Representations of homosexuality also seem to have shifted somewhat: although Muslim enemies are still feminized, as in intimations that some 9/11 hijackers had homosexual tendencies, the Taliban’s strict *punishment* of homosexuality has been held up as evidence of that enemy’s barbarity.

other all-encompassing veils have been used to symbolize the brutality of Islamic regimes and the backwardness of “Muslim culture,” and ultimately to justify military action (see, e.g., Abu-Lughod 2002; Cloud 2004). Contemporary Bosnian discourses draw on a similar iconography of covered and oppressed women to express fears of the political threat of Islam.

Balkanism: As Todorova argues, one of the ways in which balkanism differs from orientalism is in how it is gendered: in contrast to the feminized, erotic depiction of the Orient, balkanist discourses were remarkably unsexualized and decidedly male, with women all but invisible (1997:15). This claim may be overstated, as there is also evidence that both male and female western travelers to the Balkans provided descriptions of the local women, typically as beaten down by their harsh lives of labor and entirely opposite from the frail, protected Victorian ideal of femininity.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the dominant figure of balkanist discourses was that of the disheveled, violent peasant man engaged in blood feuds and revolts (vidi Bjelić i Cole 2002; Bracewell 2003; Todorova 1997). The Bosnian case, however, reflects a shift in this aspect; while the image of the Balkan man remains primitive and violent, his violence is now more often indicated through the women he attacks, whether through domestic violence or (especially in the case of Serb men) ethnic cleansing and wartime rape (see Bjelić and Cole 2002; Bracewell 2000; Helms 2006; Jordanova 2001; van de Port 1998; Živković 2006).¹⁸ Women, as the real and perceived victims of this violence, have thus become more (or again) visible in representations of the Balkans, both in the “west” and “the Balkans” themselves. Indeed, images of Bosnian woman, especially Muslims, as victims of wartime rape have come to stand for the victimization of Bosnia as a whole (Helms 2007; Žarkov 1995; Žarkov 1997).

Viewing Discourses Ethnographically

My analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the decade since the end of the Bosnian war, mainly in 1997 and 1999–2000, which examined the representational strategies and activities of women activists (Helms 2003). The material presented here reflects interaction with these activists and with other Bosnians of both sexes in a variety of settings. Often, but not always,

¹⁷ Parallel to western women’s roles in constructing orientalism, as discussed e.g. by Lewis 1996., western women like Rebecca West and Edith Durham played a significant part in the construction of balkanist images, largely through travel literature. See Allcock and Young 2000. For historical representations of Balkan women, see, e.g., Bakić-Hayden 1995:921; Bjelić and Cole 2002; Djajić Horváth 2006. This work suggests that further analysis is needed to determine more precisely how balkanist discourses have historically been gendered.

¹⁸ As noted by Bracewell 2000 and Žarkov 2007, feminists have also contributed to this essentialized image of violent, sexually aggressive Balkan men.

my presence as a “westerner” provoked comparisons between east and west (variously defined), just as my research focus on women often turned the topic of discussion to issues of gender (see Helms 2005). These topics also came up frequently “on their own,” however. I also incorporate examples from public speeches and print media aimed primarily at Bosnian audiences, both as a guard against the effects of my presence in everyday conversations, and because I treat media and political discourses as part of the ethnographic context.¹⁹ However, the ideas, rhetoric, and visual tropes discussed here were part of a global circulation in which Bosnians participated.²⁰ While I analyze how they were articulated and took on specific meanings in this particular context, my point also relates to the ways in which broader symbolisms of east and west are reflected and shaped through those specificities. Furthermore, far from claiming that dichotomous frameworks were all-pervasive, my aim is to examine how gender was mobilized in those discourses that did appear, nevertheless, with remarkable frequency.

The research was concentrated in the Bosniac majority towns of Zenica and Sarajevo, where the SDA and other Bosniac-identified parties have dominated politics and government for much of the post-Yugoslavia period. Despite the territorial separation of ethnonational groups that resulted from the “ethnic cleansing” of the war, areas with a Bosniac majority retained much larger “minority” populations (Serbs, Croats, and “others”) in comparison to territories under Serb or Croat control. Support for a multiethnic BiH state was widely shared among all residents of Bosniac majority areas, although reasons varied, as noted earlier. However, there was much less consensus over the form that Bosniac and/or Bosnian society should take, especially in terms of the public and political role of Islam and religion in general. These questions were part of a general concern with political and economic developments that had gained particular urgency after the violence of the war, the uncertainties of postsocialist transformations, and the physical presence of western intervention(s), all of which had brought debates about identity to the fore.²¹

Dani, a magazine positioning itself as secular, antinationalist, and supportive of a multiethnic state, thus evoked the essence of these debates

¹⁹ See, e.g., Gupta 1995:385–86. As Sabina Mihelj points out, balkanist discourses in the media cannot be treated as uniform, even in one community, and are more productively examined together with research into how media is consumed (Mihelj 2008).

²⁰ On the ways in which discourses and texts circulate and get incorporated into local meanings in a given place, see Gal 2003.

²¹ Stef Jansen has catalogued similar effects in the everyday discourses of residents of Zagreb and Belgrade, following Michael Herzfeld in arguing that such preoccupation among ordinary people with their place in the larger geopolitical scheme of things is a reflection of particularly unsettled times. See Jansen 2002 and Herzfeld 1997.

through the image of two women kissing. Returning to the “East and West Kiss” cover, we readily understand that the western woman’s makeup and red (sexy) bra signal an essentialized west, feared by some and desired by others for its associations with sexual freedom, especially openly visible female sexuality.²² The woman marked as eastern similarly represents aspects alternately feared and admired about the east and Islam, conveyed through her covered head and Islamic dress. To some, a covered woman is pious and sexually pure, a symbol of the moral superiority of the east. To others, her scarf signals backwardness, ignorance, the oppression of women, and ultimately eastern inferiority. The magazine’s stance is made clear through gendered cues. The western woman is depicted in a male role, despite her simultaneous sexualized femininity. She is taller (and light-haired) and is the initiator of the hug and kiss, while the eastern woman (with dark complexion) stands shorter, in clothing that always marks femininity, and, with an indulgent smile, passively allows herself to be acted upon. The message conveyed is that, while elements of the east may be tolerated, even embraced as an integral part of “our” identity, the west is still dominant, preferred.

Yet the mood of this image is decidedly playful, suggesting ridicule of those who express fears of either “east” or “west.” Indeed, secular urban Bosnians (like [poput] the journalists at the magazine) were overwhelmingly tickled, both by the nostalgic references to socialist kitsch but also because of the official atheism and “brotherhood and unity” among ethnonational groups which those symbols evoked. Over coffee, one couple in their late twenties raved delightedly about the cover because it poked fun at the religious nationalists and the ridiculousness of their campaign against Deda Mraz. This dismissal of “extreme” Islamic attitudes, along with support for a multiethnic (secular) BiH, was a common marker of cosmopolitanism and belonging to Europe and “the west.” However, when I discussed the image with a young (covered) female adherent to a more fundamentalist strain of Islam, she grew stern and said, “We know who our enemies are.” *Dani*’s message was indeed taken as a provocation, also by the SDA, whose leaders pressured the advertising company that had hung the posters to cancel *Dani*’s contract, effectively removing their ads from public space.²³

²² In a smaller image inside the magazine, this woman holds what looks like a glass of champagne, appropriate for New Year’s celebrations but also a contrast with the Islamic prohibition against alcohol and, for a woman, a clear symbol of modernity and rejection of older gender conventions among all ethnic groups.

²³ Senad Pećanin, “Uz ovaj broj,” *Dani*, 1 February 1999, 2. SDA leaders soon gave up their opposition to the New Year after it failed to catch on with the party’s supporters among the more secular-oriented public.

Shifting Configurations of “East” and “West”

Certain Bosniac nationalists, like “non-western” positioned nationalist and religious leaders elsewhere in the world, viewed the secular, non-Islamic “west” as a morally bankrupt, lacking in spirituality, and doomed to self-destruction.²⁴ The essence of this danger was summed up in concern over families, sexuality, and reproduction (see, e.g., Bracewell 1996; Gal 1994; Heng and Devan 1992; Kligman 1998; Yuval-Davis 1997), with women deemed primarily responsible for saving the nation’s declining birthrates and homosexuality a particularly grave threat posed by “Europe.” Bosniac nationalists and religious leaders further warned against ethnically “mixed marriage,” especially by Muslim women who, by marrying non-Muslims would be “lost” to the faith and the nation along with their children. During the war, one of the most prominent opponents of mixed marriage, Džemaludin Latić, likened it to “European Satanism,” the delusion of old communists who have forgotten “the neighborhood with Mother and the mosque in the center” from which they came.²⁵ Islamska Zajednica leaders urged Bosniac women to have more (Bosniac) babies “for Bosnia”²⁶ and to cover themselves Islamically, the “western” mini skirt being named as a threat to the unity and continued existence of the Bosniac nation and the Muslim faith. The west was thus demonized in favor of an idealized east.

Others sought to reconcile the advantages of “east” and “west” in a unique, Bosnian hybrid form, much as in *Dani’s* kiss. This sentiment was behind the frequent use of metaphors – of bridges or crossroads – Bosnia as a meeting place between two distinct “worlds.” For women and families, this meant taking the most positive aspects of east and west, as a woman journalist working for the Islamska Zajednica explained it to me: Bosnian women had benefited from western models in their high levels of education and positions in paid employment, but they retained an “eastern wisdom” in valuing motherhood. Thus, “Bosnian women have managed to preserve the family *and* get to parliament,” while western families, and society along with them, were falling apart. At the same time, she asserted, Bosnian women had resisted some of the more patriarchal Muslim

²⁴ Such stances are most readily available to those at the bottom of balkanist or orientalist hierarchies, though the forms they take vary depending on which hierarchy is being addressed. On Serbian exhortations against the “Rotten West” see, e.g., Čolović 2002:39–47; Živković 2001. On more equivocal positionings in Croatia and Slovenia, see e.g. Razsa and Lindstrom 2004 and Jansen 2002:52. Though seldom analyzed as such, gendered and sexualized representations were also present in such discourses, most dramatically when Croatian writers denounced Europe as “a whore!” (Buden 2000:53–62).

²⁵ Džemaludin Latić, “Bezbojni,” *Ljiljan*, 10 June 1994, 40. See also Hadžić 1996.

²⁶ Latić N. 1993. ‘Pobjeda ili časna smrt!’ [Interview with dr Mustafa Cerić] *Ljiljan* 29 September, 1993, 6-7. See also Jansen and Helms 2008.

practices such as polygyny.²⁷ She was happy to inhabit this in-between space, but it was clear she still imagined two clashing worlds. Such representations were ubiquitous and frequently symbolized by female figures. In appealing to Sarajevo Canton voters in the 2000 local elections, the SDA commissioned a series of billboards promising a “Sarajevo lijepo kao Sarajke.” The billboards juxtaposed anonymous young women in modern western fashions with Ottoman (“eastern”) architectural features of the city (while men appeared in the same campaign as candidates in suits with full names). Women’s symbolic function was made particularly explicit in one of the billboards, which showed a young woman in hijab and another with her head uncovered – precisely the sort of cliché that was satirized in the “East and West Kiss” image.

For still others, the “east” was primarily a threat, something from which Bosnians and Bosniacs sought to distance themselves at all costs. This was in reaction to accusations by Serb and Croat nationalists that Bosnian Muslims encouraged “fundamentalism” but it gained new urgency after the September 11th attacks and the launching of the U.S.’s “War on Terror.” Bosnia’s Islam was not the “bad” kind of Islam, rather, as I heard over and over, it was European, and therefore mild, tolerant of differences, and above all respectful to women. Proof that Bosnia was in fact European was to be found in the fashionably clad young women found on the streets of Bosnian cities, often showing quite a bit of skin. In light of these perceived attacks, the very small but visible groups of so-called *vehabije*, or neo-Salafists and fundamentalists that had grown up around some remaining jihadist fighters and aid workers from the Middle East and South Asia, and who had attracted Bosnian followers, were seen as particularly threatening (see Bougarel 2005). Men were noticeable with their untrimmed beards and short pants, but it was the women with their full *nikab* face veils and black gloves who incited the most concern. “That kind of Islam” was said to have “nothing to do with Bosnia.” Furthermore, many people (inaccurately) insisted, Muslim women in Bosnia may cover their hair but they had never covered their faces.²⁸ The independent media published several stories with evocative cover images of women in nikabs and even an Afghan burqa, which warned of the dangers of a “Budućnost pod nikabom” as not only ominous for women but a political threat to the whole society.²⁹ Thus, the boundaries of

²⁷ This was not strictly true as there is a history of polygyny, even persisting through the socialist period, though unofficially, in the far northwest corner of BiH.

²⁸ Muslim women, including in urban areas, had very thoroughly covered their faces, though in a much different style, before the socialist state outlawed face veils (*zar and feredža*) in 1950. See Penava 1981; Radić 1995:216.

²⁹ E.g. *Dani*, 30 March 1998, cover, “The New Face of Sarajevo”; Vildana Selimbegović, “Budućnost pod nikabom,” *Dani*, 3 October 2000, cover and 38–39; Jelena Padovan, “Ko i kako obrezuje žene? Nema toga u Bosni?” *Start Bosne i Hercegovine*, 7 November 2000: cover and 32.

Europe were redrawn further to the south, including Bosnia and Bosnian Islam but excluding Muslims outside Europe as less civilized, less modern.

Gender was also used to (re)create and reinforce balkanist hierarchies. In everyday conversations, I was often referred to “more patriarchal” societies to the south and east where women were treated with greater brutality. Montenegro, Kosovo, and Albania were favorite examples. At times, it seemed I had wounded people’s national pride by even paying attention to gender in BiH – why was I “picking on” them when things were much worse among *those other* primitives nearby? Furthermore, as “Balkanness” was also associated with ruralness (Jansen 2002:48; see also Allcock 2000:234-238; Ballinger 1999; van de Port 1998), it was peasants who were said to be the “most patriarchal,” especially when it came to domestic violence against women.³⁰ These sentiments were never far from the surface, especially when urban Bosnians took offense at international media images that associated Bosnia with peasant-ness, especially the iconic image of the bereaved Srebrenica women in *dimije* and “five scarves on her head” as one indignant educated Zeničanka put it. Thus, criticism of the “west” over its wartime failures often came with a subtext of urban superiority and distancing from those “primitive peasants.” This is how several young Sarajevans I knew interpreted Šejla Kamerić’s art-posters which juxtaposed a picture of the beautiful, young artist in modern tank top and hair style with the racist graffiti of a Dutch UNPROFOR soldier denigrating the Bosniac women, mostly of rural origin, trapped in the Srebrenica enclave.³¹ At the same time, a mode of “self-balkanizing” was sometimes mobilized to make light of domestic violence, the subordination of women, or aggressive macho behavior in men, as if to say, we cannot help being abusive or crude, we are primitive Balkaners. This was part of a more widespread joking celebration of “primitive culture,” which conveyed a sense of nostalgia for male prerogatives with a simultaneous acknowledgment that such sentiment was not considered modern or “civilized” (Helms 2006; see also Herzfeld 1997; Jansen 2002; van de Port 1998).

Finally, as in representations of “more eastern” Muslim societies as backward, the “west” was often associated with increased public visibility and “emancipation” for women. But emancipation from what? I knew plenty of Bosnian men who expressed their own self-described modern identities in terms of very patriarchal assumptions about women’s roles, including the idea that “emancipated women” were more readily available sexually (and that as “modern” men, they were entitled to freer access to such women without having to adhere to “old-fashioned” norms of marital fidelity). It was also viewed as progress when a Bosnian girl

³⁰ Available research showed otherwise. Medica Zenica 1999; see also Helms 2006.

³¹ “Bosnian Girl,” Šejla Kamerić, 2003. The text read: “No Teeth . . . ? A Mustache . . . ? Smell Like Shit . . . ? Bosnian Girl!”



Image 2. "Postcard from Sarajevo: Bosnian Twins." N. Dž., Cardea je ozbiljna pojava, *Dani*, 31.03.2000., p. 60.

– a Bosniac from Zenica no less! – was “finally” featured modeling nude in Croatian *Playboy*, while the downfall of another Zenica girl, stripped of her Miss BiH crown when nude photos of her surfaced, were similarly framed as markers of difference between primitive and patriarchal Bosnia and more modern Croatia and Europe. A postcard by what one journalist called a “modern design” company again offered a graphic representation of Bosnia as a mix of east and west as symbolized by women. Identical female twins were pictured as the embodiments, one of “eastern” religious traditionalism and the other of “western,” modern sex appeal: the eastern twin wore black hijab while the western twin was in a mini skirt and tight top. The journalist writing about the postcards enthusiastically saw the use of sexy women to market BiH and Bosnian products as progress.³² But the beauty he found was clearly defined through a heterosexual male perspective. Thus, the gendered coding of the west as positive/modern and the east as negative/backward did not necessarily mean a departure from patriarchal logics or male prerogatives.

Conclusion

These Bosnian examples show the variety of contestations and reconfigurations proffered by those positioned inside “the Balkans.”³³ These multiple configurations of the east/west dyad can be seen to slip in and out of orientalism or balkanism into related – gendered – narratives about modernity, civilizational progress, or race. Yet they ultimately tend to reaffirm and reproduce the notion of civilizational differences at east and west poles. More broadly, these examples reflect larger shifts in the gendering of orientalist and balkanist representations. Bosnians take part in these discourses, adding their own meanings but also using similar tropes in their various attempts to position themselves within regional, European, and global hierarchies.

In particular, I have called attention to the gendering of balkanist and orientalist constructions. Essentialized notions of gender equality, “women’s emancipation,” and sexual morality were frequently the vehicles through which

³² N. Dž., “Cardea je ozbiljna pojava,” *Dani*, 31 March 2000, 60.

³³ For critiques of balkanism that call for an examination of perceptions within “the Balkans,” see Patterson 2003; Mihelj 2008; Fleming 2002. On the diversity of balkanist representations among “Balkaners” themselves, see Bracewell and Drace-Francis 1999; Todorova 2004.

the relative advantages or disadvantages of “east” and “west” were portrayed. For those who favored “eastern values,” the west posed a threat precisely because of the ways in which “traditional” (patriarchal) gender configurations were imagined to be disrupted. Yet, even when the west was valorized – often precisely on the grounds of sexual and other freedoms for women – the gender regimes imagined along with these idealizations did not necessarily escape patriarchal hierarchies or an androcentric gaze.

All of this is not to say that every Bosnian who identified with Europe or “the west” simultaneously also upheld “patriarchal” values, or that there were no advocates for gender equality in BiH who did not also categorically valorize the west. On the contrary, idealized visions of emancipated women and democracy in the west were prominent in discussions of gender relations in BiH, especially among women’s NGO activists and western representatives of the international community. Some of these activists explicitly opposed orientalist and balkanist images of “Bosnian women.” Yet others, and often the very same individuals, also reproduced and further shaped them, complaining about the persistence of patriarchal “Balkan mentalities.” References to civilizational hierarchies thus frequently appeared in women’s rights discourses just as invocations of east/west differences were constructed upon notions of gender. Moreover, as determined as some activists, scholars, and public figures were to subvert such hierarchies, this was no guarantee that their words and actions would not be interpreted through orientalist or balkanist hierarchies. The extent to which these frameworks constrain or empower differently positioned subjects and the particular ways in which this affects social practices in specific “Balkan” settings deserve further research, as do the ways in which essentialized, occidentalist, visions of “the west” are marshaled to support various positions. Gendered conceptions of opposing east and west civilizations may be difficult to escape, both in post-Yugoslavia and in the larger geopolitical context, but their malleability also provides space for multiple re-imaginings of symbolic and ultimately also material relations of power.

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Comment:**Jasmina Husanović**

With regards to gender representation within, as you called it Elissa, wider global hierarchies, I am concerned with the question of how to illuminate and exemplify some general issues at work here. I want first to attend to the question of concepts that you mentioned, fractal and nesting concepts, and I think you showed nicely how we could develop within our contexts sensitivity and awareness and, really, a kind of careful and cautious insight into how this fracturing of concepts and dichotomies happens in various ways within our environment. The second thing is this spatializing and gendering of threats in general. And I think it is one of the key questions in postcoloniality, that of spatializing threats in terms of east and west, always in gendered terms, which is the standard practice, or more or less, a dominant one. The third thing is basically the modern project where you look at the constitution of identities and the modern Bosnian period ever since the 19th century through to the 20th century where we have different accounts of how this relationship to Europe went on. One of the things that have quite often been neglected in scholarship (and Elissa did the opposite in her paper) was to highlight this dialogic approach to the relationship of the colonizer and the colonized, by engaging with practices that resist dominant images coming from the colonial practice. All the time what you showed in Bosnia historically is a kind of resistance to the colonizing gaze that constitutes 'what you're like', 'the identity of the place'; such resistant practices (some more or less successfully, and some unsuccessfully) are trying to reengage in a dialogue with stereotypes and conceptions from the outside. Unfortunately there isn't much historicized research as to how this dynamic relationship colonized-colonizing was going on. I don't know whether you read the works of Amila Buturović, because what I am saying here is inspired by some of her claims, which are not unproblematic, how the identity and community of Bosnia have been kind of constituted through modern times. And finally the politics of metaphorization, which pertains to my own research, because in my own PhD I did a chapter on politics of metaphorization in Bosnia as identity, as community (here I didn't look that much at the 'bridge' metaphor as I did at the 'crossroads' metaphor). I think that we have to be quite cautious here again because all metaphors can be both petrified/depoliticized and reimagined/repoliticized. You can petrify them, which comes down to your own political stands, or you can have a critical and creative stance towards them, that 'opens them up' for different political gestures. Metaphors do get petrified in ethnonationalised discourses. They are depoliticized. You think these are structures operating from the ancient times to the end of times. On the other hand, you have much work and lots of practices in Bosnia that actually quite successfully repoliticize these metaphors of bridge and crossroads. (However, I think the dominant metaphor for Bosnia is not a bridge but a crossroad, and a bridge is just a simpler variation of metaphors connoting 'paths and liminal spaces').

Discussion

Rada Borić: Can I just add that the metaphor of bridge is the most known metaphor for Bosnia. Yugoslav author, Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić wrote a book called *Bridge over Drina* and the bridge is supposed to symbolize the kissing of East and West, and it has been taught in all the school literature books from primary school onwards. So, the image of Bosnia, the notion of Bosnia historically was as being not the crossroad of cultures but the bridge between East and West. And we all boast of Bosnia being this bridge, but actual and symbolic bridge was destroyed.

Jasmina Husanović: I think the bridge between East and West is more dominant outside but in local texts, literary texts and other materials the dominant model presenting Bosnia is crossroads and below crossroads you have the bridge as a variation.

Elissa Helms: Yes, but for the outside you just have to look at some of the major books in English about Bosnia, many of them have a bridge on the cover or even in the title.

Jasmina Husanović: Yeah, but there are other ways of imagining Bosnia, as Karahasan's, which are very powerful actually in everyday imagination.

Elissa Helms: Very true and I agree there is more to explore there. But at the same time, many local organizations in Bosnia – they could of course be speaking to the outside or to the expectations of donors – but they also use the bridge imagery in their names and logos, in lots of different ways.

Jasmina Husanović: When you look at these metaphors and how they were used in political discourses of nationalist leaders, like Tuđman, Izetbegović, Milošević, you will see that crossroads appears more often than bridge. It is not about breaking the bridge but sorting out these messy crossroads. Nobody would openly say let's do away with the bridges because it is very visual, just let us sort out these messy crossroads. On the other side you have the petrifications. Metaphors, there is a great text by Lubiamo entitled 'like being mugged by a metaphor'. We have all been mugged by metaphors, and some were killed. So I just wanted to show that when we talk about the politics of metaphorization, and how things are being petrified, we have to remember that there are also many things that are actually actively appropriated and refigured and problematized. I just want to mention this though I know this was not the topic.

Elissa Helms: Oh no, this is what I was trying to show – how these symbolic geographies are negotiated and that there is not just one fixed set of characteristics around these East and West poles but that those dichotomies still remain as reference points. The borders are shifting and changing but the idea of an East and a West remains.

Biljana Kašić: Thank you Elissa, I really enjoyed your presentation, and I heard a lot of new things. Along with many questions that need to be posed, I am thinking

about a lot of shifts that your paper offers. Or, in other words, how you moved from one to another and how you explained to us the different types of shifting within different practices, both discursive and political.

First what I would like to say is connected in a way with how you tried to engender the idea of Balkan and in the same way how Bosnia itself became a metaphor for an engendered Balkan. It is very interesting if we are going to take this kind of perspective in the procedure of shifting. Thinking whether Balkan has exclusively a female or male gender seems to be a sort of trap because in my view both genders (of course, for different reasons) are in play having in mind either historical dynamism or contemporary war experiences.

It is worthy to emphasize that because of all these desirable images around war and the mythical Orient, suddenly, through Bosnia, Balkan turns into a much more female image, or more clearly, a negative female image because of the imposed 'appropriation' of this very Orient. It means that right now but especially during the war time, it was unreliable and untrustful, you couldn't cooperate with it because of its shiftiness or its 'female' features as it happens to any entity in general that ought to get certain female signification. In this regard I found Edward Said's analysis very useful.

Unfortunately, this female figure of Balkan was misused to a great extent, especially by various politicians from and outside the Balkans and it was intriguing to analyze how its whole meaning, a sort of hybrid of female Orient and of mythic Orient, was shifted and turned against Balkan as such, against the Orient in the very same Balkan.

And then, finally, we came to postcolonial desire as a desirable invention that explains why individuals in war time wish to fulfil or search for realization of his/her postcolonial desire of travelling to the Balkans. Although the imaginary place for this fulfilment or the "heart" of the Orient was Bosnia, or namely Sarajevo, the final destination of the postcolonial desire seemed to be much more mobile and transnational and has gone more to the South, to Kosovo and Macedonia.

The mobility of postcolonial desire and how it is connected with and formatted by political and ideological discourse points to the urgent necessity for a more complex and careful understanding of the process of production of these 'needs' and images.

Second, I would also like to say just a few words concerning the meanings of very politicized notions such as "West" and "East". In this regard, if you could elaborate more on this issue of "East" or "East-ness" in relation to the Balkans and Bosnia within or "in-between", it would be of use for a more clearer picture.

Referring to your provocative title of who kisses whom; or whether West kisses East or East kisses West, if we think of Bosnia then we see that this East is not actually the East that functions within the canonic ideological division of East/West in their (post)-socialist meanings or neither the East that Csaba Dupcsik marked as a potential postcolonial world after the fall of the Berlin Wall in one of his key texts from 1999 entitled: "Postcolonial studies and the inventing of Eastern Europe".

I found that what you qualified East here from a Bosnian perspective is a sort of mixture or collected meaning of different East(s) such as the Middle East, historical East, exotic East, other East(s), European Jerusalem, the Orient as Eastern, the Orient

as an Islamic entity etc. In a sense, it is much more multiple-East that is bonded to different Easts than post-socialist East and has different semantic and historical grounds than post-socialist East captures, if you could follow my line of thinking. Anyhow Bosnia became a challenge to Western geopolitical imagination consisting both of “Western” and anti-Western elements.

Right now I am not going to elaborate further a meaning of this inviting metaphor, who loves whom or what this love affair between West and East is about.

But what I would like to articulate, if we will have time, is to see how an old-fashioned type of postcolonial paradigm “North vs. South”, could be applied both in the Balkan region as well as within Europe as a meeting place of north, south, east and west. The reason for this discussion is to look at another very interesting shifting and a way how to put these things together.

Elissa Helms: Just to refer to the point about male images. I didn’t mean to say that the masculine image has fallen out – that should be more clear in the text. It is there, it is just that female images have become more prominent. Todorova wrote that the image was all masculine at that time, which I think is a bit exaggerated, but if it was more dominant at that time, now it has become gendered in a more complicated way.

Biljana Kašić: I fully agree with your comment on Todorova’s points but it is interesting to see how the official war male order used these images in political discourse, and anyhow, very negatively and consequently how as you said the whole discourse itself turned to be gendered. It is not only this fantasy of the Oriental mythic place that was romanticized and engendered for a certain purpose but also the whole ritual around establishing a new dominant order and division (Bosnia vs. West, or Bosnia as Oriental East that is weak, distrusted, a threat, etc.) that was also engendered.

Elissa Helms: Yes, and it gets mobilized in rhetoric trying to show that some “other” is not civilized.

Renata Jambrešić Kirin: I just want to go back to one of Elissa’s posters, a visual illustration representing Bosnian twins. It is important in terms of, as Jasmina said, historical politics of metaphorization, a politics that needs more elaborate regional theoretical and ethnographical research. The Western gaze intends to represent Bosnian spirit or Bosnian soul as twins, the image of twins consisting of Christian/Slavic/Occidental, and Islamic/supposedly non-Slavic/Oriental part. As Lévi-Strauss reminds us, twins are a mythical symbol par excellence. A symbol for that which cannot be really symbolized – the cultural identity. Twinness is important because it reveals the binary, dual organization of our basic concepts but also the important lesson of identity as non-equivalence. Namely, everything has an opposite or *other* with which it coexists in an unstable tension, in a constant search for complete reciprocity. However, the insider, Bosnian gaze into its own “soul” tried to escape this binarism and to find a more proper image for this, at least a “triple pack” – Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim – which was only part of the story of how to represent the plural society. One of the answers was the common image of mosaic, Bosnian mosaic. However, this tension to avoid binarism and to find a more complex and

more perplexed way of representing social reality was part of the cultural history of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Coming back to the image of twinness in contemporary mass media means an inclination towards the Western audience, the Western rhetoric and styles of looking at “cultural wars” and clashes. First almanacs and wall calendars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, ethnography claims, represented the nation as a composition of maidens in national costumes of at least five styles – Croat, Serb, Muslim, Jewish and Roma. For insiders, the image of a Roma woman, a female Roma singer was used most commonly to represent that gendered Oriental, mysterious, dark, unpredictable, sexually liberated and free spirit of Bosnia.

Melita Richter: I would like to add another aspect to the interpretation of the metaphorical kiss on Elissa’s poster: for me that kiss is not an expression of love or love effusion, or of embracing a loved body: the image reminds me of the photo of Brezhnev kissing Honneker... That was a real kiss and, at the same time, it was so clear that it had nothing to do with love but with domination, with using power. So, somehow also the image from the review “Dani” for me expresses more a threat and domination, than the willingness of a real interrelation between two subjects to which could allude this embracement.

Another concept that I would like to go through is the use of space, inner space and outside space. With these provocative images we are not guided to distinguish very much how women are using inner, private space and how the public space. Still, we all know that the “invitations” for women in the Balkans was to follow and adopt to a new domestication. You stay at home and you are isolated of the collective experience of using public space, of a working space, of agora; the request to you as women (a symbolic collective) is to be procreative and to dedicate yourself to maternity. So these maternities very much request from women to lose their political subjectivity and to abandon public spaces. All these are signs of a new domestication in the neo-patriarchic society.

Rada Borić: Basically, in all Slavonic languages in the Balkans when one says “Balkanac” (Balkan man) or “balkanski” (Balkan manner) it means one who eats badly or is chewing bones or throwing them around (middle ages picture of eating habit!) and so forth. If this is about self-representation no wonder the term is even contaminated “outside the Balkans”, that all the literature you would find describing the Balkans would perpetuate the negative connotations, namely around violence. It would be “escaping the Balkans” that all Balkan countries are fostering in their political discourses now. And then, what is happening around women, especially women activists, is an effort to reclaim the Balkans back. The Balkans is not only about violence. If the Balkans is “the last Europe”, historically it was the first Europe, but it was all the time struggling on the blur of the border of this being European or non-European.

Also, when Melita said how simplified imagery was in the beginning of the 1990s in the war, I agree. The imagery was such that if, lets say in 1992, the women were waiting for the water in Sarajevo it would be a veiled woman pictured for the press, it would be the picture of her in the paper and not the unveiled woman waiting

for the water. For the West it was much easier to understand what was going on if those were “them” affected by the war. It was a simplified picture, meaning that was not “us”, so one could feel empathy “for the others” and write a cheque, but feeling safe since it was “somewhere else”. I have never seen a representation of women from the Balkans in the West, from the New York Times to the Finnish newspapers, that did not look as “the other”.

Sandra Prlenda: Elissa, I read in the article that you were kind of disappointed, that you did not expect that the secular discussion about East-West dichotomies will also be gendered in such a simplistic way. Your analysis points out correctly the use of gendered representations as a shorthand for discussing historically and socially complex issues of political and cultural identity. Gender relations and their representation here stand for a public discussion about values and politics, in a similar way like, for example, the seemingly endless discussion about the memory of the Second World War in Croatia, which becomes the substitute for a real political discussion about the core values in Croatian society, content and limits of citizenship, inclusion and exclusion, bias, clashes between the values and respect for human rights and those of nationalistic ideology etc. Those frequently used tropes remind me of Rada Iveković’s analysis, where she claims that gender is a primary tool for structuring realities and dichotomies, especially relations of dominance and submission. Judith Butler also presented in her lecture in Lodz (2006) how the post-secular discussion between the East and the West, specifically between Islam and the West, is also being structured as a discussion about sexual morality and control of women. In that respect, she talked about the pornography of Abu Graib pictures, pointing out that the humiliation based on sexuality and constant persistence on the differences in sexual morality in fact embody the relations of dominance between the East and the West...

Elissa Helms: This image is not about gender relations, is not about women at all.... Gendered representations serve to naturalize certain positions but in different configurations – they are not always done in the same way. And yes, it’s a good point about representations in the West, in the US at least, of Islam, especially since September 11th and the War on Terror. I point to some of these links in the text – that gender and sexuality serve to construct these civilizational, cultural divisions and hierarchies, to make them seem natural and to project an image of “the other” as deviant, uncivilized. This is what is apparent in these examples from Bosnia. You can see the reflection of wider global conversations but also a negotiation of meanings that are very specific to the historical moment and cultural context of present day Bosnia.

STEF JANSEN

THE FRAJER AND THE FATHER:
CROSS-NATIONAL RECOGNITIONS OF
MASCULINITY AFTER THE BOSNIAN WAR¹

Ljudi smo, nismo vukovi!

Banner above a reconciliatory stage event in
Pjer Žalica's 2003 film *Gori vatra*²

Reconciliation projects in the Abrahamic tradition (Derrida 2001) are grounded in the assumption that the various parties share equal and inalienable humanity. After the 1990s wars, post-Yugoslav antinationalism and efforts to restore co-existence systematically relied on such a humanistic framework, from theoretical writings on individual responsibilities and rights, to the expression with which post-war cross-national encounters were often justified on the most elementary level: *ljudi smo!* Yet people do not engage with each other simply on the basis of some abstract common humanity, even if they may feel this sets them apart from other animals. Rather, common humanity is always given specific, often socially sanctioned shapes in particular contexts. In a practical take on reconciliation, this text ethnographically investigates how this occurred in low-level, cross-national encounters amongst men in post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH). In particular, I explore how men evoked 'normal

¹ This text was written between 2005-2006 on the basis of ethnographic research among displaced Bosnians in northeast Bosnia-Herzegovina (2000-1). Some minor revisions have been made here from the English-language version, which set to appear in a collection edited by Marita Eastmond and Anders Stefansson. In addition to the Bosnian men who welcomed me, with varying degrees of curiosity, mockery, and comradeship, into their midst, I would like to thank Elissa Helms, Anders Stefansson and the organisers and participants of the 2007 Course *Feminism in Transnational Perspective* in Dubrovnik, where I presented an earlier version.

² An almost identical reference appears in the great Bosnian novel *Derviš i smrt* by Meša Selimović (1966).

life' through mutual recognition of performative competence of two motifs of hegemonising masculinities: one I call 'the father' (a provider to a household constituted through patriarchal kinship) and another one I call 'the *frajer*' (a stylised subject of heterosexual desire). In the precarious context of post-war BiH, both could be evoked as normalised gendered expectations to different degrees in different circumstances. Rather than highlighting 'alternative' masculinities that could be associated with non-nationalism, I thus explore the boundary-crossing potential of normative and normalised expectations of masculinity in post-war BiH.

Meeting as men in *No-Man's Land*

In Danis Tanović's 2001 film *Ničija Zemlja*, a dark allegoric tragicomedy about nationalist war and foreign intervention in 1990s BiH, three soldiers find themselves in an abandoned trench in-between their respective army units' positions. Nino has recently been mobilised in the Bosnian Serbian Army, while Čiki and Cera are more experienced and typically less well-equipped soldiers in a Bosnian Army unit. While it can be deduced that Nino is a Bosnian Serb and the two others are most probably Bosniaks, the film hardly touches on the issue of nationality per se – the key point being that the protagonists are engaged on conflicting sides with regard to the future (or lack thereof) of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a political configuration. The pro-Bosnian side's numerical advantage is cancelled out by the fact that Nino's fellow Bosnian Serbian soldier, now killed, has placed Cera's body on a mine that will explode if they remove his weight.

For the purpose of this text, a key interaction in the film occurs when Čiki and Nino, exhausted by continuous vigilance, await the results of a collaborative rescue attempt by stripping off their military outfits, and, wearing nothing but underwear and boots, waving white cloths to their respective units. Nino asks Čiki whether he has known Cera for long. They met at the beginning of the war, Čiki says, and in return, Nino lets it be known that he had no close ties with the soldier he arrived with, who is now dead. In fact, the viewer knows, the latter had persistently treated Nino as an inexperienced, pen-pushing coward. When it becomes clear that Nino is far from a highly motivated fighter for the Serbian cause, but that he has been mobilised only recently, this conversation develops:

Čiki: A, ti si iz Banjaluke?

Nino: Otkud znaš?

Čiki: Imò sam jednu trebu u Banjaluci.

Nino: ...

Čiki: Sanja.

Nino: Znam i ja jednu.
Čiki: Ova je imala...
Nino: I ova je.
Čiki: ...
Nino: ...plava.
Čiki: Ja!
Nino: ...visoka.
Čiki: Ja!
Nino: ...ben iznad usta.
Čiki: Sanja Čengić!
Nino: Ma išo s njom u školu.
Čiki: Ma ne seri!
Nino: Majke mi!
Čiki: Cera! Zna onu Sanju iz Banjaluke što sam ti pričao!
Cera: Ma sjajno!
Čiki: Šta je sad s njom?
Nino: Otišla vani.
Čiki: To je najpametnije.

This conversation is unique in the film in that it is the only point where the two men, however reluctantly, interact with each other as persons beyond war-imposed categories. In order to refract this common ground against its wider context, I must briefly explain how the two men are represented to the audience, and particularly to post-Yugoslav viewers. Čiki, despite his reference to 'his village', cuts a modern, 'urban' character, with a T-Shirt with the Rolling Stones logo testifying to his popular cultural capital. Nino, from the city of Banja Luka, comes across as a rather learned type – perhaps a student – whose own fellow soldiers mock his lack of experience. The two are of similar age, share 'modern' Yugoslav Bosnia as their past everyday framework of reference, and, albeit in different political ways, for both of them that 'normal life' has been brutally interrupted by what Čiki calls *ovaj usrani rat*. In the above conversation they find a short-lived forum of mutual recognition as Bosnians with such life experiences, and, crucially for my argument here, as men. Let us now elaborate on this excerpt from *Ničija Zemlja* to explore the role of mutual recognitions of men's humanity in BiH boundary crossings.

Mutual recognition: a minimalist, practical approach to reconciliation

This text is organised around an analysis of concrete post-war encounters across national boundaries rather than around a normative approach to 'reconciliation'. If to reconcile means 'to render no longer opposed' (Borneman 2002:281), it can have rather diverse political implications, depending on who

advocates it and for what purposes.³ In the post-Yugoslav context, contrary to what one may intuitively expect, reconciliation was actually a major priority for nationalist elites. Their focus, however, has been squarely on the *intra*-national level. Often aimed to diffuse the tensions between fellow-nationals associated with opposed ideological sides in WWII, these efforts effectively amounted to programmes of national homogenisation. In contrast, efforts towards *inter*-national reconciliation were rather less ambitious in scope: in divided BiH, they usually simply attempted to bring about some degree of rapprochement between Bosnians of different nationalities. The significance of national divisions had intensified so much that even simple physical boundary crossings, including return of the displaced, had become ambitious objectives in themselves. Far from erasing such boundaries and rendering the different sides no longer opposed, most initiatives under the heading of inter-national 'reconciliation' were thus aimed at merely crossing them and rendering Bosnians slightly less actively opposed as nationals.

After a war that had ended with a foreign-sanctioned stalemate rather than with a clear winner, I found that many Bosnians treated reconciliation first of all as a Western-imposed idea. For most, including for returnees – i.e. actual boundary crossers – it simply was not a priority. Rather, their main preoccupations were perhaps best summarised as justice and getting on with it. Since justice was both hard to define and its establishment considered out of the reach of 'ordinary people', everyday practice focused on securing an immediate future. As I have argued elsewhere (e.g. Jansen 2006b, 2007a), the object of their hope was overwhelmingly 'a normal life'. Of course, Bosnian past 'normal lives' – a key reference point – had included inter-national coexistence, but with regard to hopes for the future this aspect was much less prominent. And while Bosnians usually spoke not about *pomirenje*, but about *suživot*, even the foreign promotion of *that* was often met with anger and resentment, for it carried connotations of impunity (hence the second priority: justice). While always understandable and, in my view, often morally legitimate when expressed by those who had suffered at the hands of national Others (Brudholm 2006), such feelings also functioned as the less convincing, vicarious moral bases of nationalist discourses of victimisation.

Hence, rather than taking the desirability of reconciliation for granted, we must consider its political embedding and implications. This must take into account the foreign-enforced Bosnian mosaic model, which, like liberal-

³ For example, the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, widely praised as a model of reconciliation, has also been criticised for leaving relatively untouched much of the structures of socio-economic and gender inequality that underlay Apartheid (Ross 2003; Wilson 2001; Feldman 2002).

pluralist multiculturalism in Western societies, tended to solidify and represent as discrete national-cultural dividing lines at the expense of other differences and struggles in society (Jansen 2005b; 2007a; Jansen & Löfving 2008). The coexistence of 'different cultures' and the crossing the boundaries between them then came to be celebrated rather straightforwardly as morally good in and by themselves. An irony not lost on Bosnians was that the form of the resulting 'multi-kulti' campaigns was highly resonant of Titoist exhortations to Brotherhood and Unity, without the socialism. In post-war BiH, most people had rather different priorities and, anyway, previous mundane national boundary crossings had normally not been self-consciously reconciliatory acts but practical dimensions of everyday life (Bringa 1995).

'Balkan men' in explanations of nationalist war

Reflecting more general patterns (e.g. Yuval-Davis & Anthias 1989; Nagel 1998), the various post-Yugoslav nationalisms articulated restrictive nationalised subject positions for both men and women, drawing heavily on the physically protective dimensions of masculinity and the nurturing, in-need-of-protection dimensions of femininity. The degree to which this was a departure from the previous situation remains a matter of debate. Yugoslav workers self-management socialism had pledged full equality between men and women as part of secular, modernised gender relations. However, with the 'double burden' phenomenon widespread, the position of women was subject to debate and some remedial action, but that of men was much less so (Massey, Hahn & Sekulić 1995). In any case, it is important to note that the Yugoslav government, which prided itself on its emancipatory achievements, also repeatedly admitted that gender relations were ('still') inadequately 'modernised'. This lag, mainly considered to be insufficient emancipation of *women*, was blamed on the moral-religious 'backwardness' of the rural population. Similarly, my post-war research in BiH, Serbia and Croatia found that, in addition to blaming national Others, one widespread route to deplore the nationalist violence and consequent losses was to distance oneself from the Balkan primitivism of those deemed responsible (Jansen 2005a/c; 2002b). In an evolutionist paradigm, particularly urbanites cherished a recursive version of Western discourses of Balkanism, further displacing the Balkan 'Other' specifically onto the countryside (including the one inhabited by one's co-nationals). A central element of this attributed primitivism was the traditionalist gender organisation amongst 'peasants' and, particularly, a posited Balkan model of masculinity (cf. Helms 2006, 2008).

If war was seen as belonging to a masculine sphere (both positively, as a man's job, and, negatively, as an expression of Balkan machismo), then peace often came to be placed in women's hands (for a critique, see Seifert 2004:16-17). Women's organisations, with varying degrees of feminist commitment,

played an important role here, and, as Elissa Helms (2003a/b, 2007) has analysed in detail, their activism often relied on 'affirmative essentialisms' of femininity. These could be both constraining and enabling: in contrast to submission to the image of women as passive victims or national symbols, they allowed the active (re)creation of gendered roles (cf. Cockburn 2000). Heeding calls from women's rights activists, the foreign intervention in BiH contained an explicit women-oriented dimension, at least rhetorically. While this was an improvement on gender-blind and therefore men-centred programmes, it also produced a degree of ghettoisation, since local reconciliation projects often involved work with women (and children), whereas men still overwhelmingly populated the political negotiation tables (cf. Pessar 2001). This, of course, reflects patriarchal relations,⁴ including in considerations of feasibility: on the ground, mixed-nationality women's meetings were often organised around handiwork or nurturing activities, and thus less controversial and easier to organise than an encounter between adult men.⁵ The key point here is that cross-national initiatives often relied on 'affirmative essentialisms' of women mutually recognising each other's humanity as women, through the sisterhood of emancipatory feminism or, more frequently, through patriarchally understood motherhood, recognising each other as sufferers (for example, because they 'know what it is like to lose a son').

But what about men? If nationalist war was associated with patriarchy and machismo, did boundary-crossing necessarily involve the development of 'alternative' masculinities (Bracewell 2000:579)? Or, if patriarchal images contained bridging potential for women, could the same be said for men? To

⁴ I use 'patriarchal' here to refer to a structural predominance of the masculine gender in a context of normative heterosexual kinship relations. While I explore some specific dimensions of masculinities in Bosnian post-war cross-national encounters, this does not imply any claims on 'Bosnian culture' being particularly patriarchal, as I have no experience of a society that I would not call patriarchal.

⁵ Probably the most 'difficult' group to work with is at once the most important one in terms of responsibility for the violence and of preventing its repetition: demobilised men. Note that frequent boundary-crossings and brotherly collaboration certainly flowered amongst many of the (para)military, political and economic protagonists in the BiH war. The same 'enemies' against whom they established their reputation as 'national heroes', were their business partners for arms, drugs, prostitution and other transactions, during and after the wars. Many had known each other for years from the European criminal circuit and the French Foreign Legion (Vasić 2005:204-213). The few insights the wider public has had into their collaboration shows a comfortable atmosphere of men who understand and respect each other. Memoirs and recollections also indicate that the climax of all high-level 'peace' efforts for BiH, the US government-led negotiations at the Dayton Airbase (which involved only one woman negotiator on any side, including the US one), followed almost caricatured macho scenarios of whiskey-fuelled sleepless nights in smoke-filled rooms.

my own political discomfort, I want to explore how common ground for mutual recognition could be negotiated through boundary-crossing performances not of 'alternative', but of hegemonising, patriarchal masculinities. In an approach that does not take for granted the moral superiority of reconciliation or of crossing national boundaries within a 'mosaic' per se, my question is: along which normative and normalised gendered trajectories could men in BiH cross previous frontlines precisely as men? How did such gendered patterns play out in low-level boundary crossings, outside the spotlight of foreign tutelage?⁶ In order to explore this, let us look at an example.

Post-war masculine encounters and 'normal life'

In Spring 2001 I attended a foreign-presided organisational meeting of a return project in a village I shall call Zubovo, at the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) in North East BiH. During the war Zubovo had fallen under Bosnian Serbian Army control and almost all Bosniak inhabitants had fled to nearby territory held by the BiH Army, while many Serbian DPs had arrived from elsewhere. Allocated to RS, it became a target area for Bosniak return in the late 1990s. At the meeting I attended most participants spoke in their capacity as representatives either of potential Bosniak returnees or of Serbs who had remained in Zubovo throughout the war. No-one of Zubovo's large Serbian DP population had taken part, but, afterwards, when we went for coffee on a nearby terrace, some of them, mainly young men, loitered there, drinking bottled beer and observing us with silent hostility. Yet here I focus on those around our table: all men too, with big differences between them, crosscutting nationality. For example, there was an elderly man who was commended for his wisdom and experience, a young and highly educated one, and a few middle-aged ones – one with good connections in humanitarian organisations, one recent returnee from Germany who was obviously better-off than most, one member of a non-nationalist political party, etc.

⁶ My presence, of course, still implied a foreign gaze, although I never worked for a foreign (non-)governmental organisation and I rarely gained access through them (and even if I did, I preferred to be introduced by Bosnians through lower levels of organisational hierarchies). Whereas some people initially still considered me a representative of the foreign intervention, this perception usually quickly subsided and I came to occupy an ethnographer's niche. Of course, I was a *Western* ethnographer, but, importantly, the effects of this indelible 'Western-ness' were not unambiguous. Undoubtedly my presence led some people to play down attitudes they expected me to find 'primitive', but, as I explain in detail later, as a young, unmarried, childless, highly educated North-Western European man of around 30, I often came to function as a soundboard for Bosnian reflections on masculinity. The challenge, then, is not to neutralise one's foreign-ness but to put it to good ethnographic use, combining long-term linguistic and socio-cultural familiarity with continued de-familiarising capacity.

Despite all those differences, our boundary-crossing conversation on the terrace, initially rather reserved, quickly took off when it converged around two apparently consensual themes: firstly, the need for foreign funds to provide conditions for recreating a 'normal life' in the village, and, secondly, Zubovo's wonderful yet underestimated qualities. The latter dimension was partly shaped didactically around my presence. Zubovo, I was informed, was 'one of the oldest settlements in the Balkans,' with archaeological finds to prove it. Particularly in comparison with the nearby village across the IEBL where the displaced Bosniaks now lived, it was far superior. That place, it was argued in cross-national unison, was inhabited by high-minded pretenders, but actually their wealth had always been the result of their village's prime location for black market trading. In contrast, the story continued, Zubovo folk had always been known as very industrious. And, someone added, as people who knew how to party – revellers had come from all around, particularly because Zubovo 'had always had the best girls.' This was met with general approval, and set the tone for the next hour or so. Nationality did not feature in this conversation, which focused – jokingly, loudly and jovially – on the relative merits of Zubovo in its capacity to project and fulfil heterosexual masculine desire.

On the basis of an analysis of popular culture from 1990s Croatia and Serbia, Pavlović (1999:142-145) has argued that essentialised sexualised categories of men and women, often accompanied by expectations of masculine predatory heterosexuality, were actually very common in non- or antinationalist contexts. I share Pavlović's aversion of what she terms 'hypermasculinity', and I believe she correctly highlights its misogyny and homophobia (see also Bjelić & Cole 2002:295; Ugrešić 1998; Čolović 1994:76), even though I would be reluctant to link such patterns specifically to the Balkans. But, for the purpose of my argument here, the most telling dimension of her text is that it points to the possibility of an assumption that post-Yugoslav men with different national backgrounds can be equivalent in their relation to women as objects of heterosexual desire. If such a potential common basis exists, this has important implications for a gendered analysis of boundary crossings. For, much as they may have been articulated into nationalist violence, this means that patriarchal masculinities may also have the capacity to shape mutual recognition. Even if nothing else, men associated with opposed warring sides may at least have in common that they are expected to act in congruence with similar expectations of masculinity.

A key question is then: which modalities of masculinities allowed men to cross post-war BiH boundaries as men? One possible post-war ground for mutual recognition would be the 'defensive identity' that Bašić (2004: 108) found to be dominant amongst her ex-soldier interviewees in Serbia, Croatia and BiH. This discourse reconstructed the war experience as a lack

of choice in extraordinary circumstances: one simply had to defend oneself, one's household (and especially one's women) and one's territory. Such a guilt-avoiding perspective, Bašić points out, allowed the reconstruction of a positive self-image in deeply gendered terms, for defence is seen as a man's job (Ibid.:109; cf. Milićević 2006). In my research amongst displaced and returned Bosnians on both sides of the IEBL I too found such self-perceptions to be common, but the situation became more complicated in contexts of actual boundary crossings such as in Zubovo. Namely, these were encounters of men who might share each other's 'defensive' self-representation, but who believed they had defended rather opposed things, possibly against attack by the other (cf. Jansen 2002a; 2006a; 2007b).⁷

As we saw, the building of bridges between the pieces of the national 'mosaic' of Dayton BiH, the key object of desire of foreign-promoted reconciliation, relied heavily on silence – and one way to avoid controversial issues was precisely to emphasise the extraordinariness of war-time, thereby consolidating the importance attached to rebuilding 'normal life'.

Yet life in post-war BiH was considered far from 'normal', so let us now delve deeper into the question how men in post-war BiH established mutual recognition of humanity associated with this 'normal life' in gendered terms. Some inspiration for my approach is derived from Michael Herzfeld's *The Poetics of Manhood*, in which he develops the notion of 'performative excellence'. Herzfeld argues that for the Cretan villagers he worked with, the emphasis was not so much on 'being a good man' but rather on 'being *good at* being a man', namely 'the ability to foreground manhood by means of deeds that strikingly "speak for themselves"' (italics in original, Herzfeld 1985:16). In BiH, I too was sometimes confronted with such valuation of 'performative excellence', but amongst non-elite people in the post-war context there usually seemed to be less emphasis on such ostentatious, individual(ist) self-presentations. Instead, most frequently I found a normative stress on adequacy: men were expected to prove themselves to be 'men enough', to sufficiently conform to hegemonising expectations of masculinity. I shall therefore speak of 'performative competence'. Focusing on boundary crossings, I now investigate motifs that men deployed in order to give substance to mutual recognition of common humanity.

Celebrating predatory heterosexual masculinity: the *frajer*

Let us link the Zubovo encounter back to the brief rapprochement between the protagonists in the film *Ničija Zemlja*. The common ground that momentarily

⁷ Very disturbing parallels with this process can be found in the fateful Srebrenica conversations between Dutchbat Colonel Karremans and Bosnian Serb Army general Mladić (De Leeuw 2002).

exists between Čiki and Nino is not governed by abstract reference to common humanity, but developed through a particular motif of masculinity. The conversation about Sanja, who is not commented upon beyond her physical appearance (busty, blond, tall, beauty spot), subjectifies Čiki and Nino as two men who share heterosexual desire. Even Nino, far from a standard macho character, has his heterosexual masculinity redeemed when Čiki finds a suggestive photograph of a naked man in the wallet of his (fellow Serbian) tormentor. As we saw, the horizon against which their boundary-crossing conversation takes place is one of 'normal life' in pre-war 'modern' BiH. References to human rights or peace are absent, and there is also a clear distance from the traditionalist masculinity attributed to 'peasants' and associated with nationalism. Reproducing much of the formal aspects of such 'traditional' models, Čiki's and Nino's national boundary crossing is shaped through the display of performative competence of a masculinity which positions them as 'modern' heterosexual connoisseurs of women as sexual objects. I shall call this motif 'the *frajer*'.

In Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, the term *frajer* is a widespread colloquial term denoting a 'guy' who displays a certain degree of 'cool'. It is used both by men and women and while it is often employed as a neutral word for any man, when used on its own as a predicate ('he's a *frajer*'), it usually refers to a form of youngish, irresponsible, ostentatious yet nonchalant heterosexual masculinity.⁸ Importantly, not unlike 'macho' in Latin America (Gutmann 1996), the term is used both in positive and in negative, slightly ironic ways. While trying hard to be a *frajer* is often considered acceptable and funny in the case of a small boy, for an adult man a balancing act is required: to be a *frajer* the cool way, one should not try too hard, since exaggerating it is bound to make one a target for mockery. The notion of *frajer* thus includes a broad display of performative competence, but here I focus particularly on its dimension of projecting heterosexual desire and its link with 'normal life'. Čiki's and Nino's short-lived mutual recognition as *frajeri* evokes a wider yearned-for normality, and the Zubovo episode also extolled precisely that heterosexual, masculine aspect of 'normal life'.

Let me mention another example. When I visited a hamlet in RS with a nationally mixed team of Bosnians exploring the possibilities of a return and reconstruction project, an elderly man walked up to us for a chat. Addressing all of us, including a few 45-year old fathers, systematically as *momci*, he

⁸ Etymologically derived from the German *Freier*, denoting a man who frequents prostitutes. In Yiddish and Polish it stands for a 'nerd' or a 'mug'. Dictionaries indicate similar negative meanings in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, but I have never heard it used like that. Its meaning seems to be closer to that in Czech, where, for example, Stuart Rosenberg's film *Cool Hand Luke* (1967) has been translated as *Frajer Luke*.

lamented the departure of his children who had sought refuge abroad, and the destruction of his house:

Nine of us lived in there. For that house, I sweated for four years in Iraq. And look at it now. All this was pointless, there was no need for any of it. It was *politika* that screwed us over. Some people up there knew what happened, and it was not right at all. What was it all for? *Momci* like you died. But *momci* shouldn't die, they should be chasing girls...

As we have seen, war experiences could be given meaning within expectations of hegemonising masculinities through the invocation of its defence dimension. But these cases show that it was also possible to deploy such expectations through a representation of men as *frajeri*, driven, in 'normal life' – unburdened by the responsibility of defence required in extraordinary circumstances – by a healthy heterosexual desire.

Let me therefore introduce Nenad 'Nele' Uzelac. In his early forties, athletically built, Nele Uzelac had been introduced to me by a common (Bosniak) acquaintance as a Serb who had stayed on in his small Federation town during the war and fought in the Bosnian Army. Since the electricity in his flat had been cut off on the day we first met – his teacher's salary being late – he took me to the premises of a Croatian cultural association. It was Saturday morning and some children were waiting for their dance classes to start in the room next door. The space, scattered with plastic chairs, was packed with people – mainly men – reading newspapers and watching TV. It took a good five minutes before Nele Uzelac completed his series of handshakes and greetings. Here was a man who had clearly continued to coexist with fellow-citizens with various national backgrounds. On that morning, Nele Uzelac told me about his family background (which he consistently referred to as 'Orthodox', not 'Serbian', just as he spoke of Catholics, not Croats) and about his feeling as a Yugoslav, now a 'man without a homeland'. Some of his relatives had left town when trouble started in 1992, but he had stayed on with his wife and their children. Having refused the weapons distributed by the 'Yugoslav' army amongst Serbs at that time, he had later hoped to avoid mobilisation in the Bosnian army too, but he had still found himself at the front. Whenever we met, Nele Uzelac regaled me with stories that did not revolve around nationalist conflict, but around the detrimental effects of the rise to dominance in Bosnia of primitive, uneducated peasants. This had led to unprecedented levels of theft and corruption, he argued, and, moreover, since they were running the show, not one decent book or film had come out. He denounced the three leading nationalist parties as populated by bigoted, backward and corrupt criminals and, in turn, attached great importance to establishing his individuality,

priding himself on his autonomy in terms of responsibility, beliefs, behaviour and knowledge (cf. Jansen 2005a/c).

Nele Uzelac clearly enjoyed his reputation as a *faca* in the town, and the serial handshakes with other men that accompanied our first meeting proved to be indicative of a wider pattern whenever he left his flat. Rarely in our conversations did he get so excited as when he could spell out his love for sports (as a player, a teacher and a coach), nature (as a walker, and a man who knows and loves nature), and, finally, drinking and the company of women. '*Nikad ne odbijam piće ni pičku*', he said. While the alliteration is lost in the English translation, its in-the-face macho character is not: 'I never turn down booze or pussy'. Regardless of whether he actually practiced much drinking or sex, the individuality he so cherished was thus deeply gendered and sexualised and, as a result, his particular manner of establishing his performative competence as a man gained him approval from some for showing himself to be a *frajer*, but led others to mock him as one.

Again, popular culture, and its 'urban' credibility, provides a rich source to embed this sort of self-positioning. The Yugoslav rock scene was not only heavily male dominated, but also relentlessly recycled the theme of women as sexual objects. This music scene is now often nostalgically recalled in sharp contrast to the *narodnjaci* that have dominated the scene since the 1980s. Despite such posited contrasts, which are often associated with (anti)nationalism, in terms of motifs of masculinity, YU-rock and its post-war (rock, hip hop, ...) successors often merely represent more self-proclaimed modern variations on the themes of these *narodnjaci*.⁹ In *Balada o Pišonji i Žugi*, for example, Sarajevo band Zabranjeno Pušenje¹⁰ sing how a character called Lepi advises the two male protagonists on a motorbike trip to the Adriatic: '*more je provod, more su koke*'. Another character, Moke, adds that '*se strankinje praskaju pravo i da je u Zaostrogu u kampu svaku noć drugu jebav'o*'. While usually not quite as graphic, I heard recollections of heterosexual adventures on seaside holidays from many urban men, often in an attempt to play down endogamous patterns and as a wider illustration of how irrelevant national boundaries had been before. In the 1990s, these coastal spots became the setting for foreign-run cross-national meetings between young people and, predictably, initial barriers were often reduced through 1980s Yugoslav music and heterosexual teasing and adventures. On one summer school I attended, the final goodbyes, with everyone returning to their 'side' of the former frontlines, could have been scripted in honour to that most famous celebration of boundary-crossing heterosexuality: Romeo and Juliet.

⁹ E.g. in the *Leksikon YU-Mitologije* (2004) and in Igor Mirković's rock documentary *Sretno Dijete* (2003).

¹⁰ 'No Smoking', where 'pušenje' is also a colloquial term for fellatio.

Masculinity, stereotypes and cultural intimacy

So far my analysis has been largely in line with the attribution of congruence to machismo and Balkan cultural forms that is so prominent in images of 'Balkan men' in orientalisng representations by westerners (cf. Todorova 1997; Bjelić & Cole 2002; Bracewell 2005) but also by many Bosnians themselves (Helms 2004/6; Jansen forthcoming). One reason why this style of masculine performance has received much attention (in anthropology, e.g. van de Port 1996; Simić 1969, 1983) may be its colourful, dramatic character, and its associated claims of Balkan/Western differences (parallel to the interest in Latino machismo). As a North-West European ethnographer, I too have tended to simply notice such performances of masculinity more readily, and certainly their potential to be worked into juicy anthropological analysis is more easily recognisable than that of others.

The *frajer* motif may then simply seem a more modern, popular-cultural version of the 'Balkan man' stereotype. However, it is not my objective to assess whether a specific Balkan masculinity exists, much less whether it can explain the 1990s violence (for one thing, this would require comparative work with men in non-'Balkan' contexts). I do argue, however, that we must acknowledge the relative consensus amongst Bosnians on the importance of particular forms of masculinity in recent developments, even if evaluated differentially. Self-proclaimed warriors for the national cause deployed 'traditional masculinity' as a positive idiom of self-identification, and were in turn blamed as such by their opponents who considered themselves at least defanged from such Balkan machismo. In such a gendered Balkanist framework, men involved in 'reconciliation' efforts were often denounced as lacking in manhood. This is not to say that nationalism's self-association with masculinity straightforwardly led to a (dis)qualification of antinationalism as feminine. Rather, antinationalist activists were often depicted as insufficiently *heterosexual* (Jansen forthcoming; cf. Helms 2006:355, 2007). Crucially, such gendered and sexual inadequacy was also frequently attributed to women-activists, particularly, but not only, if they were feminists.

Hence, while we must guard ourselves against our unwitting Balkanisms, we cannot explain away the significance of socially sanctioned expectations of masculinity as a function of the exoticism of Western ethnographers only. Correcting the generalisations of some earlier writings, recent work on masculinities dispels impressions of homogenous gender 'models'¹¹, and my

¹¹ Cf. Vale de Almeida 1995; Gutmann 1996; Loizos & Papataxiarchis 1991; Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994. My focus on normative and normalised expectations of masculinity encapsulated in the 'father' and *frajer* motifs recalls David Gilmore's model of 'Man-the-Impregnator-Protector-Provider' (1990:223). However, I do not subscribe to Gilmore's

emphasis may seem to take a step back in this respect. However, I remain unapologetic about not focusing on non- or counter-hegemonic (alternative, resistant, flexible, marginal...) masculinities in BiH, even though I know they exist. I believe that, in addition to diversity and resistance, anthropology should *also* investigate sameness and conformity. In particular, this may contribute to explain how certain patterns of behaviour and interaction come to be seen as a normative part of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1996). For my analysis here, then, rather than implying that all 'Balkan' men share some specific masculinity, this means acknowledging that certain actively generalised, homogenised patterns of masculinity are perceived, by most Westerners and Bosnians alike, as being somehow typical of BiH (or of the Balkans). For any one individual, this perception may be part of a sense of pride, or shame, or irritation, but it is hard to ignore it. In addition to studying how people resist this, ethnography is well-placed to investigate how degrees of enthusiastic or reluctant compliance to such expectations make sense to particular persons in particular contexts, and how these persons' practice thus come to shape (degrees of) hegemony. Hence, to remain true to the dynamic Gramscian conceptualisation of hegemony as a never-completed struggle, I speak of 'hegemonising' masculinities.

Over the years in the post-Yugoslav states, people have tested me, delicately or brutally, as to my own performative competence with regard to what was posited as proper masculinity.¹² I should add that this sort of bantering was not confined to the company of young, single men of working class backgrounds, with whom it is most readily associated. For example, young, single and attached, urban, educated women also engaged in it, adding subtle and less subtle queries as to my apparently not so easily identifiable heterosexuality. Usually as part of joking comments, I have been asked countless times, by acquaintances, co-passengers on the bus, embassy personnel and many other men (and quite a few women) in BiH, Serbia and Croatia, what I (*wink wink*) think about 'our girls'. Note that 'our' here did usually not denote any particular nationality. In fact, if any ranking was requested, the common follow-up question 'whose girls

functionalist approach, conceptualising masculinity as a series of models of manhood that provide social order, nor am I in a position to argue that this trinity provides a cross-culturally predominant 'Ubiquitous if not Universal Male' (Ibid.). At the same time, I believe the best counter-argument does not lie in reducing these motifs of masculinity to either purely Western stereotypes or a culturally specific Balkan complex.

¹² Having spent my entire boyhood in Belgian-Flemish and Dutch working class surroundings, only the *style* of this experience was new to me. While the *frajer* motif is much less prominent in my experience there, queries on a possible household-in-the-making are standard, and, ever since I went to university, men in my neighbourhood and extended family have asked me 'what I actually *do*' by (reflecting the valuation of manual labour and technical expertise, the gesture accompanying that question usually involves looking at one's hands).

I prefer' usually referred to regions or towns, rather than to nationality. My lack of comparative expediency was often met with what was represented as the consensual knowledge that girls from Split and Banja Luka are, and always have been, topping the Yugo-list of hetero-desirability.

As we saw with Zubovo, other places were attributed their own reputations. This could impact even on actual border-crossings: when a group of my young, female Zagreb acquaintances returned from a visit over land to Macedonia, many crossing Serbia for the first time since the end of the war, they told me they had secured easy crossings by playing on their cultural-gendered capital as *Zagrepečanke*, i.e. on the sexualised sophistication of the 'modern' urban woman they were accorded. Stories of their joking interactions with various border officials, full of heterosexual innuendo, functioned as running commentary for weeks. And ranking did not only concern female desirability; there are many jokes measuring the respective degrees of *frajer*-hood of men of various Yugoslav nationalities too.¹³ However, such distinctions seemed to lose significance in comparison with myself, the unwilling representative of all things Western. The West was then projected as Other in terms of gender expectations and attributed a clearly lower degree of *frajer* credibility. Again, this view was not limited to men. In fact, several young, urban Bosnian women who now live in Western Europe shared with me, independently from each other, their initial disbelief at how poorly versed in 'normal' inter-gender conversation local men were in their new surroundings. One of them joked that whenever she wanted to hear a compliment on her appearance, she would go to a corner shop run by immigrant men from the Middle East.

In sum then, I have used the notion of the *frajer* to capture one motif of hegemonising masculinity – largely consensual and implicitly naturalised (Connell 1995; Gutmann 1997) – that men in post-war BiH felt they could deploy in order to attain mutual recognition across national boundaries. Displaying performative competence as a *frajer* did not imply that men's lives actually reflected such normative expectations, but they were unlikely to be able to ignore them altogether, for they exerted influence, at the very least, as stereotypes. While some would thus pride themselves on their higher degree of *frajer* credibility in relation to Westerners, others would distance themselves from what they considered typically Balkan gender expectations, and proclaim to have more European, modern, Western values in this respect (cf. Helms 2006).

¹³ For example, in the joke *Šta radi žena između dva Slovenca? Smeta!* Double effect is achieved in the version where that woman is specified as a *Madarica*. Slovenes, the most Western Yugoslavs, are generally accorded low *frajer* status in these rankings, whereas, particularly in Serbia, Hungarian girls are often stereotyped as sexually particularly active and imaginative.

Elsewhere, in a study of refugee men, I have analysed this latter pattern, often focused on men as responsible providing fathers, as the idiom of *el hombre serio* ('the serious man', borrowed from Gordon 1978), and tried to contextualise it in the de-industrialising Western capitalist context in which those refugees had settled (Jansen forthcoming; cf. Grünenberg 2006). Here, of course, Balkanism was maintained in an attempt to occupy a positioning on the Western pole. Yet, both in BiH and abroad, others framed this emphasis on parental provision itself in Balkanist terms and argued that stronger, warmer family ties, including a more developed sense of fatherly responsibility, were actually typically Balkan and had been 'lost' in the cold, rootless, money-grabbing West.

However it was framed, this means I must broaden the argument, for I found that performative competence as a *frajer* was only one of the main hegemonising gendered motifs through which men who met across national boundaries in post-war BiH could facilitate mutual recognition. Even in the conversation between Nino and Čiki, the very last lines, referring to Sanja having left BiH, show that the evocation of 'normal life' as a common ground went beyond *frajer* credibility. A closer analysis of cross-national encounters in post-war BiH highlights another dominant motif, performative competence of which could lead to mutual recognition: perhaps even more important, if less striking at first sight, was what I call the *father* motif.

From *frajer* to father (and occasionally back again)

While the father and *frajer* motif are opposed to each other in certain ways (protective/predatory, serious/unserious, responsible/irresponsible, economic/spend thriftily, modest/ostentatious), they can both be analysed as variations on a hegemonising theme of normative expectations of heterosexual patriarchal masculinity. In my research in BiH, I found them generally to be considered two phases in the life course – from *frajer* to father – but, certainly in the realm of verbal performance, there was ample possibility for switching.

We saw how, in addition to the question of whose girls were the most attractive, Zubovo terrace interactions gained momentum around another theme too: the villagers' industriousness and the need for foreign funds to recreate a context in which that trait could re-emerge as part of 'normal' life. Likewise, Nele Uzelac's performance of masculinity included self-attribution of heterosexual conquest, but also of fatherly responsibilities. His war stories focused on household survival, not frontline action. In addition to being the prime breadwinner as a husband and father (his wife and one daughter also earned income), Nele Uzelac gained a strong sense of worth from being a teacher and sports coach, implying a certain degree of local public recognition, with people trusting him with their kids. He also led walks, collected fruits for others and advised people on the forest environment. He took pride in

these activities and, in addition to his *frajer* credibility he thus emphasised his performative competence as a man who took responsibility for his household and his surroundings (cf. Jansen 2003).

On a more autobiographical note, as a young, unmarried foreigner, men and women of different ages assured me on countless occasions – often jokingly, sometimes, well, threateningly – that they ‘*naći ćemo ti jednu našu*’. In the light of the above, this meant different things to different people, for it could be a sexual partner for the *frajer* that I could have been, or a wife for the father I could become. As such, the quizzing and assessment that I referred to above was not simply about my (‘typically Western’) lack of performative competence as a *frajer*. Rather, it was on account of me failing to fit nicely into one of the two dominant motifs of acceptable masculinity attributed to me in ‘normal life’: a serious, highly educated, well-earning, married father or an unserious, irresponsible, unattached *frajer* on the prowl. Being neither but having some of the characteristics of both, comments to this effect were staple ingredients of my life in BiH.¹⁴

Rather than representing a strict chronological sequence in life trajectories, the motifs of *frajer* and father could thus be intertwined and evoked alternately. For example, after having been reminded by the elderly man in an RS hamlet that, in ‘normal life’, young men should be chasing girls, our nationally mixed reconstruction working group went for drinks in a grimy bar-restaurant near Zvornik (RS). With no more technical issues to discuss, shrouded in the smells of frying oil and cigarette smoke, and surrounded by men in leather jackets and tracksuits, it took us several rounds of *rakija* to break the inter-national ice over the stained table cloths. The atmosphere relaxed with conversation topics varying from commodity prices (and where to get things cheaper), music, smuggling, football, house construction and women. My presence was taken as an occasion for much Balkanist self-stereotyping and teasing questionings as to my masculinity. As usual, ‘politics’ were carefully avoided, except as a shortcut to evoke the source of all evil. Even when discussing refugee return and evictions, general references to the predicament of displacement served to avoid potential flash points. Most of the men in the group had been acquainted with each other before the war, which led to some limited recollections about common friends. But such topics could turn sensitive, as became clear in a short exchange between Dragan Milić, a displaced Serbian urban planner from Sarajevo, and Faruk Sokolović, a displaced Bosniak engineer from Bratunac. Both were middle-aged fathers and when the first asked the second if he knew a certain Izet, his old (Bosniak) university friend who he hadn’t seen for 15 years,

¹⁴ Significantly, Elissa Helms told me that, in her experience as a woman anthropologist in BiH, such exclamations were usually explicitly in terms of marriage: ‘*mi ćemo te ovdje udati!*’.

the answer sounded: 'Yes, of course... He died. He was in Srebrenica. He didn't make it out...' After that, the conversation quickly shifted to the worries they shared as fathers trying to secure decent life opportunities for their children.

However, Faruk Sokolović deftly switched between displaying his performative competence as a father and that of a *frajer* when he entered a dialogue with another man around the table: a thirty-five year old, unmarried Serbian DP called Petar Živojinović, known to everyone as Pirate. With his thick gold chain and shiny white tracksuit, Pirate oozed the ostentatious display of a small-time mafioso. Smoking expensive foreign cigarettes, he boasted about the financial proceeds of his involvement in the smuggling of luxury goods and in music recording. Pirate had spent some years in the Serbian capital Beograd, a period he referred to as the time of his life:

'I was God! There were days when I sat back, crossed my legs over the table, and *still* the money was coming in: 500DM here, 1000DM there. I am telling you: there was *piće, pičke i pare*. Those were the days!'

Addressing Pirate after having engaged in mutual recognition as fathers with Dragan Milić, Faruk Sokolović immediately moved to the *frajer* motif, recalling his youthful days of driving fast cars, frequenting discotheques and chatting up girls. While using a rather different idiom from Pirate's, he too displayed performative competence as a *frajer*, even if only through retrospective reference to 'the days'.

Importantly, we must understand the tensions surrounding the successful performance of the father motif against the precarious socio-economic background of post-war, post-socialist BiH (cf. Jansen 2006b, 2007a). Take my Tuzla friend Samir, who lived with his wife Lejla and their teenage daughter, and who liked to tell me of his days as a *frajer*, a party animal and an irresponsible *ježivjetar*. This self-portrayal was confirmed by others, but it had now become the stuff of verbal performance only. In practice, Samir invested much time and energy to be a responsible father to his daughter, and fretting endlessly over how to fulfil his duties as a provider. Most interestingly perhaps, he always positioned himself as an autonomous individual detached from what he saw as Balkan 'primitivism' such as nationalism and patriarchal traditionalism. He and his friend and ex-colleague Robi, both in their fifties, did not need to build post-war mutual recognition, for they had never lost it, despite having Bosniak and Serbian national backgrounds respectively (for a detailed ethnographic description, see Jansen 2007b). Largely avoiding controversial issues of *politika*, the dominant motif of masculinity in their interaction was that of the father. While Robi was able to provide for his wife and children (now in Serbia), Samir was not. Despite his attempts to earn some money through informal economic activity it was Lejla who was the household's breadwinner. I have never seen Samir so lost as on the day

when his wife was refused a visa to work in Germany (where the household had spent some years before). He spent all that night outside drinking, and I could not decide what was torturing him most: her being turned down at the embassy, or his own inability to fulfil the part of hegemonising masculinity which had led to her application in the first place.

Conclusion

In this text I have investigated the boundary-crossing potential of normative and normalised expectations of masculinity in post-war BiH. With evocations of 'normal life' as the common ground for cross-national encounters, I explained how men could practice mutual recognition not with reference to a general common humanity, nor to 'alternative' masculinities, but to certain hegemonising gendered motifs that they did not consider to be either pro- or anti-nationalist. In response to foreign-promoted 'reconciliation' discourses, where bridging national boundaries is considered good in and by itself, I spelled out the tensions between gender and nationality in low-level encounters, analysing them in terms of the display of performative competence of two motifs of hegemonising masculinities – the *frajer* and the father. Those motifs were not mutually exclusive, even though they were often normatively represented in chronological sequence in the life course. Rather, they were evoked as normalised gendered expectations to different degrees in different circumstances, both by these men themselves and by most persons around them. With regard to gender practices, then, the 'shared presents' (Borneman 2002:291) I analysed tended to reproduce hegemonising patterns rather than acknowledging 'the heterogeneity of life projects' or exploring 'new experiences of sociality' (ibid.). In fact, Bosnian men's partial overcoming of national differences was predicated precisely on the consolidation of gender differences: they met across national boundaries as men who stood, as *frajeri* and/or as fathers, in equivalent relations to women.

The invariably short-lived and partial cross-national Bosnian encounters analysed in this text relied not only on a presence (of hegemonising masculinities) but also on an absence (of discussions of war-time responsibility and politics). This consensual silencing, in line with the Western multiculturalist desire to flatten out any social antagonism that cannot be understood as 'cultural' (Žižek 1997/8), begs the question to what extent such meetings may be developed into less superficial bonds. A first thing to note here is that the Titoist post-WWII selective silencing of war memories is often blamed for the outbreak of 1990s violence, and current practice could then be seen as replicating this. Secondly, more importantly in my view, Yugoslav socialist reconstruction after WWII was an integral part of a project of social transformation: practical, collective tasks of building a new society were legitimised, often through authoritarian

means, with regard not to purity and tradition (as in the current nationalist discourses), nor to individual enterprise and property (as in the current foreign intervention), but to a common and qualitatively different future (Jansen 2006b, 2007a). The boundary crossings I investigate in this text did not just silence sensitive war-time issues but they also largely failed to evoke such a future, remaining on the level of mutual confirmations of the importance of 'normal life', and thereby reinforcing hegemonising masculinities.

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Songs

- Balada o Pišonji i Žugi*, by Zabranjeno Pušenje (from the album *Pozdrav iz zemlje Safari*, Sarajevo, 1987)

JASMINA HUSANOVIĆ

FEMINIST ASPECTS OF THE POSTCOLONIAL
IMAGINARY OF BOSNIA

Instead of an introduction: (in)sights to cherish

While I was writing this article, I realised that amongst various theoretical influences on my thinking I am also trying to tell a story of a particular way of gaining knowledge through experience: what the Greeks called *pathei mathos*. This term is perhaps best translated through the following sentence: “Every drama (Action, actions) leads to pathos (Suffering), from suffering comes mathos (Wisdom).” Suffering into wisdom, however, is also struggling towards knowledge and action through losses and effects, often in solitary, speechless terrains where we seek company and words in our efforts to refigure the future. When arguing and using scholarly sources, I also often implicitly refer to this type of knowledge/experience when it comes to the potentiality of feminism to engender new ways of thinking memory and theorizing trauma refracted through the postcolonial imaginaries **of and in** Bosnia. Here I am following in the footsteps of many thinkers, arguing with them and beyond them, in order to, in Shoshana Felman’s words, “act as a cultural [cum political] witness who turns trauma as experience into insight and whose innovative concepts [can give us] new tools with which to think.” (Felman 2002:8) It is not simply ‘sight’ into ‘insight’ that we are turning around when looking through postcolonial feminist lenses and situating ourselves in the space/time of Bosnia or in all interstitial global spaces of exception and indistinction.¹ In the temporal/spatial constellations we inhabit, we have to turn ‘trauma as experience’ into ‘insight’, whilst being exposed to the bankruptcy of words and deeds in ‘conventional politics’ and yet seeking out hopeful, perhaps emancipatory, political gestures. There is no ‘sight’ prior to the trauma of experience in postcolonial exceptions and indistinctions. Or, better said, ‘trauma as experience’ is our ‘sight’.

¹ My thinking on ‘states of exception’ and ‘zone of indistinction’ is informed by the thought of Giorgio Agamben. See bibliography.

There is an effect produced by the traumatic knots shaping the postcolonial imaginaries of/in Bosnia and driven by the questions: How to become 'known' to ourselves/others? How to know the 'other'/'our selves'? How to mould this into a hopeful politics or the politics of hope that ascribes a creative faculty and political productivity to our multiple losses, traumas, injuries...?² I also believe that these questions have to be refracted through a critical approach to the North/South, as well as East/West divide in postcoloniality. Postcoloniality is not, in my opinion, so much about places and locales: it is about roads and crossroads we stumble upon or go along; it is about the paths we painstakingly create between us through time/space. Such paths – roads and crossroads, free falls and flights – are fluid, uncertain, and potentially subversive, often both painful and thrilling. But paths, roads and crossroads imply having some grounds, symbolic and/or material.

Grounds: biopolitical fractures we inhabit and traverse

In order to trace these grounds while dialogising with a host of thinkers in a perhaps eclectic manner (Felman, Edkins, Ugrešić, Agamben, Žižek, Butler, Bhabha, Spivak, Mohanty), I situate my thinking within the framework of a larger cultural, political and epistemological crisis caused by the entwined dynamics of individual and collective trauma and injurious individual and collective histories (Felman 2002:1), where 'we' (including feminists) are most vulnerable to two things: past and communality (Ugrešić 1998:221). Weaving the spaces between us, telling the stories of our losses, pondering our old/new belongings, revising and reimagining our pasts/presents/futures, forging new communalities and engaging in hopeful political practices – that effort, common to all of us in both similar and different ways, has had some rather important specificities in the Bosnian context. Dealing with deep injuries and violent boundaries around and within, and yet avoiding the trap of identitarian politics, the postcolonial imaginaries of Bosnia demonstrate the potentiality of citizenship, based on "vernacular cosmopolitanism as a mark of the postcolonial experience", whereby vernacular cosmopolitans, in Bosnia as elsewhere, are "heirs of Walter Benjamin's view of modernity, that every act of civilization is also an act of barbarism" (Bhabha 2002:23). In other words, "vernacular cosmopolitans find their ethical and creative direction in learning that hard lesson of ambivalence and forbearance" (Bhabha 2002:24).

What have we learned from the postcolonial imaginaries of Bosnia when it comes to lessons of ambivalence and forbearance? To struggle to voice out

² For an elaboration of the dynamics between loss and politics of hope please see the 'Introduction' in Eng and Kazanjian 2003.

and get recognised that which has been erased and/or violently made non-relevant in the operative biopolitical regimes around us (colonial, patriarchal, neoliberal, capitalist, ethnonationalist, heterocentrist, and so on). This erased 'face/body' is a symptomatic subject of the oxymoronic Bosnian political community – she who is hit by the twin crises of trauma and destitution, who is constantly 'waiting' (on the waiting list, in the waiting room) for justice to be enacted – to return home, to have her 'missing' found, to see the war criminals punished, to feel safer in her everyday life and more confident about her life prospects, and so forth. She experiences multiple political dislocations and marginalizations finding herself at the end of the chain – if we agree that the Balkans embody a paradoxical liminality of Europe/modernity; that Bosnia has, in many respects, become a dislocated traumatic kernel of the always-already liminal Balkans; and that the 'face/body' I use as a point of departure in my metaphorical universalisations of injurious predicaments stands for an exception even within (the dislocated/liminal) Bosnia as an excluded remainder of the conventional political registers that we find in Bosnia, in the Balkans, and in Europe globally. This 'face/body' is truly an alien life inhabiting the earthly political communities of our times. What is her voice, where is her space, how is her politics?

Casting a look at the symbolic and political constitution of Bosnian/Balkan realities may prompt us to think of the Balkans as a trauma, particularly in relation to sovereign biopolitical fractures that our political bodies/subjectivities struggle with(in) and against. At stake here is a complex dynamics between political community and trauma with regards to the 'survivors' and their urge to witness, to speak and/or to act. Faced with the impossibility of representing the trauma, and yet urged to bear witness to it, we are bound to mark this very impossibility in our speech and through our acts, and seek justice from a radically uncertain ground. The process of encircling trauma instead of gentrifying it produces a space for radical repoliticizations of violent exclusionary political and social deadlocks around us. As Jenny Edkins succinctly points out, in the circuit between trauma, violence and political community (which falsely promises wholeness and safety), something may be qualified as traumatic if there is a dramatic gap between our expectations and the event, which produces a new structure of feeling/cognition/subjectivization, experienced as incredible betrayal and radical helplessness (Edkins 2003:9). Moreover, the political trauma uncovers a hidden dimension within the interlocking texturing of political community and violence – we are faced with the inherent traumatic dimension of the political which various ideological technologies and disciplines mask, repress or silence. Such an experience of personal, social, cultural and political fracturings and losses painfully illustrates the dynamics between biopolitics and gender within the regimes of power, as well as the fact

that the experience of being reduced to bare life without political relevance is proximate to us both in times of war as well as of peace, in family as well as in community. Political community, like family, is a form of togetherness that regularly produces subjectivizing formations of powerlessness and betrayal of trust, and turns itself into a prime site of violence and sources of danger to our sociality, our political/cultural being (Edkins 2003:2-4).

Considering that these social contexts give meaning to our lives and underpin our identities, when the illusion of the certainty, security and safety they provide implodes, we uncover the traumatic kernel and the relationships of power below them – in other words, we face the radical contingency of social and political edifices, as well as of meanings ascribed to ways and forms of life which were previously considered as a given (Edkins 2003:4-5). But what about that which inhabits/embodyes such biopolitical fractures and attempts to traverse it? Isn't that 'face/body/way and form of life' that which forms our grounds? Precisely that which is radically dislocated from Bosnia, the Balkans, Europe, the globe, embodying the implosion of conventional spatial-temporal politics, not belonging to all identitarian matrices around us? The urge to bear witness and testify to this not-belonging, and to the contingency of political orders around is a political act of such a degree that it can shake up and reshuffle the fundamentals of conventional political registers and matrices. When encircled by continuously fracturing and reemerging postcolonial/biopolitical fractures, much induced by the global/local political economy of capital, one can find promising grounds through the kinds of witnessing which shake and reshuffle our quests for social and political transformation and our critiques of the identitarian exclusionary phantasms in the context of postcolonial (exceptional and indistinct) realities.

Politics of witnessing and politics of hope: postcolonial literature

I have done much research on the politics of witnessing in some non-institutional spaces of publicity in the Bosnian context, including cultural production, literature and arts, and by those actors who, in my opinion, deal with the loss productively, hinting at the politics of hope in such a ruptured community as is Bosnia, as well as universally. When it comes to weaving hope with witnessing in ways both inspiring and engaging for postcolonial feminist thought and politics, amongst the most prominent ones are the literary works of Aleksandar Hemon and Šejla Šehabović.³ Their literary engagement is aware of the need to refuse imposed closures by interpreting loss as a creative process,

³ The works of Šejla Šehabović and Aleksandar Hemon have been analysed in more detail in Husanović 2007 and Husanović 2005.

or by depathologising our attachments and making their social bases visible, as well as their creative, political aspects (Eng and Kazanjian 2003:3-4). Their work is completely dedicated to the modalities of being and affective registers which make investing into the 'new' imaginable and thinkable; this is particularly the case with imagining/thinking and enacting alternative forms of belonging and communality, or simply reverberating with the existing but marginalised ones. Interventions provided by the fiction and faction of Šehabović and Hemon provide us with new languages and a new direction of critical transformative praxis. They stand for persistent dialogisation of and dialogue with such voices, revealing how trauma and negativity of violent ruptures in social and political fabric also engender positive, and potentially emancipatory, contents of political organisation, association and representation. They historicise modes of identification and forms-of-life in Bosnia that embody the facture people-*People*, who are dislocated by or excluded from the matrix of life's inscription into territory/ethno-nation/order, and who do not give in to their liminality. It makes that which is present visible and audible, though it is politically defined as absent and rendered as impossible within the conventional political registers; nevertheless, it is there in certain modalities of negotiation commonality, belonging and acting. There are practices and subjectivities in contemporary Bosnia that share a new solidarity in forms of life, attachments and judgments, which identify with a traumatised destitute 'Bosnian subject' inhabiting the very fractures of conventional phantasmatic sovereign biopolitics, in-between cultural liminality and political no-man's-land.

At issue here is a radical type of witnessing which reveals contingency behind the forms of political and social organisation that colonise us. This is evident in the series of 'Hemonwood' columns written by Hemon in the best selling Bosnian weekly for more than a decade, and which directly deal with the trauma of Srebrenica, such as the text 'Banality of Evil' about Azmir Alispahić and the video recording of the execution of a group of Srebrenica boys by the Serbian military unit Škorpioni. This text transposes the reader into the position where one imagines herself as proximate as possible to the position of absolute victim. Reading this text is suffering into wisdom, reengaging with the author in pondering how to translate this knowledge through loss and pain into action. For Hemon, to be able to feel from our position of the 'saved ones', "horrifying shivering and even more horrifying peacefulness ... of Srebrenica boys" as those who 'drowned' into the Bosnian traumatic kernel, is a precondition for opening up the space of humanity/humanness and space of hope.⁴ If our Bosnian nets have been torn apart by the erasure of an immense

⁴ Aleksandar Hemon, "Banalnost zla" [Banality of Evil], Hemonwood, *Dani*, no. 418, 17.6.2005.

quantity of life, and if whole worlds around us have been wiped off, because “every human life is a knot in the net of other, emotionally entwined, human lives”, then the Srebrenica genocide, as an irreplaceable “incomprehensible loss of life, past and future, individual and collective” has to make us all feel as potential or actual knots without the net, where we “miss Azmir, incessantly”.⁵ In another text, ‘Srebrenica’s Net’, Hemon notices a “permanent dislocation in the structure of reality” in Bosnia, where both time and world have been disjointed due to trauma and genocide, a dislocation which presses and suffocates us for we have done almost nothing to save some future Azmir.⁶

What has happened is beyond the ability of communication and it is paradoxical that one has to witness this both within and outside the vocabulary of power; there is an acute sense of dislocation, both belonging and non-belonging to a community whose registers of political communication do not allow us to politicise our own experiences. A woman from Srebrenica “who lost one hundred family members is a knot without a net” – upon meeting her we simply do not know what to say, but we must know how to listen to her because it is she who “knows everything there is to know about Srebrenica, because from her knot we must weave together a new net.”⁷ This requires new ways of resisting, speaking and acting without the circuit between the victim and the inflictor of injury, a new language or new symbolic framework for the negotiation between silence and speech within the official political noise around us that prevents one from reformulating identity and community outside the conventional registers that produce trauma/violence/loss. This is what happens in the traversals of ‘stories, as feminine nouns in the plural’ that are materialised politically through the short stories and poetry of Šejla Šehabović. For this reason, in the discouraging context of collective and individual traumas operative ‘under the surface’ in contemporary Bosnia, where we see the warning of repeated losses and injustices in the future refracted through the materiality of everyday children’s games around us, such literary, cinematographic, everyday stories assume an immense importance. In order to bear the pressure of silence and solitude, radical-transformative forms of speech and action are necessitated by those whose loss brings them to critical-reflective solidarity, who are, as Hemon would say, not only ready to “accept the fact that Bosnia – ‘this thing over here’/‘this here’ – is their destiny”, but to accept that ‘this thing over here/this here’ is actually everywhere, and that they have been uninscribed/unwritten from it, wherever they are and wherever

⁵ Aleksandar Hemon, “Srebrenička mreža” [Srebrenica’s Net], Hemonwood, *Dani*, no. 420, 1.7.2005.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

that here is.⁸ The voices and lives of many of them, a female multitude, are materialised in Šehabović's stories, giving us a new space of sociality where we find company and the words of others who witness through their transformative languages of publicity. Weaving nets around remaining knots and new hubs is necessary to all of us trying to find new ways of thinking memory and theorising trauma as a form of social praxis which critically reflects upon itself and views itself as a political intervention. Only the most painful questions – of past and commonality – can be thought of in a way that traverses with potency and imagination the threefold deadlocks of culture of denial, amnesia and lies around us. In these terrains one has to find new power of speech and action which begins from the body/face as a site of trauma and memory, and the space for this is the wider public deliberative sphere where some new synergies between art, literature, journalism and politics have been occurring and have to be supported, against the background of a traumatic historical (im)possibility of justice. I believe that feminist postcolonial insights are crucial in this effort, as well as global lessons through specific Bosnian experiences and insights.

One should insist here on the value of literary and cultural work within the political arena; the importance of the political to literary and cultural study; and a traversal of the 'politics of blame' by tracing another politics, a politics of critique and acknowledgement (Brydon 2006). For this we need different strategies: for instance, by exploring the interstices of postcolonial politics and literature and all the problems they raise, we can achieve productive breakthroughs.⁹ Postcolonial feminism and feminist politics must start from an awareness that, in order to understand and deal with a much larger crisis of politics itself, "we need to understand this crisis, the ways in which the postcolonial is embedded within it, and what specifically postcolonial perspectives might bring to understanding and resolving this crisis". Postcolonial feminist political and theoretical gestures have to seize the moment more fully and in solidarity, so as to "offer alternative perspectives on how to think about politics and how to practice it in these changing times". (Brydon 2006) The inspiration I find in certain literary texts is due to the fact that they both engage and exceed the political, ascribing creative faculties to

⁸ Aleksandar Hemon, "Ovo ovdje" [This Here], Hemonwood, *Dani*, no. 339, 12.12.2003.

⁹ "We all know from our teaching that postcolonial fictions may as easily elicit comfort as discomfort, smug or dismissive judgments as often as compassion or a rethinking of foundational assumptions. Literature has a role to play but cannot provide a substitute for politics. Politics cannot be understood by focusing on competing individuals and their competing versions of speaking truth to power. Neither can a postcolonial politics be understood by focusing on big names and their books instead of the substance of their ideas and the contexts out of which they make their meaning" (Brydon 2006).

the knots we find ourselves in, because “although the ultimate orientation of a postcolonial politics is toward negotiating political change in the organizations of governance, power and wealth in the world, the more immediate task is creating the kinds of knowledge base and the kinds of subjects who can work together creatively toward achieving such goals” (Brydon 2006). Also, this enterprise is particularly productive when it is about bearing witness. How do we move the postcolonial politics of bearing witness out of deadlocks and into the realm of the political and what does this transference mean for the practice of a politics of postcoloniality?

Feminist aspects of the postcolonial imaginary of Bosnia reconsidered: productive trajectories

At this point perhaps we need to think simultaneously about something like ‘reparative feminism’ and about ‘repairing feminism’ globally/locally – what is our take on the nexus between loss-‘reparation’-recuperation, postcolonial violence and feminist politics?¹⁰ Instead of looking to the concept of reparation as a way of understanding and changing our current conditions of existence proposed by Joshua Chambers-Letson (2006:171), I propose looking at the concept of recuperation based on hopeful politics through the witnessing of loss. My question remains the same: how to survive the biopolitical fractures we inhabit? Or, “how do we respond to respond to a legitimate sense of loss and foreboding, with attempts at reparation and readings of reparative acts that help us to situate ourselves not only in relation to the fragments of the past, but the ways in which we may piece ourselves together to carry forward into the future”? (Ibid.) Indeed, the central question of gender studies in the context of Bosnia is how do deal with loss, rupture, breakage – to mend it, repair it, restore it, repoliticise it, reimagine it, make it creative, politically productive, turn it into a politics of hope?

Over the last decade I have been pondering what the Bosnian lenses can tell us or not about our universal experience of being rendered into ‘bare life’ (on the basis of our identity – including sexual/gender ones), where the points of resistance are and how they must be encouraged. It took us some time in Bosnia, in this post-war period, to understand that biopolitical empires around us are not only about war traumas induced by ethnonationalism in our own ‘backyard’, but also about the sovereign project overall, the issues of development and political economy, and the logic of global capital. Trafficking (and the way we deal with it culturally, politically, theoretically) has been one

¹⁰ My thinking here has been shaped by my particular reading of Joshua Chambers-Letson’s article “Reparative Feminisms, Repairing Feminism – Reparation, Postcolonial Violence and Feminism” (2006).

of our most important lessons which taught us the following: “There are many sovereign exceptions a variety of state agents can and do grant themselves/ourselves routinely, with horrible consequences for local development and for humanitarian/human outcomes. There are also brutal local transitions that defy any sense that the world is moving in generally democratic directions. It is important to follow bare life politics into its hideouts, and into our texts and toolboxes as well, searching with undeflecting and nuancing eyes. That is the promise of development studies working with postcolonial studies and other bodies of thought: together we can see and address more of the troubling biopolitics of our times” (Sylvester 2006:75-76).

That is also the promise of some gestures in the Bosnian context that critically engage with the instances of postcolonial violence in its war and post-war, socialist and post-socialist periods, reconfiguring them towards the politics of witnessing of loss as the politics of hope. These gestures have, by and large, been entwined with the emerging feminist theorising and practice in Bosnia. The Srebrenica woman, a victim of genocide, and the Ukrainian woman, a victim of trafficking in Bosnia¹¹, are one and the same body exposed to sovereign and postcolonial violence. They must be the basis of our solidarities in thinking gender studies in the region and globally, since we have to “highlight the connection between feminist scholarship and feminist political organizing while drawing attention to the need to examine the political implications of our analytic strategies and principles” (Mohanty 2002:501). For instance, we must insist on the solidarity and communality of feminisms in former Yugoslavia, precisely because of their knowledges and potential for emancipatory political practices. Let us remind ourselves that “although the ultimate orientation of a postcolonial politics is toward negotiating political change in the organizations of governance, power and wealth in the world, the more immediate task is creating the kind of knowledge base and the kinds of subjects who can work together creatively toward achieving such goals” (Brydon 2006).

Emerging strands of gender theorising in Bosnia consider the politics of feminist cross-cultural scholarship that includes its stand-points as a compelling site of analysis, when we think of “reengaging in the struggles to criticize openly the effects of discursive colonization on the lives and struggles of marginalised women, whilst accounting for both the micropolitics of everyday life as well as to the macropolitics of global economic and political

¹¹ Please see the poetry of Ferida Duraković, particularly her poems on Srebrenica and on Olena Popik, and a particularly poignant analysis of her poetry in the political context by Damir Arsenijević, “Prema politici nade: poezija i postratni period u Bosni i Hercegovini” [Towards a Politics of Hope: Poetry and the Postwar Period in Bosnia and Herzegovina] in Husanović and Arsenijević 2006.

processes” (Brydon 2006:509). Unravelling the knot between political economy and culture remains crucial to many significant feminist theorisings in Bosnia when trying to demystify, reexamine and theorise political and economic processes and gender inequalities engulfing it. The prevalent commitment of those most promising theoretical endeavours in Bosnian gender studies is towards an “anticapitalist transnational feminist practice – and on the possibilities, indeed on the necessities, of cross-national feminist solidarity and organizing against capitalism (...) in the context of the critique of global capitalism (on antiglobalization), the naturalization of the values of capital, and the unacknowledged power of cultural relativism in cross-cultural feminist scholarship and pedagogies” (Brydon 2006:509).

We have to make a myriad of infinitesimal mechanisms of power visible in order to unravel the trajectories from micropolitics to macropolitics gendered bodies, and to start from the material complexity, reality, and agency of Bosnian women’s bodies, as that which is unseen, undertheorized, and left out of the production of knowledge. From our own fractures induced by ethnonationalism and capitalism, war and ‘transition’, it is time to build on the lessons of war/post-war Bosnia and our own insights concerning the ways in which the nexus between capital and biopolitics relies and strengthens those new colonising forms of ethnonational, patriarchal, and heterosexist regimes of power, and concerning the resisting and transformative thought and practice in this sense. This is the legacy of not only the ambivalences and forebearings, but also the inspirations and potentials of these Bosnian/universalised insights in our search for company and words that create new micropolitics and macropolitics of feminist solidarity across the borders and beyond our different/common losses.

Why are the lessons of the postcolonial imaginary in and of Bosnia important for thinking solidarity and belonging within transnational feminist circles concerned with the politics of postcoloniality or postcolonial politics? Because we are all subjects of and to ruptured communities, and we are all, in various and multiple ways, engaged in the politics of witnessing and belonging in contemporary worlds. I believe that, in this context, our potentials to practice vernacular cosmopolitan and vernacular feminist thought and action in this context must be enhanced. In my works I am searching for a productive approach to the often marginalized extra-legal, non-conventional, non-institutional, non-state public responses to loss and violence, as well as to the hidden possibilities of reinterpreting identity/subjectivity in the midst of a ruptured community such as Bosnia. It is necessary to investigate how these responses enact themselves as a peculiar politics of witnessing and belonging in public art, literature, monuments and certain media spaces (publicist production). How do such rearticulations of loss and ensuing recastings of community embody a possibility of going beyond the reified categories and

perspectives – for instance, state-centric, ethnonational that also pervade much of the relevant academic production pertaining to Bosnia? This is because they are ultimately about cultural discursive and material practices in the local context that escapes much scholarship. Such practices often act as subversive resistance to dominant regimes of power and knowledge when providing accounts/narratives that build bridges between past, present and future. Certain amalgams of various strands of knowledge (local/global, feminist, postcolonial, anthropological...) provide a highly fruitful optics for such a reconsideration of more universal and urgent issues through a particular ‘Bosnian case-study’.

Identity projects and relevant narratives of belonging to a particular space/time are about an injurious past and broken commonalities (as Ugrešić would say, they are our most traumatic knots), but the responses to them move between the rhetorics of history (truth), theology (forgiveness), justice (punishment, compensation and deterrence), therapy (healing), art (commemoration and disturbance), and education (learning lessons) (Minow 1999:147). Bearing witness through the language of art and cultural production provides a patchwork of recollection, affirmation and transformation when it comes to memory and imagination, two key axes of identification/belonging in communal as well as individual terms. As such it deserves close attention since it plays a major role in creating shared spaces and experiences in reinterpreting the past/present/future of a ‘ruptured community’. To those who are subject to or subjects of such a community, such cultural practices are one of the main sources of meaning, interpretation and representation in social and political terms, and often they radiate postcolonial sensibilities when it comes to pondering community, injurious pasts and the future-oriented projects of justice between law/conventional politics and literature/art... In this sense, various discursive and material practices demonstrate how “in the postcolonial discourse the personal becomes the ethical”, because these marginalized gestures of remembering and witnessing point to a series of disavowals of the colonising continuities (pertaining to nation-state projects, socialism, post-socialism, liberal democracy, and so forth). Moreover, reimagining and remembering in this manner has “the potential to transform the agonistics of incomplete decolonization into the agonistics of incomplete democracy”, because such “postcolonial memory” describes the “anti-statist contestations over the appropriation of memories” in contrast to “the formalized accounts or official memories” (Hesse 2002:160-162). The works of Šehabović and Hemon show how ‘contestatory memory’ and postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation staked out in the struggle for political and social authority (Hesse 2002:163) in Bosnia because it resists the attempts to normalize it as the ethno-national state by highlighting the crisis of its both pre-Dayton and post-Dayton constellations.

The politics of the postcolonial (postwar, postsocialist, transitional) in Bosnia must be rethought in terms of how ethically we 're-member' the decolonized past and make its losses productive for the future, especially in terms of the (im)possibility of justice. Therefore, we need various forms of critical excavation and inventory of the marginalized, discounted and unrealized in terms of cultural practices and forms of life that embody vernacular postcolonial solidarities and belongings in order to foreground the passage from ethics to politics through new ethico-political responsibilities and passionate interventions situated in the reimagined now.

On the other side, work on healing at the level of the community in this context, its lessons and commitments offer productive hope and potential when it comes to such undertakings. Postcolonial literary spaces are also, for instance, spaces of 'emanating new imagined communities from the abyss of the past', and new ways of acting. So, there are attempts to have these collective spaces for healing and recollection of the past, engendering a symbolic community of a sort, and although they are fragmented and dispersed and definitely insufficient, they are mainly to be found in subaltern spaces of publicity that escape scholarly eyes, literary and publicist production, public art and memorials, films... They are of vital importance for this reason. Central to the postcolonial politics is a sense of transformation and a provision of symbolic space from which a community can reimagine and reconstruct itself.

Transnational feminism cutting across North-South and East-West (and all other) divides in postcoloniality must fully embrace the following question: What do the transnational feminist solidarities situated in the frameworks I exposed above tell us about (gendered) subjectivities, identities, and citizenship? This is particularly important considering that the notion of citizen has been radically destabilised both in contemporary Bosnia and in the contemporary world by insidious forms of dispossession and displacement. The politics of witnessing and belonging through the language of art is the very arena where the questions "Who is the citizen? What is her community?" are actively posed and renegotiated in the Bosnian context (although they are often petrified or obfuscated within the ruling ideological regimes of power/knowledge). Therefore, a postcolonial feminist standpoint emerging from Bosnia but acting and thinking locally/globally must bring valuable lessons about this set of issues:

- how important for a reconceptualised sense of citizenship is the politics of witnessing and belonging in extra-legal and non-institutional spaces, how does it open up the transformative spaces for the politics of hope in a ruptured community of Bosnia, whilst acknowledging losses and recognising the subjects of memories/traumas which are disavowed and/or manipulated by the official political imaginaries;

- how to be a citizen without remaining colonised in terms of imagination and action striving to justice (political cultural, redistributive) in more universal terms?

Otherwise, the past and the present will keep haunting the future rather violently instead of opening up and building on critical transformative potentialities inspired by vernacular cosmopolitanism and postcolonial critique, resistance and imagination that we see around us, as well as by its ideals of 'after-the-post' justice. The ruptures we survived and the scars we earned have to be carried forward against the truncheons and cynicism around us.

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Comment:**Sandra Prlenda**

Although it seems that today's presentations were different in form, I will try to compare and contrast some common points that both presenters have raised. Stef Jansen wrote in his paper that he took a minimalist practical approach in exploring the practices of reconciliation, which he simultaneously put in question. He does this by exploring mutual recognitions of his research subjects through their performative competence. His approach is, in this respect, similar to Elissa Helms's presentation yesterday. They complement each other, being based on the ethnographic method of participant observation in Bosnia. On the other side, we are able to hear an indigenous voice when Jasmina Husanović is articulating the Bosnian situation. This has to prompt us to compare and discuss, especially in the framework of this course's topic, a rethinking of postcoloniality. Namely, we had a chance to see Bosnia through Western eyes, in the presentations of Western ethnographers, and then we hear a Bosnian insider story, an observation through Bosnian lenses. What was interesting to notice, if we compare the two, among other things, is that both presenters explored the issue of humanity. In his piece, Stef deals with the recognition of humanity of others through the recognition of their performative competence. What Jasmina points out, especially quoting Aleksandar Hemon, is the humanity of recognition, humanity of subjects affirmed through empathy, feeling of loss and pain, this trauma and suffering which is *ours*. It is a moral trauma and moral suffering and that is what connects us into a community. Jasmina is, as an insider, an indigenous voice, trying to discuss that what is not being discussed. She is discussing the issues of solitude, of speechlessness, of efforts to voice out the trauma, the loss, the pain, things that cannot easily be talked about. What we saw in encounters of men in a postwar situation is an avoidance of talking about traumatic experiences and performing masculinity instead, in order not to find some kind of reconciliation but trying to get back to normal life. Therefore I would propose to discuss this contrast of gender performance, visible to outside observers-ethnographers, and the problem of speaking about and witnessing intimate, yet communal trauma.

My second point is to provide some background info on Aleksandar Hemon, whose work Jasmina was frequently discussing, for those who are not acquainted with the Bosnian cultural context. I find it important to point out that A. Hemon is a writer who, in the context of Balkan literary ethno-nationalisms, has this privilege of not belonging, due to his Ukrainian heritage (his father has Ukrainian roots and his mother is from Montenegro), which puts him outside strict ethno-national boundaries that had cross-cut the former Yugoslav literary space by the efforts of nationalist homogenizations. I think that it is a privilege, for his position of a writer, to not be easily placed into categories of national writers by his vernacular readers. It leaves him the freedom of communicating with his public that he uses for the creation of a new, civic imaginary community based on the recognition of human reactions, and not a performance of ethno-national markers. His popularity among the Bosnian diaspora and in Bosnia and Herzegovina testifies this.

Hemon went to the US before the war and started to write in English there. He is often compared to Vladimir Nabokov because he learned the language through a dictionary and his English fiction is particularly prized by American audiences because of the way he uses the language, but also for his topics related to displacement, in-betweenness, experience of an immigrant and subaltern. Through his writing he tries to voice the sense of dislocation and of being disjointed by leaving the country and by the rupture of our previous lives.

My third point is to highlight the main argument of Jasmina's article, that is, the politics of hope, or hope of politics of witnessing. In Hemon's column, widely read especially in the Bosnian diaspora, Jasmina sees the space for voicing out the trauma and that which cannot be voiced out in rigid, ethnonationalistic identitarian politics, which Jasmina called identitarian fantasies. Both Elissa and Stef were talking about boundaries and strict identities, or the efforts for their consolidation. Here we have the in-betweenness and trying to overcome identitarian traps, as you said. And in the end that's what the hope of politics is about – feminist solidarity, solidarity of the readers of artistic and literary work, finding a place for coming to terms with trauma and traumatic pasts. The reconciliation that Jasmina is calling for is a reconciliation based on shared responsibility and vernacular cosmopolitans, as opposed to identitarian politics.

Once again, at the end, I invite us to discuss these feeling of ours, of being observed by Western eyes, and touched and formed by this. I must say that, personally, I felt physical unease, my body's reaction yesterday and today, perhaps I'm not the only one here to experience it, realizing, again, that we are being scrutinized from the West precisely because of the trauma that we had lived through. In the political geography of scholarly interests, we have become the subject of research and gaze because of the violence that we went through, and that hurts.

Comment:
Ines Prica

My discussion is similar to Sandra's, because it is crucial and at the same time the most difficult question of postcolonial reason, the question of advocacy. For some it is a very direct problem of voicing the trauma, but also it is the question of the clash of internal and external knowledge as the basis of learning about "the same reality". It is therefore not only the place of mutuality and polyphony, but also of disputes and complaining: the accusations for exoticism going from one side, and for, what van de Port would call, the obstinate Otherness from another side. The more superficial level of this crucial question is why and how is someone authorized to speak in the name of the victim, or, let's say Bosnia in general.

But more painfully put, the question goes *who are actually those in whose name we are speaking?* Are they metaphors or real people? And how shall we represent their "realness", is it just a name? This strategy is used by Hemon, he said Azmir Avdispahić, this is the Srebrenica victim I am talking about. Or we just call them Bosnian victims or Muslims, or so on. This is I think one of the most painful questions of contemporary "realistic" ethnographic writing, and not only on Bosnia. So if we choose to speak about trauma despite the serious traps of speaking about trauma, as not speaking about that is even more tricky and cruel, we are facing another problem. As Jasmina put it, this is the problem of how to gain the concrete feelings and deeds of justice, not just writing about trauma but what shall we achieve with the writing on evil, genocide, wars.

The notion of reparative writing, proposed by Jasmina, is very potential. It is, who doesn't have an opportunity to read it, Chambers' term proposed as a kind of analytical tool against *paranoid reading*, "the cunning quality" put in the centre of the contemporary mainstream, let's say, critique, but also anthropological writings. The critical paranoid reading is not only about the texts but also about cultures, paranoid reading of cultures and realities, and to avoid that is the path towards the hopeful politics of justice. Nevertheless, as all the post-colonially informed terms, the reparative discourse is supported by no specific methodological or rhetorical instructions, as I understand. It is just a good, "non-paranoid" writing of culture.

But how can we be sure that it will be recognized as such, that it will not be read *in a paranoid mode*, where writing about trauma is principally recognized as "nationally biased", pathetic and oriented on "professional victims". All those qualifications (together with my favourite, "the anthropology of tears and fears") I am borrowing from my own experience of writing from the Croatian war perspective, which made me wonder so many times, could it be that Croatian ethnographers were more exposed to the paranoid readings because they avoided clear signs of their feminist declaration? Or was/is Croatia just not a proper postcolonial case? It may be both. But, of course, nobody normal would seek a traumatic experience to confirm the proper place of postcolonial writing. And as many postcolonial writers emphasize, the very trauma should not be such a marker for postcolonial correctness. It is not a question of who suffers more than the other, while, as Jasmina said, trauma is always and everywhere.

Nevertheless, not every trauma is genocide. As a kind of evil producing trauma, genocide is often inescapably ethnically or nationally determined, so can we, shall we, are we allowed to translate all its “paranoid determinations” into the same flow of reparative terms? For me it is a big and very difficult question. Where do you think this intersection of feminists and postcolonial concepts is really hopeful and not just exposed to the tricky politics of hope, which, as you said in your paper, left us wondering have we done enough for avoiding the next trauma, genocide.

My last conclusion will start with the impression of the first days of our conference. As Sandra has also noticed, the insiders were generally inclined to speak about trauma and the outsiders about normality. The first ones are “bombarding” with theory and the second ones with vignettes of personal experience, isn’t it a bit strange? OK, we could say, these are only two different, imperfect, but legitimate ways of giving names to the Bosnian reality, but the problem from the beginning stays. It is the problem of who is behind those names? In that way, it was very interesting for me, Stef, when you had suddenly stopped – during the presentation of your Bosnian field-work experiences – at the point you wanted to conclude something “in a structuralist’ way”. As you thought this was when it is dangerous to be a Western anthropologist, theorizing “the Other”, putting general terms before “real names” of human experience. Actually, I think it works opposite. I think that exactly those “post-something” discourses left us to cope with the tough question of “speaking in the name”, because structuralism has not engaged a real, named human subject to stay as a backup of its categories. You are allowed to say, for example, that it is “Balkan masculinity” to stay behind your analytical categories. Unlike in post-jargons where we really have to, we are in a way forced to put the names behind our writings. Maybe it would be an inappropriate, even cowardly practice for nowadays to claim on writing “cultural reality”, and reality is mostly ugly and chaotic. But those strict, transhuman methodological concepts seem to be safer in a way. This is my question for you.

Response
Stef Jansen

I am sorry that I wasn't here yesterday. Postcoloniality... I think we shouldn't take this as a given. This postcolonial theorization is one way to explore what is going on in this particular region. Whether it makes sense or it helps... I think in some ways it does and in some ways it doesn't. On a very practical level, Bosnia and Herzegovina has for a long time not been as colonial as it is today, literally, in a sense that it is run by a foreign government and has foreign military presence and economy. But, I mean we have to be careful in just accepting postcolonial approaches, which doesn't mean they can't give us very productive ways of theorizing of what's going on. As you say, following the logic of the theory, this would mean we have to look at the subject behind the structure as opposed to structuralist anthropology. I would agree on that, but structuralist anthropology does not, I would say... well, there are good anthropologists who have used structuralist approaches (I am not one of them) and who have looked at human subjects. But OK, if we take that criticism further then I think... why is it that postcolonial theory itself is so rarely looking at human subjects? In fact, *not* talking about them, *not* writing about them. I mean the best example is the queen of postcolonial theory, Spivak. She came and did a talk in Manchester not so long ago. I went to that as well. It is quite amazing, how, I don't know how careful I have to be here, how this extremely elite, Brahmin lady from Columbia University or so can lecture to an audience about her immediate bodily, experiential empathy with the subaltern in India. These are people who, when they see her coming into the room, bow to kiss her feet. We have to be aware of these things, the class issue in postcolonial ethics is scandalously overlooked. So that's one thing: we need to look at subjects... I agree and I tried to do exactly that. But do postcolonial theorists do it, I think they don't, they do it even less.

Which brings me to the next point. You made a distinction: outsiders look at boundaries and fixed identities and 'indigenous' insiders argue against identitarian politics. I was very struck by that. What can I say, I spent the last ten years of my life writing against identitarian politics. My talk was not about boundaries, it was about what actually happens with those human subjects when they do cross boundaries. But the point is I don't simply assume that crossing the boundary is a good thing *per se*, in a general sense. And I don't simply assume that boundaries are fluid and flexible... thus presumably questioning boundaries, which is postcolonially fashionable... All this we can agree with in theory but these boundaries are not flexible and fluid and so on when these men actually meet. Because somebody who is called Faruk is seen as crossing a particular boundary in a different way from somebody who is called Miloš and there is no postcolonial theory that will change that. So if that is the case then what interests me is precisely the actual interaction on that most everyday level. I am interested in how do these men cross that boundary and in what ways, how they do it *as men*, by means of creating and consolidating other boundaries, mainly gender boundaries.

And a last little point about the gaze. This was part of what I already said. I completely agree this should be crucial to the foreign, the western... I am talking

about the gaze of the western observer, in this case me. It is completely crucial to what we do, we have to address this stuff. In my talk I tried very strongly to put myself in there, in the sense of: this is *me* that is talking about those things. At the same time it is crucial that we understand that this gaze is not a one-way process and that I am being gazed at too. Not in an equal way, absolutely not, but I am being gazed at, I am being questioned, you know, for example, am I a real man? I could tell you 24 hour stories about these things. So this is crucial. Just coming in from the airport it happens. It is something that is constantly going on and something that happens in those interactions between subjects. The point I want to draw from there again relates back to wider understandings of positioning in the postcolonial critique. When I am being gazed at as a westerner in this particular region I am gazed at as, say, white, male, highly educated, and urbanite. Now, I grew up in a village, for instance. Also what people never include in that gaze is very important for me when I am working here, particularly when I did my work on antinationalism in Beograd and Zagreb, and I was constantly dealing with the people who are class-wise, let's say, above my station. That is something that is never discussed and I think that is something included in that gaze as well, for me it is. And I think we have to complicate the way in which that gaze works. It is an unequal process but it is a two-way process and it consists of much more than ethnicity or 'western'/'Balkan', much more than that.

Discussion

Ines Prica: Why don't you put all that in your writings?

Stef Jansen: We need a balance I think. I am not saying I got it right, I struggle with this. In my writing I try to put in as much as needed but I also... I am completely allergic to navel-gazing anthropology. I find it impossible to read. You know, people who write mainly about themselves. I marked a dissertation not so long ago which was supposed to be a dissertation about Roma in England and it was all about the author. And in the end the internal examiner and myself both said we'd like to learn a bit more about Roma and a bit less about her. So it is a balance, I think, and it is very difficult to achieve this. But in this case when I write about expectations of masculinity and performative competence it would be crazy not to. I simply have to address my own masculinity, my own positioning.

As for the 'charming little anecdotes' that you mentioned, Ines, I'd like you to know that that is a very conscious strategy, because the kind of performative competence that I am analyzing here relies exactly on that kind of cultural intimacy. In a way, the fact that you pick up on them exactly proves my point. They are recognizable. Do you see what I am getting at, it is that kind of thing...

Ines Prica: Ok. But when you are smiling when speaking about people that are talking about very beautiful parties, it is, you know, also one kind of attitude.

Stef Jansen: Well, that is also a part of the argument.

Ines Prica: What is the argument? What shall we learn about that? That people are what? Centralized to their very small places?

Stef Jansen: No.

Ines Prica: But what can we learn from this kind of *vignette*, about how everything is good in one village and bad in the other? What is the point?

Stef Jansen: You can go different ways from there but the point for me was that these people who were doing what everybody wants to happen in Bosnia – namely crossing national boundaries, meeting, 'healing' etc. – that they did so in a way that was structured very strictly along certain expectations of patriarchal masculinity. Perhaps this could be said for Northern Ireland as well, but I haven't done research there.

Ines Prica: I know, I very much admire your points but what I am speaking about is the episodes, same with Elissa. She realized that it is a stereotype and hence, people are trying to argue that, to say that something is not like that, that you misunderstood something, that things are not like that and this is only another fact in your argumenation, also with a smile. These smilish episodes only support your final conclusion. Otherwise I love you. I admire your work very much.

Stef Jansen: Yes Ines, but what would be the alternative? I mean, if you are committed to an ethnographic approach in anthropology?

Ines Prica: You can just skip it in your presentation. Or you can say OK, they are telling me that they are not what I think they are. Shall I do something with that fact, or just say a-ha. You are always putting the other on the level below. For you, this is the fact of mentality.

Stef Jansen: No! It really is not. My own grandad engaged in exactly the same talk about his village and the neighbouring village etc. But the point is that I am not talking about my grandad but about contexts that I did research on.

Ines Prica: But why is he saying that, why? Because maybe it is true? In his experience?

Stef Jansen: Yes, but in this talk I am concerned with certain mechanisms of so-called reconciliation... of meeting and crossing boundaries.

Jasmina Husanović: I think it is much more accurate and theoretically and empirically sound to talk about estrangement here, perhaps as a 'failure' to fully inhabit the present in present states, due to the constitutive gap of the migrant position, a sort of spatio-temporal dislocation. In that sense I really see no boundaries between someone originally from somewhere else than Bosnia and theorizing. If we kind of fully and critically assume this position of being estranged in various ways and actually project them in a critical and reflective manner. (...) But what is important about this is that the process of estrangement is the condition for the emergence of new contested communities. (...)

Sandra Prlenda: What about anthropology?

Jasmina Husanović: Well, I think these are ideological regimes around us, political, patriarchal, whatever, that they kind of mask, try to normalize the situation in the following way. For instance, when we deal with trauma or with loss there are usually three strategies of how you actually deal with it. One is mythologization of this injurious past, through themes of redemption, overcoming... Then you have medicalization, just medicalizing the whole process along the lines 'let's just sort out the victims so they can again reintegrate in the normal fabric of life', psychosocial support through individual/group therapy etc... And then you have the strategy of denial, disappearance – either not mentioning trauma or denying it. The authentic politics of witnessing goes against these strategies of normalisation of trauma, it is quite radically speaking truth to power. Witnessing is not something that only a surviving victim does; rather it has three layers, or as Kali Tal says, we are all witnesses: because you can witness the traumatic event yourself, or you can witness the account of someone who witnessed it and, finally, you can witness the process of witnessing itself, like watching a documentary.

Very briefly about this traumatic dimension of the political. Well, all these technologies of power are about production of normality. There is a desire, obviously, to be in the 'normal state', whatever fantasy it presumes. But what these hegemonic technologies and regimes of power actually do is that they are trying to hide precisely the radical contingency of sociality, of politics around you. That is what is traumatic.

Many people would rather prefer things to be taken for granted, safe, unquestioned, as it used to be, 'normal'. Which means that today ideologically, the regimes of power are much less successful in producing normality than thirty years ago. This only testifies to its weakness when it comes to producing normality for people, in a way.

Stef Jansen: Therefore, normality becomes an object of desire.

Jasmina Husanović: Yes, exactly, but it is the product of power which is based on this denial of radical contingency of subjects and politics and sociality and community, which is for many people traumatic, its uncertainty, its violence...

Renata Jambrešić Kirin: I must say that I had this uneasy feeling during today's discussion because it reevoked to me some of the traumatic moments of reading, quoting and lecturing Western anthropologists such as Robert Hayden, D.A. Kideckel, J.M. Halpern, Milica Brkić-Hayden, and some others. What I have in mind is their easiness of transforming some small detail, local observation, some symbol, juridical paragraph or lived "anecdote" into a hypothesis of broader relevance for the whole ex-Yugoslav region. But, according to my insights, Elissa and Stef are not part of that hegemonic anthropological 'Fight Club' and it is really unfair to input them the same kind of objections and remarks. Elissa and Stef came to the war-torn region as volunteers and young academics, volunteering in different peace and feminist organizations, learning and mastering local languages, cultural codes and norms before they started their ethnographic research. Their publications represent that good writing Ines was talking about. The fact that they are dedicated, insightful ethnographers and talented writers is for me much more important than their role of representing Western or semi-outsider's ethnographic authority.

Coming back to Jasmina's discussion of "vernacular cosmopolitans" – which I found a very fruitful concept for local reflections in the context of postcoloniality – I'd like to ask both presenters where, actually, this basic traditionally practiced trans-gendered and trans-ethnic way to be a human and to be a cosmopolitan is situated? Is the idea of being "vernacular cosmopolitan" connected with the idea of modernisation of the Balkans or with the intention of Ottomanization of the Balkans or is it much older?

And my last question – studying sociocultural phenomena in constant change and performative reconfiguration, how much psychoanalysis do we actually need? Why do we prefer psychoanalysis to social theory, semiotics and even gender and queer theories? When Stef tried to explain the neopatriarchal "normative masculinity" of his informants, he used the notion of hegemonic heterosexual desire instead of, for example, the co-villagers' ability to negotiate and re-produce the same *socioscape* of cultural signs.

Jasmina Husanović: When I talk about vernacular cosmopolitanism, and I also often talk about other emancipatory political gestures, I have a rather clear idea of what I mean by that, because that was precisely the topic of my PhD – "Recasting political community and emancipatory politics: Reflections on Bosnia", where I found my orientation through all these heavy important questions that pop up when you are

trying to figure out what emancipatory political gestures might mean. And it is very much based on the dialogue between Agamben, Žižek and Bourdieu, and taking it further by sociologizing and anthropologizing this whole thing in the context of Bosnia. So, what does it mean to be a vernacular cosmopolitan? Actually for me that is not the right question that interests me. My interest is whether there is something emancipatory about the politics of witnessing in Bosnia, in the region, globally, in the coalescence of diverse practices; it is also about what can help us think if there is such a thing as vernacular cosmopolitanism around us, or a form of solidarity that ties up with feminist political organizing today, (g)locally. So, I cannot divorce that question of being a vernacular cosmopolitan from this concern, where I want to insist on the promise of those hopeful, transformative, emancipatory political gestures and practices, especially those outside of conventional politics, actually.

Ulla Vuorela: I think what has been very important about Spivak and Haraway is that they point out that no local knowledge is innocent in a way. And I think that also no postcolonial knowledge is innocent and I think that in this moment in time we would need to deconstruct postcolonial theory and the point that I'd like to make about postcolonial theory discussing what happens to us as locals or as outsiders is to be conscious about the particular nature of our stories, particularities about our stories, where is the particular and where is universal and where are the boundaries there. And I think that Stef made a very important point in starting his story saying that he is worried that reconciliation becomes just a moment of erasing the war memories because of the people who started the war do it. And I think that this erasure and silence is something that bothers me and it is something to concern all of us, this silence. And I think that this moment in the movie when the men are discussing the same woman is very important, both metaphorically and locally and historically because it is a key moment that takes the discourse out of Bosnia, makes it into a concern for all of us. Even if it is very obvious what they avoid talking, I'd still like to say aloud that they, for instance, avoid talking about crossing borders in the form of rape. They are both interested in the same woman or they claim that they know the same woman and the wars are in a way about women. And I think, when they avoid talking about rape, they avoid talking about homosexual (rape). Their performative manhood becomes fake, in a way. It becomes a kind of performative act that is hiding as much as it is showing. So I would like to raise that as an issue of the dangers of silencing... because why I say it, it leaves out our experiences. I can say that it leaves (out) stuff with our experiences in Finland, where we were killing each other in the year 1918; and it is only now that we are sort of talking about it, about what happened. And we have been silencing and the point is not about finding who killed more or who was more, whatever. The point is I'd like to say, when silences are kept, it surfaces at some point later. So silencing is suffocating to me, and that I find dangerous...

Stef Jansen: You see, that is the difference between ethnography and other forms of research, there is no way one can be a successful ethnographer or productive ethnographer without addressing those things because this is a long-term

engagement with people. It also depends on people's style but being a detached observer as an ethnographer is impossible. So the power relations are there. They are there in actuality and they are there even more as expectations and perceptions. I am always 'the rich guy' and I am aware of those expectations and there is nothing I can do about them. Sometimes there are people maybe richer than me, but it doesn't matter...

Rada Boric: Maybe, also, to think of what Ulla has mentioned, that local knowledge is not innocent, and the experience we had with women war victims might go along this line. Their responses would belong to something, without any theoretical "back up", I would call it "expected discourse". The local people did not care if you were an ethnographer or journalist, even a supporter, since everybody was going "in and out" of the country, especially foreign funders, and that was the response that they presumed we wanted to hear from them. In that sense this is also dangerous, no matter how we would put our lives on the table they would also have their things, their heads, their ideas how they would deal with us. It doesn't matter how we would like to be presented, that we are 'innocent', that we are open, that we are feminists, that we came to support them and not to help them, it does not matter we would have the proper vocabulary they would already know the international jargon, really know the language.

ULLA VUORELA

TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES: IMAGINED AND REAL COMMUNITIES¹

Families living simultaneously in and between different nation states, which can include both migrant and ethnic minority families, may be a source of sensitivity and uncertainty for the nation, state, as was manifest, for instance, in the forceful expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 1972. Likewise, governments may perceive loyalty to multiple countries as a threat to their national economy and coherence. On the other hand, from the perspective of individuals and their families, it is the nation states and the restrictions on movement they impose that may be the problem. This has been demonstrated in the frequently shifting ways immigration laws and policies have defined families and regulated family reunions.

In this chapter, it is argued that living transnationally is not necessarily a problem from the point of view of families and individuals; nor does it have to conflict with the 'making of nations'. Both nations and families can be seen as imagined and real communities: belonging to a nation and belonging to a family are constructions with political and emotional underpinnings, and do not necessarily implicate each other.

An encounter with an Asian² family living in Tanzania led me to consider the notion of transnational families. How do people create a unity of kinship and family feeling when living apart? What kinds of networks are formed within and through the formation of transnational families? What processes have resulted in them living apart? How have people with transnational life stories adjusted to the receiving nation-state? What issues arise regarding citizenship, gender and generation in the 'fission and fusion' of households?

¹ This is slightly abridged version of an article published in D.F. Bryceson and U. Vuorela (eds) (2002) *The Transnational Family: New European frontiers and global networks*. Oxford – New York: Berg, 63-81.

² Calling people of South Asian descent 'Asians' was adopted in Africa after the partition of India. This avoids the need to specify whether one's roots lead to India, Pakistan or Bangladesh.

How do individuals leading transnational lives negotiate their sense of belonging? How do they think about their belonging to a family and their belonging to the places where they have lived? This chapter focuses on a family that has, over four generations, spanned four continents: Asia, Africa, Europe and North America.

One methodological problem in dealing with a family as dispersed as the one discussed in this chapter is that the members of the family live so far apart, and the story differs depending on who is recounting it. Some may suggest that the research should follow as many members of the family as possible to establish a complete picture, but an understanding of a 'multi-sited' family in terms of the issues that arise when thinking about transnational families, however, does not necessarily demand a multi-sited ethnography.

Telling the story here, primarily from the vantage point of only one of its members, adequately reveals the complexities of transnational family dispersal and reunion. The story is based on interviews held with Fawzi, a woman in her late forties who lectures in English and world literature at a university in New York City. Her account is supplemented with a few interviews with other members of the family and their published autobiographical material. These 'stories' are situated in a historical context to give additional explanation as to how family members have negotiated the global and the local. Emphasis is placed on the kind of assets and symbolic capital that they have employed through this historical timeline. The significance of place and national belonging is explored by centre-staging Fawzi.

The ways in which a family's branches and offshoots connect and become anchored to new places provide a myriad of stories of different life paths and processes of identity construction. In these stories, the identifications and loyalties are as varied as the families themselves.

Fawzi's family

Discussions with Fawzi have been nurtured by the fact that I have shared some of her personal history with her family since the mid-1970s. I came to know Fawzi in 1979 when I was working in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with her brother on a Finnish-Tanzanian research project. I became and have remained an adopted member of her family to the extent that I could sometimes, just like a relative, announce my arrival and expect to be well received and vice versa. After living in Tanzania for 10 years, I moved back to Finland, my home country. All of us have now dispersed in various directions around the globe, but we still remain in close contact.

The story of Fawzi and her familial and national loyalties is a story of a post-colonial scholar living in New York City, a Tanzanian and second generation East-African Asian, a US citizen who was educated in Kenya,

Pakistan, England and the US. Fawzi was born into an Asian family in Arusha, in the then-British colony of Tanganyika, now Tanzania. Even though Fawzi has never lived in Tanzania for more than a year at a time, this is the country she most strongly identifies with. Tanzania became her home country both as a place of birth and as the place where her parents lived longest. There is also a 'particular, perhaps even sentimental affiliation' as Fawzi describes her sense of being a Tanzanian:

The practice of saying that I am Tanzanian has been consistent throughout my life. In different contexts within which I make that claim, sometimes it is inaccurate in as much as I am not a Tanzanian citizen. I haven't lived there for a major portion of my life, and there are no rooted ways in which I belong to any sort of national entity that is called Tanzania. Yes, it's always been ... but it is a mediated sense of being something. [...]

But at the same time, there was also a more alienated sense, alienated in the sense of it being really distant from one's own experience. An alienated sense that we belonged in a loose way to some kind of ethnic group, though the word ethnic was not really part of our vocabulary. So we understood that we had a kind of affiliation of lineage and inheritance with the Asian communities, but that we in fact did not belong to any of them. Within the East African setting and in the Tanzanian setting they were very insulated, with self-defining and coherent groups among themselves, and we were not part of the larger community. There is always this notion that originally we came from these distant places like India and China, but it was never a visceral, real feeling.

Fawzi's mother, Sophia, was born in the Punjab of India, when her parents, who otherwise resided in Nairobi, were there on home leave from Kenya. Sophia had spent her childhood years in Kenya while her husband, Abdulla, was born in Hong Kong, of a Chinese mother and a father from Jammu, an area bordering Punjab and Kashmir. His father worked as a civil servant when Queen Victoria's son Edward was the King Emperor of India.

Abdulla met Sophia in Nairobi where they married in 1941. Nairobi was the family's original home in East Africa, where they all settled from different corners of the British Empire in South and South-East Asia. The presence of Sophia's natal family in East Africa dated back to the 1910s. Her grandfather worked as a clerk for the British colonial government in India and after surviving the trauma of the Amritsar massacre he went to Kenya to visit an old school friend. He enjoyed the country and exhorted his sons to immigrate there. His son, Sophia's father, moved to Kenya and worked in a company installing the country's first electricity supplies and later in a construction company

where Jomo Kenyatta³ also worked. He returned to India to marry Sophia's grandmother. The couple set up house in Nairobi where they gave birth to five sons and one daughter, Sophia.

Jumping ahead, if we look at Fawzi's immediate family in the year 2000, we find her brother living in Namibia with his wife and son, her sister and husband as Canadian citizens residing in the US and her parents Sophia and Abdulla living in Canada. Rather than remaining in Tanzania, they decided to move to North America in their old age to be near their granddaughter and their eldest daughter. Canada's medical care system also influenced their decision to move from East Africa.

A far-flung polyglot extended family

The dispersal of Fawzi's extended family has been even more widespread. Fawzi's mother had four brothers, all raised in Nairobi. One of them settled in Dublin having married an Irishwoman. Two other uncles moved to London and the fourth has become a resident of Islamabad, Pakistan, and is a high-ranking officer in the Pakistani air force.

To give a glimpse of further dispersals in the next generation, one of the cousins, the son of Fawzi's 'Irish uncle', enthusiastically embraced Swedish culture, its language and residence, and has become a much-talked about character within the family. Having had a public career in the Swedish music business, he was infamously accused of being involved with adolescent girls. To defend his case, he published his memoirs in Swedish, a book that I accidentally found in a Helsinki bookshop. He concludes:

But the green island is no longer my 'home' [Ireland]. It is here in Sweden that I have found my true self – my real self. It is therefore that I think of my life, in this dark but wonderful country with its Jantelag, its jealousy and its incomparable quality of life. Exactly in the same way that my father took little Ireland to his heart some 50 years ago, I have taken Sweden to mine. He lived and died in Ireland. History will repeat itself – because I will live and I will die in a Nordic country (Butt 1997:333).

In its dispersal, the family is not only multi-sited, but within two generations has become multi-lingual and multinational. Being multinational means simply that various family members have become citizens of different states, carry different passports and need to move across borders for larger family reunions. While some may see transnational family loyalties over-riding the

³ Jomo Kenyatta was Kenya's first president after national independence.

individual's sense of loyalty to the nation, in fact it is national loyalties that may get in the way of family loyalties. The most immediate and practical difficulty is that of family members' non-overlapping language capabilities.

Studying the scope of home areas and languages shared within Fawzi's nuclear family one can form an idea of the multiplicities of family life. Growing up in Nairobi, Fawzi's mother learned Swahili and English in addition to the Urdu and Punjabi of her parents. Fawzi's older sister Hana shares the languages of Urdu, Punjabi and Swahili with her mother, whereas her brother speaks English and Swahili with his mother. Fawzi, who spent most of her childhood away from her parental home, speaks only English, although her first language was Swahili and she still remembers some words of Swahili. As none of them ever learned their father's school language, Chinese, and English was the only language common to them all, English became the family members' basis for communication with each other. In the East African context, this made the family distinct in the midst of other Asian families in East Africa. [...]

At times this posed communication problems within the extended family. Fawzi's mother, as the most multilingual member of the family, had to act as translator between her children and relatives. When Fawzi first visited Pakistan and met her parental aunts and uncles and their families, there was at first virtually no communication other than amongst the children because only her cousins knew English.

Family as an identity and a community

Living apart across long distances does not prevent Fawzi from speaking of her parents and siblings as her 'immediate family'. [...] In its immediacy it is simultaneously a multi-local or multi-sited entity, extended across nations and continents. It is also multinational in terms of the variety of passports its members carry. National loyalties are multiple within the immediate family.

Fawzi's family has, in two generations, experienced the continental dispersal of the nuclear family. Sophia and her brothers set up homes in England, Ireland, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan. Not all of the family members have kept in contact all the time and sometimes a long time has elapsed between reunions even with close relatives. Despite the distances between family members on the level of everyday life, there has always been a strong family feeling. Fawzi elaborates:

Well, [we have] a very strong sense that is possibly even over-determined, because [we have missed] the customary and usual processes that families go through, when they cohabit and live together. ... So therefore it means that in many ways we still need to work out our relationships with each other in ways that other families

have been able to do. [...] Certainly my parents completely invested in what their children were doing and defined themselves... In many ways they lived their lives through their children. Yet we all lived very separate existences, but there is a very strong sense of loyalty both healthy and unhealthy in many ways.

Likewise, Fawzi is very conscious of her place in the chain of historical events. The ways in which she has introduced herself to other people has varied along with the circumstances.

If the people in that part of the world where I was had no knowledge on the kind of diaspora colonialism created, I had to explain that I am part of that movement. The phrasing I used to use – I don't use it so often now – is to just simply call myself a second-generation East-African Asian.

You know, from the age of consciousness I always understood myself to have been somebody, a product of a historical process and that in many ways I am a very early and very thorough example of someone who was Anglicised.

Family in the British colonial project: schooling and the English language

In Fawzi's narrative, the process of Anglicization is central. It takes us back to how Fawzi grew up between families and nations. As was common among the educated classes in the British dominions of the 1950s and faced with the intransigence of racial segregation in the organisation of colonial education, the family's three children were sent to boarding school in England. While her two older siblings were already in boarding school, Fawzi at the age of two was sent to live with one of her maternal uncles, who had settled in Ireland, because her mother was hospitalized for an extended period in London. From Ireland Fawzi was sent to Britain to stay with a landlady. Between the ages of two and three, the ambitious lady, who was not happy with the child's Irish accent, forcefully turned Fawzi's English into a 'proper accent'. Her efforts were so thorough that Fawzi's mother did not recognize the accent when she returned home from hospital. Fawzi recounts:

What I remember of that experience is – I remember quite vividly. [...] Apparently what happened there was that the English I had been speaking in Ireland was not acceptable to those people. So they retrained me and kept focusing on my pronunciation to such a degree that by the time my mother came home from hospital I was speaking the kind of English I speak now, which was a total transformation from what she had seen before she went into hospital.

Fawzi looks back on that reunion as highly significant because she and her mother then returned to East Africa, whereas her older sister and brother remained in England at their boarding schools. The child had to cope with her new East African environment alone:

Apparently my reaction on going back to our home in Arusha which I did not remember was having to be told again and again by both my mother and my father that yes, this is really my home. There was no landlady who told me to be quiet. Yes, this was really my home, it was my very own. I could go anywhere in the house and no landlady was going to come and get me into trouble. And also apparently it took me some time to accept that this was my father, I simply did not recognise [him]. This all happened to me before the age of four.

At the age of six, Fawzi was also sent to boarding school. Despite the fact that for most of her childhood thereafter Fawzi was separated from her parents and her siblings, she holds a strong sense of her immediate family. To my question as to whether she was always clear about who her parents were, Fawzi replied:

As far as I know yes. Subsequently when I went off to boarding school at the age of six, there were times when I wasn't quite sure what my parents looked like other than from the photographs I had, and I could not remember what my mother sounded like.

Given the expense of international transport and communication during the 1950s and 1960s, sending children to school abroad meant that parents saw their children only during the longest school holidays during the European summer months, if that. Residence at foreign boarding schools created an enormous physical separation of children from their parents and also often created another world in the mind of the child. [...]

That family interlude was brief, however. From the day school in Arusha, Fawzi moved to a boarding school in Kenya because Kenyan schools were perceived to have higher academic standards that more closely approximated the public schools in England. The school where she spent five years turned out to be a grim experience as it also provided her first exposure to racism. She was the only coloured student and on completion of her schooling there she told her parents that she was unwilling to continue her education at white schools in Kenya.

Family members recount different versions of what happened thereafter and whether it was Fawzi's or her mother's idea for her to attend a girls' college in Pakistan. Whatever the case, the family agreed on the decision. There was

an additional benefit to Fawzi's schooling in Pakistan. It introduced her to the Pakistani branch of the extended family and gave her parents the opportunity for a family reunion. Her parents accompanied her to Pakistan to settle her in the new school and they toured the country visiting a number of relatives. Her father saw his sisters for the first time in 20 years.

At Kinnaird College in Lahore, Fawzi confronted another version of racial prejudice. Her classmates quickly classified her as a 'brown European'. However, the students' initial hostility towards her in Lahore soon melted and was transformed into acceptance because Fawzi excelled in the areas that the school held in high esteem. Her abilities in sport and her British accent, so painfully acquired, contributed to her acceptance and elevated her position among the students. However, she always had a sense of being considered a serious oddity, something she played upon at times. Her ability to imitate a cockney accent in a school play, which, in Fawzi's words, 'anybody who had spent some time in Britain could easily do', gave her a cachet all her own.

In the Anglicising environment of Kinnaird College, she was 'authentic' as someone who had actually lived in Britain. The British connection was to continue to help her in later life. As Fawzi herself jokes, her unflinching British accent was one of the factors that assisted her, when it came to the final choice, in being offered the position as a professor of English literature in New York City. [...]

After seven years at Kinnaird College and Punjab University, both Fawzi and Suleri moved to the US, where they lived together and studied English literature. Both subsequently became professors of English literature at different universities in the US.

Family – nation – state

Fawzi, the quintessential English speaker, carries a strong sense of being a Tanzanian, in defiance of her British colonial origins. She persistently defines herself as a Tanzanian, but has never carried a Tanzanian passport, nor has she lived in the country for longer than the one year that she spent at school in Arusha. She carried a Grade D British passport, which in the event of the war that separated Pakistan and Bangladesh in 1971, was not effectively recognized by the British authorities. After a number of years with a stateless status, she has recently become a US citizen. Fawzi relates:

The British have been issuing passports to people, different statuses given to people from different parts of the British dominions. And the gradations had to do with the limited rights of access you had. To work in Britain, abode in Britain and abode in former British colonies. The most troubled aspect of which has been both the status and non-

status given to British subjects of Asian descent in Africa and to British subjects of Chinese descent in Hong Kong, both of which applied to me. The last British passport I had when I got it renewed in the early 1990s was one that gave me the right of abode in Hong Kong. It made me Chinese in a sense and – my father was born in Hong Kong – so they were patrilineal in their definitions of who was who. And that was one of the reasons why I basically decided that I would become a US citizen [on the basis of long-term US residence]. And the reason was not only because of the anomalous status of my non-British status because travelling on the British passport was problematic in as much as some countries would not allow me entry... Nationality and citizenship have a very different meaning now than they had in the mid-twentieth century at the time of decolonization, so I have been able to circumnavigate many problems, even though I spent the bulk of my life in a stateless situation.

In Tanganyika, a marginalized part of the British colonial empire, Fawzi's mother, Sophia, took her sentiments further and actively engaged in Tanganyika's independence struggle against British colonial rule during the 1950s. Sophia joined the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the African nationalist party led by Julius Nyerere, touring the country in a rainbow coalition agitating for the cessation of British rule. After Nyerere became the first president of Tanzania at independence in 1961, Sophia was elected as a Member of Parliament and served in this capacity during the first years of independence. Visiting Tanzania during the school holidays, Fawzi became part of a family environment deeply devoted to the nationalist movement and the construction of the nation of the post-colonial era as indicated by her remark: "[B]y extension... as Sophia's children we felt that sort of political affiliation as well. There was a very sentimental kind of affiliation; it was something that you gave a lot of importance to, something you held on to."

There was a difference, however, between the children. While the two younger ones developed a strong sense of belonging to Tanzania, the eldest sister became more anchored in Kenya. For Fawzi, who spent a considerable portion of her youth in Pakistan, the identification with Tanzania remained strong:

When I went to Pakistan it complicated matters in many ways because I never felt a sense of belonging there. Even though this was culturally and in terms of the lineage of my parents where I was supposed to be from, I never felt a sense of closeness. In some ways I became even more aligned to the notion of being Tanzanian rather than being Indian or Pakistani.

In 1958, Sophia agreed to stand as an independent candidate, in the elections and won the Arusha Asian-reserved seat in the Legislative Council. In 1963, she became the first Asian Member of Parliament in independent Tanzania. In her work, she appealed to Asians to forget their various sects and communities and to consider themselves as Tanganyikans. [...]

Thus, Sophia became an active participant in the construction of the emerging nation of Tanganyika/Tanzania, whereas one of her brothers felt equally strongly about the making of the nation state of Pakistan. Both became deeply involved in the processes of decolonization and the struggle for political independence. One of the brothers became a committed Irish citizen, and the remaining two settled in England with their families. In the next generation, the two daughters and the son carried different passports: Kenyan, Tanzanian, British (different classifications), Canadian and American. Throughout these phases, the sense of a closely knit immediate family was never forsaken.

The intangibles of family unity

In the time span of three generations, the family that Fawzi belongs to has made several moves between Asia, Europe and Africa. Having arrived in Kenya as an outcome of labour migration within the British Empire, the family has dispersed in a variety of directions. Sophia's natal household with its five Nairobi-based children varied in its composition through fission and fusion over the years. After the death of her mother, it was Sophia who took on the mothering role *vis-à-vis* her younger brothers in the 1940s, when she was already married herself. Since then, the family members have crossed national boundaries and anchored themselves in their new countries so that a community has come about that is multi-sited and multinational. Despite the physical distance, there has been a very strong sense of familyhood or kinship, albeit not one shared by all family members. [...]

Nevertheless, the idea of a close connection between parents, children and grandchildren living far apart has required particular ways of working out the sense of intimacy and togetherness. Imaging and narrating have constructed a sense of a community that is both imagined and materialized through various practices, both as a presence and *in absentia*. A sense of togetherness is reproduced through correspondence, greetings and presents carried by visitors. It is anchored in photographs and objects that become talismans of home and belonging. For Fawzi, it was her mother's letters, the book written by her mother that mentioned the children by name, family photographs and the picture of Mount Meru in Tanzania. For her brother, it was the fruitcakes and *chevra* to be enjoyed at teatime as a reminder of the teatime as a family ritual, sent to him in Dar es Salaam, carefully packed in tin containers from Nairobi. For the mother, it was the ritualistic narration of the birth of each child on his or her birthday.

During the years at boarding schools the mother's letters arrived like clockwork, once a week, wherever the children were, creating a strong sense of family bonding. The mother conscientiously paid attention to each of the children by sending them individually addressed letters. And the mother kept the letters conscientiously as a way of maintaining the presence of her children even in their absence. That went on until their adult years so she kept all 52 of Fawzi's letters posted to her during Fawzi's 18-month stay in China. The practice of saving the letters has only disappeared with the availability of e-mail as Fawzi explains:

You know, a curious thing Ulla, not only has she kept many of my letters, if not all of them from the very first to the last, but a lot of my childhood memorabilia... What it tells me is the kind of battle my mother must have lived through being separated from her children, and how she found these ways to keep our presence around her. A lot of the stuff she has redistributed to each of us.

The story of the family also takes new twists and turns with the life paths of each generation. A careful mapping would be needed to illustrate the entire dynamics during different decades. Another dimension is created by centre staging Fawzi as the single professional living in New York – a single person who is not alone but is an integral part of a vibrant family network that meets whenever their paths physically intersect. In this sense, New York City is an ideal location for intersection. In New York, Fawzi has settled on her own and her apartment has become a central node in the family's transnational hospitality network. [...]

This open-door policy intersects with Fawzi's local neighbourhood network to create jumbled multi-ethnic encounters of goodwill and fun, as I personally experienced when I visited Fawzi in New York. I enjoyed Christmas lunch served by Fawzi's neighbours, a Guatemalan family, who opened their doors to a company of 'strangers' coming not only from Finland but from other distant places too. After lunch, we joined New Yorkers wandering around the huge Christmas tree (a Norwegian donation) in the Rockefeller Center where, according to tradition, it is customary to skate under the tree on Christmas Day. The surrounding neighbourhoods were filled with food and clothing vendors who were capitalizing on the presence of the crowd. 'If you look at people more closely', I was told, 'you will realise that most of them are newcomers to New York.' In contrast to the closed Finnish Christmas that I was accustomed to, strictly confined to the nuclear family in their homes, Christmas in New York City was outward-oriented and composed of an anomalous collection of people from different families, different ethnic, backgrounds, different religions all celebrating different meanings of togetherness on a national holiday.

Conclusion: transnational families in post-coloniality

I have related the story of Fawzi and her transnational family to explore transnational ways of living. The family is highly dispersed but has a unity of an imagined and real kind. What it shares amongst its members is both material and spiritual. The story is both of volatility of locations and of a historically changing nature of identification and nationality. The family map that would have only included India, Hong Kong, Kenya and Britain in the 1930s had extended to include various European and North American nodes by the 1980s. In the 1990s, none of the members of the immediate family, which had so closely identified with Tanzania's decolonization, actually resided in Tanzania. The presence of the family and kin in East Africa lasted only for two or at the most three generations, to ebb away completely by the end of the 1990s. This occurred to such an extent, that when Fawzi started planning a return to the area as a researcher, she turned to me as her 'closest relative' in terms of connections back in Tanzania. Once in Tanzania, she was warmly welcomed by former colleagues and friends of her brother. The colonial period provided particular conditions for transnational mobility. In post-independence Tanzania, the 'era of development' created another form of transnational encounter with development workers from a variety of nations entering a previously colonial space. This context provided me, as a Finnish national, with the opportunity to connect with, participate in and observe a whole set of contemporary transnational practices.

With hindsight, European colonialism appears as a historical moment of globalization. Robertson (1992) sees the colonial instigation of nation states and their national societies roughly a century ago as an aspect of globalization. This process involved the incorporation of a number of non-European societies into international society. It explains the highly stratified social impact of Europe's colonial empires. More to the point, Western Europe's colonial expansion created its own space for the movement of capital and people, centrally and forcefully governed from European metropolitan centres. Within this space, access to resources became dramatically split along class and racial lines. There were enormous physical movements of people within this colonial project related to labour recruitment for the construction of colonial economies. What was then an imperially generated spatial movement of people has continued to the present as a transformative cultural process. This is evident in the histories of families and communities and the ways in which their stories have continued to be elaborated.

Education and social skills associated with the British colonial empire have been a pillar in the construction of the *modus operandi* of Fawzi's family and countless other families in Asia and Africa that were incorporated into Europe's colonizing projects. Viswanathan (1992) has demonstrated how the

curriculum for the English language and the study of English literature were created in the process of establishing schools in Europe's colonies, both for the children of the colonizers and those of the colonized upper classes. Not only were the families of colonizers separated through the educational arrangements made for their children, but, as Fawzi's family demonstrates, the same applied to families in the colonies, who started sending their children to be educated in colonial centres. This was one aspect in the construction of transnational colonial elites. The role of boarding schools in training people to live apart from their families is an under-researched area. This separation did not occur only in terms of separating children from parents; it also uprooted children from the traditions of their parents. It is in this process that transnational elites have found a nurturing ground, different in spaces dominated by each of the metropolitan centres, be they British, French, Belgian or Portuguese. Pieterse and Parekh (1995) view this process as a contribution to the collective human repertoire for colonial rulers as well as select colonial subjects. But in the latter case, there were bound to be multiple loyalties and a need to become conscious of the colonial experience and the kind of complicity it involved. These are factors that have contributed to the making of Fawzi as an intellectual embracing post-colonial studies with a desire to critically examine and evaluate the story of colonialism.

Bourdieu's (1998) notion of *habitus* may be apt here to describe how particular people have held positions in a colonial space and how their *habitus* reflects this. In cultural terms, traces of their colonial history have symbolic manifestations such as the habit of having an English breakfast and afternoon tea with Kashmiri and Punjabi lunches and dinners in between. In the colonial legacy, the emphasis on elite school education, European language proficiency, a particular social etiquette and choice of sports, leadership skills and an engagement in local politics, in addition to family and kinship networks, metaphorically 'blood ties', contributes to the making of one form of transnational *habitus* found today. A diasporic space, to use the term by Brah (1996), was in fact created whereby the colonial encounter and its educational policies contributed to the making of a 'transnational elite' that came to share a similar education and a *habitus* that would make it easy to find common ground in the formerly colonial space.

Despite long physical separations and deep cultural ruptures, the dispersed family seems to be multi-centred: each new family creates its own sense of belonging and loyalties. Family members centre their stories with a different starting point and a different anchorage. What is striking in the case of Fawzi's family is the absence of a sense of family belonging to either a house or land. It seems that attachment to these was antithetical to the family's high level of mobility. A house was simply a dwelling at a particular time and place. It did

not carry any symbolic reference to one's origin. Nostalgic memory was not associated with a place of origin, but rather with a history of family and kin: their achievements, their foibles and their moments of bonding.

In Fawzi's family both multinational and transnational elements are salient. In her parents' generation, her mother and her uncles became anchored in different nation states and eventually began to carry different passports connected to different nations: in Fog-Olwig's (1997) words, they 'localized' differently. In her own generation, Fawzi and her two siblings have carried different passports at different periods of their lives. Their mobility continues to be prompted by professional and marital considerations, as in the colonial era when the family inhabited 'colonial space', defined to a large extent by colonial interests in recruiting educated and skilled employees to serve the needs of the colonial empire. For the aspiring elite, or the people with upwardly mobile interests, education became the most valuable symbolic and social capital, worth investing in even at the expense of home life and a family environment, which would see children grow up in its confines. As in the case of migrant families, family lore, exchange of correspondence, holidays and significant symbolic objects contributed to forging a sense of belonging and togetherness.

In conclusion, the kind of transnational family highlighted in this chapter can also be seen as a manifestation of the post-colonial problematic. The trajectories of the individual family members carry traces of colonialism and its undoing in their very lives. It could be said that the colonial and post-colonial experience is inscribed in their lives. Thus, the transnational family history manifests some of the futility of debates about the 'timing' of the post-colonial. It is the colonial project and its globalising dimensions that have enhanced the dispersal of the family over three generations.

The colonial project gave impetus to the making of imperial-cum-transnational elites with a wealth of symbolic capital, who experienced a relatively wide scope for transnational and cosmopolitan movement and lifestyle. However, personal and familial deprivations were inherent in the project in terms of long-term familial separation, a fact that seems to have been accepted more or less philosophically. There were both seductions and strictures.

Learning from the story of the family discussed here, one can observe that there are impacts and continuations of colonialism that cannot be reversed. Likewise, one can say of families, few return to their sites of family origin once the movement is under way. A return can be only thought of through imaginings and attachment to the histories and the social relations that have been part of such histories. In this sense, the transnational family is continually onward and outward bound, quite different from diasporic communities that instil social imperatives for going back to their places of origin. Diasporas of transnational families only refer to the dispersal, not to the idea of return.

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LAURA HUTTUNEN

THE NOTION OF HOME FOR A HESITANT BOSNIAN DIASPORA IN FINLAND¹

Introduction

This paper is an exploration of the radical and often violent transformations of 'homes' that followed the devastating war in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. This exploration is prompted by my puzzlement in front of the multitude of destroyed houses that I encountered during my first visit to Bosnia in 2001. According to one estimate 600 000 houses were destroyed during, or soon after, the war there. Since then a lot of those houses have been rebuilt: some of them are now permanently inhabited while others are regularly visited by their owners who live in diaspora around the world. How should we understand such dramatic transformations of houses, or homes?² This example allows us to think further the complexities of homes in diasporic situations

I have been doing (periodic) ethnographic fieldwork among Bosnians living in Finland since 2001. Practically all Bosnians in Finland came there as refugees during or soon after the war in Bosnia, and most of them are either Bosnian Muslims/ Bosniaks or with mixed background. They constitute a rather

¹ The first version of this article was presented at the 5th Conference of the European Sociological Association "Visions and Divisions", Helsinki, Finland, 28.8.-1.9.2001, in the session "From one culture to another: Life-stories of migrants". My research has been funded by the Finnish Academy, under the research programme "Marginalization, exclusion and ethnic relations". This is an abridged version of the article published as "Home' and ethnicity in the context of war: Hesitant diasporas of Bosnian refugees". *European Journal of Cultural Studies* vol. 8 (2), 2005, pp. 177–195.

² See Stefansson 2004 for an interesting discussion of homes in the context of refugees returning to Sarajevo. While Stefansson is depicting the lives of those Bosnians who have actually returned to Bosnia and his context is markedly urban, in this article I focus on rural contexts and the lives of those Bosnians who lead transnational lives. See also Jansen 2007 for a critical discussion of the foreign intervention in the context of refugee return. Jansen's arguments concerning the insecurities of life in post-war and post-socialist Bosnia-Herzegovina illuminate also the conditions of putative return discussed in this article.

small community, about 2000 people, dispersed to different localities in Finland. Even if there are also people with urban background, from Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla, the majority of Bosnians in Finland comes from countryside, from small villages or rural towns. Most of the Bosnians in Finland have permanent residence permits, which grant them most of the rights of full citizens. Only few of them have applied for Finnish citizenship (a fact probably tied to the unclear matter of dual citizenship in BiH) Despite their rather settled situation in their new host country, most Bosnians in Finland are engaged in different active transnational practises that maintain their relationship with Bosnia.

There are two different modes of conceptualizing homes in academic discourses: On the one hand there are essentializing discourses of rootedness, of interconnectedness of place, culture and belonging; on the other there is enthusiastic embracement of movement, mobility and transnational connectedness to the point of making rootedness pathological. I wish to negotiate between these two extremes in this paper in order to grasp some ambiguities of 'homes' for the exiled Bosnians.

There are also powerful political discourses that have worked to fix the Bosnian refugees' homes in certain locations: The Finnish integration policies concerning immigrants, exclusionary popular discourses in Finland (and elsewhere) as well as programmes for repatriating exiled people back to Bosnia all carry implication concerning the 'proper' home for Bosnians. I will look at the ways in which the Bosnian refugees themselves navigate between these discourses and practices produced by them.

We usually think that everybody has a home, or at least everybody should have a home, a specific point of anchorage in the world. However, there are some moments, some circumstances in peoples lives when 'homes' in their universalistic taken-for-grantedness, become problematized. These moments allow us to analyze more closely the complex social dynamics involved in the very creation, and maintenance, of homes.

Where is home, or what is home, in a situation where one's home is shattered by a violent war and one is forced to exile? In this article, I discuss meanings of 'home' in the lives of Bosnian refugees. Three dimensions, or tensions, around the concept of 'home' provide the framework for my discussion: firstly, 'home' refers simultaneously to private and public spaces; secondly, homes are (first of all) lived in mundane bodily practices, but they are also both emotionally and politically charged material for symbolic narratives of belonging; and thirdly, homes are traditionally understood to be fixed in space, while growing migration and mobility of people has problematized the very fixity of belonging. Finally, the deeply problematic nature of ethnicity in the Bosnian context touches on all these dimensions, and the discussion will bring out its ambivalent role in negotiating 'homes' in exile.

I will approach the question of 'home' in Bosnian refugees' lives by concentrating on life-stories written by two Bosnians living in Finland. One of the writers is male, the other a female. Both are of Muslim origin, both left Bosnia because of the war (1992-1995) and ended up as refugees in Finland. Both stories were written for a writing competition for immigrants in Finland in 1997³, and both were also published in Finland in an anthology of immigrant writing (Huttunen1999). This article is based on my more comprehensive research project on conceptions of home and belonging in these life stories by immigrants with different backgrounds (Huttunen 2002a). Here I concentrate on the Bosnian stories to bring out some specificities of the Bosnian case.

It is essential for my reading strategy to consider life-stories simultaneously as communication to other people and as spaces for self-reflection. Life-stories are texts produced in certain contexts and for certain (presumed) audiences. Writing is always an embodied, situated practice. These stories were written in Finland in the late 1990's, in a period of increasing immigration in a country with rather small immigrant population. But it is equally important to understand the aftermath of the violent war in Bosnia as providing a context for understanding these stories. In exile, narratives are viable spaces for creating continuity, for bridging ruptures in experience (cf. Eastmond 1996; see also Kaplan 1996). 'Homes' are lived and experienced, but, especially in moments of rupture, they are also narrated and (re)negotiated in language and storytelling. I do not read the stories as more or less accurate accounts of past events in the protagonists' lives. Rather, I read these stories as spaces where problemitized homes and identities are made sense of between two geographic places, Finland and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Within the stories the protagonists are seeking for a narrative form that would organize their memories in a meaningful way. Simultaneously the narratives enable them to negotiate their position as refugees within the transnational space.

According to popular explanations, warfare in ex-Yugoslavia was caused by 'ancient' tribal-like hatred between ethnic groups or nationalities. This hatred had been suppressed by socialist party rule, and especially by the unifying

³ The competition was organized by the Department of Sociology and Social Psychology at Tampere University, in collaboration with The Finnish Literature Society and the Advisory Board for Refugee and Migration Affairs. The writers were asked to tell about their own lives, both before moving to Finland and after it. They were encouraged to write about whatever the writers themselves found important or worth telling. The competition was open to all immigrants living in Finland regardless of their country of origin or reason for immigration. The result was 72 stories, written by writers with 25 different national backgrounds. Five writers come from Bosnia.

I have dealt with the body of stories as a whole elsewhere (Huttunen 2002a)

power of Tito's popularity. The death of Tito and subsequent end of socialist system removed all constraints on ethno-nationalism, the explanation goes.⁴

During the dissolution of Yugoslavia, ethnicity gained undoubtedly new and highly politicized meanings, although the processes involved are much more complex than the model outlined above leads us to think (see e.g. Verdery 1993; Halpern & Kideckel 2000). When exploring meanings of home in these stories I will pay special attention to the ways in which ethnicity is understood by these writers. I will ask how does ethnicity, or ethnic division, figure in these writers' conception of homes, or more precisely, of good homes.

'Home' as a space, home as narration

'Home' as a word or concept carries multiple simultaneous connotations. It refers to two directions: On the one hand, it refers to the private realm, to 'home' as a house or an apartment, as the space of intimacy, shelter and family life. On the other hand we talk about 'home country' and 'native place' – that is, public spaces marked by politically loaded questions of belonging. In the latter sense, it invites questions of roots, of coming from somewhere, of memory connected to certain places. As a word, home is emotionally loaded, and thus also easily manipulated for political ends. To be 'at home' refers to bodily experience of a place and a space. It connotes bodily feelings of familiarity in a climate and a landscape (cf. Brah 1996:2; Ahmed 1999:341), but homes are also created and sustained by narratives: this is where I come from, or my people come from (Ahmed 1999, 342-344).

Mary Douglas (1991) has suggested that a space is turned into 'home' by bringing it under control. Thus, whatever house or shelter is not home. And conversely, a house or apartment loses its essential qualities as home when control over its boundaries and entrances is lost. The stories discussed in this article will explore this point further.

Home as a private space is necessarily in relation to public spaces. 'Home' in its public sense is clearly politicised in discussions on immigration: Who may claim a country as his or her home country? Who is entitled to political and social rights? Public spaces are organized according to different regimes of power, and accordingly it is easier for some to be 'at home' in those spaces than for others – that is, to exercise control, at least to some degree, over their relationship to that space (cf. Huttunen 2002a). In migration studies, the immigrants' problematic relationship to public space in the new country of settlement is often discussed. Both institutional control of entrance and residence permits, and classificatory

⁴ For a thorough critique of the 'ancient hatred' explanation in the Balkans, see Verdery 1993; for the complexities in ex-Yugoslavia, see Halpern & Kideckel 2000; for an ethnographic account of ethnic relations in pre-war Bosnia, see Bringa 1995.

power at work in everyday encounters produces divisions to 'us' and 'them' that regulate life in public space (e.g. Metcalf 1996). Those visibly different are often reminded that they do not belong, or belong to a lesser degree (cf. Yue 2000). I will suggest, however, that especially when talking about refugees, it is equally important to analyze the often problematic relationship to the public space in refugees' country of origin. I will suggest that when one can no longer feel 'at home' in public places in one's country of origin, one is very likely to choose exile, in order to find other, more safe public spaces.

Recent theorizing on diasporas and transnationality (e.g. Cohen 1997; Wahlbeck 1999; Ong 1999; Bryceson & Vuorela 2002) has sensitized us to the complexity of 'homes' in today's world characterized by different mobilities (cf. Urry 1999). This line of research has de-essentialized the concept of home by showing quite convincingly that for many migratory people there are many points of reference in the global space. Homes are negotiated between constraints and possibilities connected to different locations. Homes are not necessarily either here or there, but rather in many locations simultaneously.

Time makes the concept of home dynamic: past homes are not necessarily the same as home in the present, or home imagined for the future. At the moment of exile home as the site of everyday life, as the space of taken-for-granted repetitiveness (Hannerz 1996:25-28) is necessarily questioned. Immigrants have to negotiate a relationship to their new countries of settlement, but at the same time, relationship to the past, and to the country of origin is renegotiated. Past is given meaning in the context of present.

However, as Liisa Malkki (1997) has pointed out, there is no such thing as a universal refugee experience, (or universal immigrant experience). Becoming and being a refugee is always embedded in local social and political relations, and made sense of within cultural and political frameworks provided by each context. Thus, my aim in discussing the ways in which Bosnian refugees negotiate home and belonging in late 1990's is not to find universal patterns of refugee settlement, but rather to highlight the dynamic nature of such negotiations, as well as to show the interconnectedness of different aspects of belonging.

Bosnia before the war: home remembered

I have chosen two stories to be discussed more closely here. One is written by a woman called Jasminka⁵. She was born in Banja Luka, in the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina in former Yugoslavia in 1959. She studied law there and spent her life in her natal city until 1995, when she was forced to emigrate by Serbian troops occupying the city. The other story is written by a young man called Esad. He was born in a small town near Prijedor, also in the state of Bosnia-

⁵ Both names are pseudonyms.

Herzegovina of ex-Yugoslavia in 1973. Together their stories highlight the tensions and possibilities of negotiating home in a situation of exile, as well as some particularities of the Bosnian case. My aim is to trace the shifting meanings of home in these two stories and how experiences of the war are implicated in the process of negotiating the meanings.

In both stories the war in Bosnia is the central organizing element around which the overall architecture of the story is built. The time of narration is divided between time before the war and time after the war⁶. Both Jasminka and Esad remember Bosnia before the war as a good home, in many senses of the word. In both, the landscape is described in detail, by invoking bodily sensations of inhabiting the familiar space. The physical landscape is shared with other people: social dimensions of home are closely intertwined with the physical and sensuous.

Social and sensational are closely intertwined in the experience of inhabiting space. Together they produce vivid feeling of being at home. Jasminka includes even cooking recipes in her telling: when writing her story in exile in Finland, it is exactly the mundane details of everyday life, the taken-for-granted nature of life that she misses, besides the dense and caring social network. Food conveys the very corporeal dimension of being at home; the same kind of food cooked in every apartment of the house makes visible (and smellable!) the shared substance of everyday life. And it is shared across ethnic divisions, or, one could say, the very act of sharing dissolves such divisions, renders them non-visible or non-existent. It is worth noticing that no-one's ethnic affiliation is even mentioned here⁷. Later in the story such divisions will be re-activated and re-seen, but at this moment, in this memory, they are not there. Esad opens his story by remembering a special event, the building of his family's house in a small rural town in Bosnia:

Did I wake up because the birds were singing, the clock ticking, because there were sounds coming from outside, because of the smell of the trees, the spring, the sound of cups and plates in the kitchen, or because of something else... I got up and went out. There were a lot of people there, and more were coming. Then I remembered that we would continue to build our new house. Our relatives and

⁶ Marita Eastmond (1996) suggests that immigrants' life-stories are usually divided to time before the exile and time after it. In these Bosnian stories, however, the war is the great event dividing time. Exile is seen rather as a consequence of the war.

⁷ During my ongoing ethnographic research among Bosnian refugees living in Finland my informants with urban background in Bosnia have told me over and over again that in Yugoslav times in urban areas ethnic divisions were losing their significance in everyday interaction. See also footnote 9.

neighbours helped, as always. Everybody was able to do something, but there were also professionals, and they were acting as bosses. In that way we did not need to hire anybody [...]⁸

This memory tells about building a home in a very concrete sense. In rural Bosnia, family houses gained special meanings as the embodiments of family's wealth and prestige, and as visible signs of common effort⁹ (see Bringa 1995, 65-73 & 85-91). Again, social and sensational are inseparably intertwined in memories of life in pre-war Bosnia. Within the frame of the whole story it is especially important to notice that the home is being built together with friends and neighbours. Again, no ethnic or national divisions are depicted¹⁰. As I will argue below, the war will change the way Esad understands this memory. But the memory is there to be told, the memory of happy childhood, of being at home in both the social and sensual landscape, with no doubts about the sincerity of the social relations.

Jasminka is the older one of these two writers. She reached adulthood well before the war broke out. In her story, happiness and harmony are not confined to childhood. Large part of her story describes her life as a lawyer and as a member of her family and community. Different roles of adult life, those of a professional, a mother and a friend are interwoven to produce a tapestry of a life of fulfilment.

During our half an hour lunch break we used to go to the nearest café, Tango, where all the waiters knew us and they knew the kind of coffee each one would drink, cappuccino or ordinary. We had always nice time together and we enjoyed being together, because we knew that we belonged somewhere, we knew the waiters and the people who came to the café, we simply felt at home.

Being part of a community is the aspect of life that is intensively missed here. The café is a symbol of friendship and community. Again, no national or ethnic divisions figure in the description of the community in pre-war Bosnia.

These stories were written in Finland, in exile, and the time before the war is given meaning from the perspective of the present. On one level, the loving descriptions of Bosnian landscapes may be seen as simply nostalgia

⁸ Both stories were originally written in Bosnian/ Serbo-Croatian. They were translated to Finnish by Eeva-Kaarina Belaic. The extracts here are translated from Finnish by the author.

⁹ Burning the houses of other ethnic groups during the war was part of the ethnicized logics of warfare during the Bosnian war.

¹⁰ According to pre-war social research, in rural Bosnia, intermarriage was less common than in urban areas, and people were more aware of belonging to different ethnic communities than in urban areas, see e.g. Bringa 1995; also Botev 2000. However, the writer of this story does not depict the childhood community in ethnic terms.

for lost childhood, or times past. Many of us may look at our childhood and youth with certain amount of nostalgia¹¹, and exile certainly accentuates the nostalgia.

The extracts above resonate with Avtar Brah's formulation of home as 'the lived experience of locality, its sounds and smells' (Brah 1996:192). Sara Ahmed has extended the idea of bodily inhabiting of locality: in her formulation the subject and the environment 'leak into each other' (1999:341). Being at home means bodily sensations of being in an environment that feels familiar, the senses being intruded by homely sensations. Migration to a new environment means, in this respect, strange bodily sensations, bodily discomfort. As Ahmed formulates it: moving to a new place is often felt through surprises in sensation, as well as 'the intrusion of an unexpected space into the body' (1999:342). Both Esad and Jasminka write their stories rather soon after moving to Finland: it is easy to understand their nostalgia for the sensual landscape in the situation of 'bodily alienation'.

But in these stories moments of nostalgic remembering are framed in stories of political upheavals and radical disruptions. They are loaded with specific meanings in the process of renegotiating home. Elsewhere (Huttunen 2000, 2002) I have argued that in life-stories written by refugees with experiences of torture and imprisonment in their countries of origin, the social and sensuous landscapes of them are often overshadowed by memories of suffering. There is no nostalgia for the original home countries in those stories, they are not remembered as homes. Thus, I suggest that nostalgia for childhood landscapes is not universal. The fact that the horrors of the war have not destroyed these good memories in Esad's and Jasminka's stories, the fact that Bosnia may still be remembered as a good home, makes it possible for them to create diasporic identities in the future.

But, of course, the nostalgic remembering of the past has to be understood in relation to subsequent experiences of war. One may argue that remembering the pre-war period as markedly harmonious is itself an outcome of living through the violence of the war. Memory is an effective tool in assessing the present, or, to look at the matter the other way round, different experiences in the present produce different ways of remembering of the past (cf. Malkki 1995; Ganguly 1992). But I wish to pinpoint here that remembering the pre-war period as devoid of ethnic conflict is a way of criticizing the ethnicized logic of the Bosnian war, rather than simple nostalgia for the past.

¹¹ Anni Vilkkko, a Finnish scholar working on Finnish autobiographical texts has suggested that the landscapes of childhood are more intensively remembered and described than landscapes of later life by most writers, see Vilkkko 1998.

Politicised home – problematized home

Ethno-nationalism, as an ideology or form of political organization, figures in neither story in pre-1990's Bosnia to any significant extent. Instead it is 'politics' as a top-to-bottom mode of exercising power that enters the stories as a violent force capable of shattering and destroying the harmonious world of earlier memories. In Esad's story, Tito's death is the turning point from harmoniou community towards the horrors of the war. Suddenly there is a division to 'us' and 'them', to 'the Serbs' and others in the story. Esad does not 'remember' the working of nationalistic politics; there are no personal memories of it at this point. He rather assumes afterwards that it has been there, working behind the backs of Bosnian (non-Serb) people. In his personal memories, life goes on as usual:

I went to school, my father worked and life went on as normal. [...] I thought that I was still living in a brotherly solidarity, and that there was a feeling of belonging together, in which nobody wanted to hurt others because of ethnic background. [...] I went to school, and there were no troubles regarding the nationality question. In my class there were people with different national backgrounds as there had always been.

At the moment of writing Esad has lived through the brutal violence of the war in Bosnia. During the war former neighbours and friends were pitted against one another, across ethnically demarcated fault lines. These experiences make him perplexed over the interpretation of his own memories: he seems to hesitate whether to regard the 'brotherly solidarity' that characterized the years of his boyhood as real or illusory. There is a certain dissonance between his memories of different groups living together on the one hand, and later memories of violence on the other. This dissonance, or hesitation, remains unsolved in Esad's story. The ways in which he, and other Bosnians, will be able to work out solutions for this dissonance will have crucial repercussions for the question of 'home'. Are there any possibilities of returning to the harmony remembered? Is the harmony remembered only illusion, or was there, at some time, really brotherly solidarity, and real home in Bosnia? Can Bosnia be a real home once again in the future?

Both writers seem to hesitate whom to blame for the outbreak of the war and the destruction of the harmonious community. Jasminka names 'the politicians' as the villains; Esad blames 'the Serbs'. But after naming the Serbs as the initiators, he bursts into bewildered questioning: they used to have Serbian friends and Serbian godparents in his family (see below), how is this division possible? Why did it produce the brutality of warfare? In a closer look, it is Serbs engulfed in nationalistic politics that become dangerous for the whole community and its future, not Serbs as such.

To begin with, ethnic divisions are not lived in the daily lives of the communities described. Both writers interpret the divisions to be produced by malevolent (ethno-nationalistic) politicians. When home becomes politicised in ethnic or nationalistic terms, it becomes also seriously problematized as a home. It turns into a home not really feeling like home any more. Essential characteristics of 'homes' are lost, especially feelings of security and togetherness. Both writers yearn for the time when it was possible to live ordinary lives without the interference of politics¹².

The war: broken homes, political testimonies

In both stories the outbreak of the war is the turning point around which the overall architecture of the stories is organized. Both remember and thickly describe the moment when they realize the inescapability of the war, its actual presence and reality in their own lives. In Esad's story, the war approaches gradually but steadily:

Slovenia wanted even more independence and a war broke out. We watch the TV, but we cannot believe that there is war in the country where we live¹³. Until that time we had followed war in the Middle East and Iraq, and it was very distant from us and we could not believe that there would be war in our country as well. [...] I sat in the garden and listened to the sound of the canons that could be heard from Croatia, from the other side of the Kozarac-mountains. Now it is very near, the war is no longer in the Middle East nor anywhere else; the war is coming exactly here. It was impossible to believe it, that the war was coming to us, why, we had never quarrelled with the Serbs, we had Serbian friends and godparents in our families on both sides. [...] Those who came with the weapons were shooting in the air, electric lines were often cut. They sat on the top of tanks and held three fingers erect, which is the Serbian emblem, and they shouted: 'This will all be Serbia!' There were banners stuck to the tanks: 'This is Serbia, Turks (it meant us Bosnians) go to Turkey, Catholics go to Vatican!'

¹² This resonates interestingly with David Campbell's (1999) suggestion that the partition of Bosnia with the Dayton agreement to ethnically marked territories is supported by nationalistically minded Bosnian politicians but opposed by perhaps the majority of 'ordinary' people. Cf. also Bringa 1995.

¹³ It is interesting to note that here 'the country where we live in' refers to Yugoslavia, whereas later in his story Esad will talk about Bosnia as his country of origin or home country. This slide in naming makes visible how profoundly the war and the dissolution of Yugoslavia changed the system of co-ordinates for making sense of the world for these people.

Esad remembers, with disbelief, how the war intruded the familiar landscape and changed it to a place of fear and violence. Hatred is ascribed to the intruding military. This is the first actually 'remembered' incident in Esad's narrative when the ethnic division is explicitly acted out. It is important to notify here that the violently exclusive interpretation of ethnic divisions is brought to the community from outside; according to Esad it does not grow organically from the life of the local community. The language of ethnic divisions was there before the war, but the violent interpretation was not. Another point worth paying attention to here is the practice of othering through naming: the Serbs entering Bosnia call the local Muslims 'Turks' thus indicating that they do not belong to the local landscape, that they are 'from somewhere else'. This reflects the changing dynamics of ethnic nationalism in the Balkans: whereas the 19th century Serbian and Croatian nationalists argued vehemently over the question whether the Bosnian Muslims should be regarded as Serbs or Croats who had converted into Islam during the Ottoman era (see e.g. Donia & Fine 1994), in the 1990's the Muslims were increasingly called 'Turks' by extreme nationalists. Late 20th century nationalism in the Balkans turned to increasingly exclusive and violent forms.

Here personal and political are inseparably intertwined; the intimate space of family life is intruded and shattered by the political. Troubles in public 'home' leak into private sphere, and good life or good homes become impossible. In both stories the war makes the familiar landscape strange, threatening, dangerous, marked by violence. In Esad's story, his hometown is literally occupied the Serbs:

One morning in April the roadblocks, sand bags and machine guns were there. The police were Serbs, other policemen had better not to enter the building. Groups carrying arms patrolled the town and they checked all passers-by. The local radio station declared that from that day on the place was the Serbian municipality of Prijedor. All the Bosnians and Croatians were sent home from work. The Serbs took their place, it did not matter if they were not competent for the work, the most important thing was that they were loyal to the Serbs. Then the attacks to Kozarac began.

At this point Esad's story turns into a stream of anecdotal accounts of atrocities committed by the Serbs. The personal dimension of telling a life-story is suspended for a while; instead of his own memories he carefully reports things that happened to other people. His story turns into a testimony of violence and injustice committed against Bosnian Muslims during the war. His own personal memories link up with this attempt to tell a version of the history of the war. The personal feeds into the public and political.

In Esad's story, the public space is appropriated by hostile Serbs and turned into an arena of extreme violence. In Jasminka's story, home as private space of shelter and intimacy becomes severely threatened:

March 1994 brought new traumas to my family. One evening three soldiers came to our apartment. They threatened us by saying that the apartment should be empty within three days, so that one of their soldiers could move in. After this incident phone calls with threats and insults continued, but we stayed in the apartment until July. But after the incident I could not sleep peacefully any more. Every sound, such as the ringing of the phone would wake me up, as well as somebody talking a little bit louder in the corridor or outside the window [...].

The boundaries of home as the area of the private cannot be controlled any more. Fear enters Jasminka's own body. The boundary between public and private is leaking, and both spaces are infused with threat of violence and loss of control over one's fate. At this point, also the boundaries of one's own body become vulnerable.

Some differences between these two stories can be explained by the protagonists' different places of residence: in the countryside of northern and eastern Bosnia there was severe fighting, whereas in the cities, such as Banja Luka, Jasminka's hometown, the actual warfare was more distant, but its effects were felt in other ways. In both stories, however, the familiar landscape becomes hostile and alien. The working of nationalistic politics breaks 'homes': neither the public social landscape nor the privacy of one's apartment can provide a feeling of being at home any more.

Exile: hesitant diasporas

As I suggest above, in both stories the war and events leading to it change the writers' relationship to Bosnia as home. Leaving the country and becoming a refugee is a final step in the gradual process whereby the social and sensual landscape that was lived as home turns into a hostile and threatening place. Bosnia cannot be lived as a good home anymore.

But as theorizing on diasporas and transnationalism as well as ethnographic evidence suggest, many migrant groups retain both symbolic and practical relationships to their countries of origin. Especially diasporic social organization means strong orientation towards the country of origin (Saffran 1991; Wahlbeck 1999): it is regarded as the 'true' home, towards which political and/ or economic activities are often directed. The hope of return dominates the lives of diasporic groups and individuals, but sometimes diasporic organization or orientation gives way to more open transnational practices in the lives of groups and individuals (Ong 1999; Bryceson & Vuorela 2002).

Both Jasminka's and Esad's stories were written rather soon after their arrival in Finland. It is impossible to say what kinds of relationships they, or the exiled Bosnians in general, will develop to the new state of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the one hand, and to their new countries of settlement on the other. My aim here, instead of finding 'final' answers, is to trace some hints and possibilities of future homes in these stories.

Above I cited Esad's memory of building the family house – that is, home in its concrete sense – in Bosnia. The whole project of building a house needs to be thoroughly re-interpreted at the time of writing, after the experiences of the war and exile:

The Finns want to be independent, they are not attached to their relatives the way we are. They travel a lot, both in Finland and abroad, and that is good. Our whole lives we kept building our house and gathered things there, and now we don't have anything left. I have understood that a human being can carry with him only knowledge, only what he has learned and what he has inside his head, that is something nobody can take away from him.

Esad seems to suggest that too strong an attachment to a place makes one vulnerable in a world torn by nationalistic policies and power politics. Some kind of cosmopolitan orientation (cf. Hannerz 1996:102-111) would be a solution, a viable identity in the modern world.

Thus, is Esad's story, home in the past was unquestionably in Bosnia. It is not clear, however, whether it is possible to imagine home there in the future as well, or whether he should find means to make a home for himself elsewhere. Throughout his story, there runs the theme of Islam becoming more important in his personal life, as well as in the lives of Bosnian Muslims in general. The theme figures interestingly in the closing paragraph of his story:

Despite everything Bosnia is a mother to whom the nation wants to return from all corners of the world, and the country will receive every conscientious citizen. [...] Despite everything, some people have returned also from Finland. We are what we are, Bosnian Muslims, that we cannot change, and do not want to change. And here, where there is no sun during the winter, I can still feel its warmth on my face as I turn to the East to pray.

Earlier in his story Esad used exactly the same words for describing bodily sentiments during prayer in Bosnia: now that feeling is transferred across geographical distance and relived in the bodily practices of prayer. There is a hesitation between nationalistic discourse and a more transnationally oriented

one in the paragraph. Home produced by the politicised national identity is fixed in geography, while the bodily practices of Islam can produce home wherever one is (cf. Metcalf 1996). The latter option suggests that future home could be in Finland as well. The idea of Bosnia as a 'true' home is strongly present in the narration, as well as deliberation of possibilities of return. But Islam as a means of producing 'home' wherever one is complicates the picture: 'home' is not geographically fixed in that case. One could also argue that in exile ethnicity becomes a compelling discourse for talking about identity in a new way: it is through ethnicity that Esad is able to talk about his relationship to Bosnia while living in Finland.

But neither identities nor 'homes' are something that people create and choose in isolation, solely within their minds. The way in which Esad, and others in similar situations, will solve their hesitations about identity and possible future homes depends on developments both in Bosnia and in Finland (and other countries of settlement). Possibilities of life as an immigrant in Finnish society on the one hand, and the political and social developments in Bosnia¹⁴ on the other will open or close both symbolic and practical options in the future.

Jasminka does not embrace the nationalistic discourse to the extent that Esad does. In her story, everyday life with dense social networks and fulfilling social roles created good home in Bosnia. Exile destroys home in this sense; it is described as the death of the former social self. New life in Finland is estimated primarily in the light of social relationships:

I can feel Sandra's [her daughter] warm hand as she wipes my tears. Not everything is lost. Life goes on, because I do have something for which to live. How difficult it must be to recover for those people who lost somebody very dear to them during this war, or many dear ones, and still they have to live on. When I think about them my own sorrow feels tiny. [...] Since January 1997 I have lived in Finland. The family is together again. I speak with my brother in the phone rather often, last summer we met. I study Swedish¹⁵, Sandra is happy and so are my parents. How is my life now? I will think about it tomorrow.

¹⁴ The political and economic situation in the new state of Bosnia-Herzegovina was rather unsettled at the time these stories were written, and remains so to a considerable extent even today. The unstable political situation as well as the continuous division of Bosnia to the Serb-dominated part (Republika Srpska) and the so-called Federal part plays a crucial role when possibilities of return are discussed within the refugee community, Huttunen 2002b. About the division of Bosnia, see Campbell 1999.

¹⁵ Some areas in Finland are heavily Swedish speaking, and in those areas also immigrants learn Swedish instead of Finnish.

There is a possibility that the social self and social networks might be rebuilt in Finland. In that case, Finland might become a new home. Family, rather than ethnicity, provides a point of anchorage. At the moment of writing her story Jasminka has lived in Finland only for a couple of months: her relationship to the Finnish (social and sensuous) landscape is necessarily very different from the one she has to Bosnian landscape. She closes her story with explicit openness: only time will show what will happen to her relationship to both Bosnia and Finland, including social networks and the embodied experience of living in a place. All the possibilities are there.

Concluding remarks: Diaspora's divided homes

'Home' in these stories is negotiated between embodied experiences, social networks, and politicised and narrativized identities. Embodied experience is appropriated in narration as an element in the process of negotiation. Past home is unquestionably in Bosnia in both stories, but future home remains open. Of course, as research employing the concepts diaspora and transnationalism has suggested, it is possible to have 'homely' relationships with more than one place. I call the orientation of these writers 'hesitant diasporas': there is a hesitation as to where to imagine home in the future and how to orient oneself in the diasporic space. The outcome of such hesitation is dependent on dynamic, changing situations in both ends of the diasporic space, Finland and Bosnia.

I suggest that there is an intimate connection between home as a private space and 'being at home' in public space ordered by political discourses and national(istic) regimes. When the political forcefully intrudes the private, one's relationship to the public is profoundly changed. Home as the place of intimacy characterized by feelings of security becomes insecure, and finally impossible, in a hostile and violent public landscape.

Another aspect of 'hesitant diasporas' opens up the question of presumed audiences of these stories. One may argue that these stories talk to two directions simultaneously. When these stories are told to the Finns, they participate in discussion in Finland about immigration, about 'genuine' and 'false' refugees, and about the protagonists' (and other Bosnians') position in Finland. These stories argue very strongly that the Bosnians did have compelling reasons to leave their country of origin and to become refugees.

But at the same time these stories participate in the struggle over the 'truth' of the war in Bosnia. They were written at a time when there is an ongoing battle over what 'really' happened during the war. The War Crimes Tribunal in Hague is an institutionalised version of this battle. At the same time it is fought also in media, in books by journalists who were in ex-Yugoslavia during its dissolution and the subsequent wars (see e.g. Maass 1996; Rieff

1995), as well as around kitchen tables of ex-Yugoslavians both back in the Balkans and in diaspora around the world. The 'truth' over the war is closely connected to competing explanations over the dissolution of Yugoslavia. These stories by Bosnian refugees do not by any means support the 'ancient hatred' explanation, according to which the Balkan societies are composed of tribal-like ethnic groups whose members have hated each other from the times immemorial. Rather, these stories support Verdery's (1993) claim that ethnicity and nationalism, as they are currently manifest in former socialist countries, are very much post-socialist phenomena, reactions to insecurities produced by the collapse of the socialist system (see also Verdery 1999). In the stories I have analysed here, violence does not grow from the lives of ethnically mixed communities. Rather, it is brought to the communities by politicised discourses that interpret the language of ethnicity in extremely violent and exclusive ways, and by actors who take on such discourses.

That fact that Bosnia is remembered as a good home allows its continuous role as the point of anchorage in Bosnian diaspora. What is important to notice here, however, is that struggle over history is not only about the past, but also about the future (cf. McClintock 1995:328). These stories participate in a struggle over the kinds of interpretation of history on which the future Bosnian society will be built. The deep morality of Bosnian society is at stake here. Whether the hesitant diasporic orientation will materialize in actual return movement depends very much on the outcomes of such struggles.

Finally, by telling about suffering and loss these writers are inviting the readers (with any ethnic background) to share their pain. Veena Das (1995) has suggested that by sharing pain we create communities. In this way, these writers are making an effort to create a community across ethnic and national divisions. In these stories, it is exactly the politicising of such divisions that brings along suffering and destruction of (material and symbolic) homes.

Many Bosnians in post-war diaspora have established a way of living, in one way or another, in relation to two (or sometimes more) important places, e.g. Finland and Bosnia. How should one decipher the relationship between 'homes' and 'houses' in their lives?

Houses, or more typically apartments in Finland (and other new countries of settlement in diaspora) have become homes in the sense of being the principal sites of everyday life; that is, the principal sites of daily social and material reproduction. Finland as a public home space may provide certain 'homely' dimensions of security that are lacking in present-day Bosnia, such as access to healthcare, good opportunities to obtain education for children and basic economic security through the welfare state. Especially women from rural areas emphasize the importance of such practical matters when

making the decision between staying and leaving, whereas men tend to yearn more for their lost status in pre-war communities in Bosnia.¹⁶ Of course, living up to 14 years in Finland has created also other relationships to the country that may produce feelings of being at home.

Relationships with Bosnia, however, have other 'homely' dimensions. Bosnia is, quite naturally, for many a remembered 'true' home, a site of important memories and lived belonging to a community that is now dispersed¹⁷. Experiences of strangeness, exclusion or failure in the new country of settlement are assessed in relation to the (often nostalgic) memories of life in communities in pre-war Bosnia. The physical houses are important as concrete points of anchorage to that community, and hence it is important to reconstruct them. To a large extent, private houses gain their meaning from their relationship to the public and shared.

Reconstructing the former family house back in Bosnia has become an important way to regain one's position within the dispersed local community that gathers there during holiday periods. Especially men seem to invest symbolically in the process of reconstruction in order to regain their status in the local community. For many it is also the first step in the putative future return. The act of rebuilding there has also a political meaning: it is an act of countering the logics of ethnic cleansing, of writing oneself back into the public sphere and the landscape in the previous home tract and homeland. The newly built houses are often bigger and more conspicuous than the pre-war ones. In Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones' words, "houses serve as much to reveal and display as they do to hide and protect" (1995:2). These houses lost their capacity to hide and protect – now they are put to serve the other function, to show and reveal. They are showing to the neighbours the material success of the owner, and to the 'enemy' that the politics of ethnic cleansing did not work, that the house owner's group is not destroyed or wiped out of the landscape. Physical houses in Bosnia are also centres or nodal points for the social 'houses' or family groupings dispersed by the war; concrete spaces where dispersed families come together from different corners of the diaspora.

Diasporic living means that there is no single unambiguous home, but rather, several places that carry some dimensions of home. Individuals and groups are negotiating for the best possible homes for themselves and their families in the insecurities of diasporic life. As people who have once lost everything – their houses, their positions in local communities and often also their loved ones – the knowledge of that insecurity is very personal and deeply-

¹⁶ Among the Bosnians that I have interviewed, urban women with good education and professional history in Yugoslavia mourn their lost positions as much as men do.

¹⁷ Huttunen 2005 & 1997.

rooted. Individuals' aspirations for good homes are embedded in public spaces where the right to 'be at home' may be contested by others – such contestations ranging from the violence of ethnic cleansing to mundane acts of exclusion in the new countries of settlement.

Physical houses have been important tools in negotiations over the location of Bosnian refugees' homes. The perpetrators of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia during the war wished to destroy their homes there, while certain agents who fund repatriation programmes have wished to fix their homes back into that landscape. Bosnian refugees themselves seek a space for negotiating the best possible homes within the diasporic space, which seems to mean for many, at least for the time being, dividing home between two (or more) places.

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Comment:**Elissa Helms***On Ulla's paper:*

It seems like what we are talking about here is the very important role of states and legal categories that they put into place – are you allowed to have dual citizenship or are you allowed to vote? etc. But it is also a very profoundly gendered question because very often you can look at the laws on marriage and who can be counted as a citizen, and men and women are treated differently. Also when you bring up Croats and Bosnians, a lot of women want to have Croatian citizenship or they go to Croatia to give birth to their children, not only so that the child will have Croatian citizenship too but to take advantage of higher maternity leave payments or medical services that are just better in Croatia than in Bosnia. I'd like to know more about some of the ways in which these phenomena are gendered. I also think it will be interesting to delve a little bit more into the changing notions of family, also in the eyes of states and how that changes people's strategic plans in terms of who goes where and who should have what citizenship and physically be in what place. Ulla's reminding us of Empire, how this has actually been going on. This is not a rare phenomenon or one brought on only by recent globalization. Families have been stretching themselves across the Earth for a very long time ... and that actually coming to this idea of the nation-state, that connecting ethnic identifications to national identities has been relatively recent. But I think it might be useful to look at other sorts of imperial configurations. You mentioned the Austro-Hungarian Empire; when you start looking at it, yes, there has been lots of moving around, reconfigurations of identities and you could partly mention surnames, you can trace it that way. But we could also look at the Soviet Union as a quasi-imperial entity and the nodes of power, everything centred on Moscow for example, or wherever they are looking to as metropolitan and how that might be changing. And we could also look at the Non-Aligned Movement which provided opportunities for mobility – people from those countries came to study in Yugoslavia and Yugoslavs went to lots of other countries under those auspices.

On Laura's paper:

One thing that struck me when I read the paper was the issues of public funds being used to rebuild houses. My first reaction was no, no these are not public funds, these are donor funds, but then I realized you were talking about public funds in Finland, the Finnish government. I think this is important to highlight, that we're talking about the role of several different governments here. It is not the Bosnian government that was building houses, especially not the government of Republika Srpska, but a lot of this donor money has been channelled through government funding and we should think a little bit more about those consequences.

What's also important is the history of people's relationship to house ownership. That was a really long term project for a lot of families in Bosnia. You invested everything in the house, especially in the rural areas. I've heard lots of Bosnians

comment on those who emigrated, especially to the US where it is easy to get a housing loan. Those refugees have managed relatively quickly to buy their own houses and the Bosnians who stayed in Bosnia think, wow, that is so quick, they must be really making lots of money. But they aren't really, they're in massive debt. It's just that the American system allows them to buy a house much earlier than they'd be able to in Bosnia. So it would be interesting to look into changing notions of how you go about achieving that goal, how you finance it, how much debt is OK, etc. As we can see, home ownership is still the ideal, even for those who don't visit it that much, even if it becomes a sort of vikendica, summer house.

I'd also like to know more about the position of Bosnians in Finland. I know you were trying to respond to your colleague who wanted to know more about conditions in Bosnia, but I wondered just how these Bosnians are positioned in Finland and how gender norms are being complicated, changed, transformed in those ways. I guess it is sort of intuitive to think that men would like to return to a place where they felt they had a higher status, but those communities are not there any more, they only, as you said, exist fleetingly, they are sort of ephemeral, only appearing fully in the summers. But this is a phenomenon that's all over the literature on transnational migration – people who live in a small, tiny room, work all their lives and then come back for two weeks in a really nice suit and big cars to display their success. What happens when the local community isn't there any more? Who are they displaying to?

There's also the question of what is displayed through houses, not only in terms of wealth but also status. This is really obvious in return communities. You can tell who went abroad and who didn't by the size of the house and the elaborateness of the designs. I think it might be useful to think about these changing aesthetics but also to tie this more to the logic of violence and marking space and one's presence, to say "you tried to get rid of us but we are still here." Driving around Bosnia, when you come into an area in the process of being rebuilt, you can often see that the first thing to be rebuilt is the mosque, at least this is often the priority of the people returning. The minaret is the first thing to be put up, so it is visible, even before the mosque is finished and in a state to be used as a place of worship. It's the same with church towers. It's an obvious connection to the logic of the war where the goal was to get rid of this evidence of identity, the presence of an unwanted "other," not just the houses but religious objects as well.

Finally, one more observation about gender and the process of return. When I was in Krajina in 1996 when Bosniacs were coming back, just after some of those towns had been liberated – from their perspective – and people were in a sort of mad dash for housing, the way they would try to secure a place to live was to write "occupied" on the doors to apartments. They would write the name of the head of the family – the man's name – with his military rank and unit and then add "with wife and children" or "and family." So it was important that it was a family, there were children and women and they needed to be protected, to have shelter in some way. But to be considered as a legitimate occupier of a flat, it was also very important that the man was in the army, and in this area that meant the Fifth Corps of the Bosnian Army. What was important wasn't just that these were men and women but certain

kinds – male army veterans and their wives/mothers of their children. So again, we see that different sorts of gender distinctions were very important to the way in which people returned.

Discussion

Laura Huttunen: A lot of Bosnians who come from this group have well paid jobs in Finland. Some women stay at home taking care of kids while others work. First they say, yes we want to go back and after a while it turns out that men say yes we want to go back but the wife says I want to go back for the summer but I am not sure it is better for the kids, I'd like to go but I am not sure. So many of the children are born in Finland and if you ask a man he says yes I want to go back and a wife says maybe, I don't want to go back, and then when you ask the children they say no, we don't want to go back and it is quite definite. They are happy to go to Bosnia for a while.

A way in which I entered my research was through Bosnian organizations starting this rebuilding project and it was really only men in these organizations. And they have been really active in initiating and putting in practice this reconstruction project, to get the money. And I tried to bring women's voices but I mostly met them all as families and not women alone. The men's voices are stronger here, the houses have to be rebuilt, but I think that all have this view that there is no going back, it is not what it was, there is no going back to the community that was before the war.

Rada Borić: Jasmina, is there still, as I remember it was when the first time we came to Sarajevo, this ambiguity, also this notion that those who left Sarajevo before the siege and are now returning are looked upon differently? Has it been a more victimizing role, even if I couldn't go out and I maybe wished I had gone out but couldn't, and now you who left the country have returned and I have this grudge against you for having been abroad, getting your PhD and 'how come that now you came to Tuzla and took the post at the Department and why it wasn't me'. What is the situation and the clashes between the returnees and those who stayed?

Jasmina Husanović: My personal case is different because of the continuity of my 'symbolic presence in Bosnia' – my whole family stayed there, apart from one of my 3 sisters and me who were in the UK, and it was for educational purposes and not for war reasons ('we went out to be able to study'). This continuity, my personal and social networks through my family and friends were absolutely crucial to me to get a university job a year upon my return in 2003; otherwise, it would never have happened. I didn't have this obstacle of being marked by this absence, by 'not sharing the war experience', because I was there for two and a half years of the war, and very active in civil society. What you mentioned about the tension between those who left and those who stayed – it was especially prominent in Sarajevo in late 1990s, but has decreased there and everywhere to the point that today nobody cares any longer, since this distinction becomes irrelevant, they are all in the same pot of neoliberal capitalism with an ethnonationalist twist. Plus most returnees came to those places where their ethnic group was in the majority, so it wasn't hard to reintegrate oneself into the 'national body'.

Sandra Prlenda: If I can add, at that time it was really gendered. You could observe that in the first years that returnees who came back for the summer were women. The first summer in 1995 or 1996, they had sent the women first, like a sort of checking,

to see what the reactions are of the people, what about previous jobs and pensions and then in the next few years, after the women came the children and the men came last. And this is tied to whether you have served a military service and so on.

Stef Jansen: I find transnationalism a deeply problematic concept, and I think it is empirically problematic and theoretically unproductive, and politically... umm (questionable). We have here families that live across different states so this is trans-state, not transnational, this is intra-national, these people are of the same nationality if we are talking about ethno-nationality and not citizenship. It is trans-borders, there are certain state borders which are a bureaucratic image and those families live across those. What we have here is a form of stretched kinship. For example, there is a lot of work on migration in the States and a lot of good work basically argues that people migrate in order to maintain kinship. So in order to maintain their kinship in Guatemala or Columbia, they need to have their men migrating to the States in order to be able to maintain those, and I think that is a very strong argument.

Biljana Kašić: There are many questions but right now I would just like to ask Ulla something. I was listening to what Stef said about trans-state. I am pretty aware, and I think from Ulla's presentation it is not very clear and transnational is an ambiguous notion. Trans-state is much simpler than transnational. But when I refer to Ulla's paper I think that it is both, in a sense, sometimes it is trans-state sometimes it is transnational. I was thinking how your imagination of the family escapes. I remembered how Bhabha did all these different escapes. It is about how we occupy the territory of escapes and meaning of territory of escapes so it is very interesting to me. And I would like to refer to something I still don't have an answer for. When we come to discourse practices and imagination, like on one hand imagination of nation or nation as an imaginary community, on the other hand you mentioned something which is imagination of super-diversity, diversity of certain places, so it is a sort of tension. In a sense I feel that this sort of super-diversity also embraces different disclamatory and exclusionary practices, they belong to the imagination of nation also. In a sense, I found that we still need to go further with the sort of explanation of what is beyond the story. My question to you is: when we use transnational in the terms of family, where could you find the emancipatory side of transnational in terms of family?

Ulla Vuorela: I am not in love with nominalism, for me it is not so important whether one speaks a certain word or not but I think that using the notion of transnational is helpful. Any concept comes as a response to something and transnational is a response to the overwhelming emphasis on the exclusiveness of the nation's state. All concepts become problematic if we are looking for a single meaning and if we use them in exclusive terms so I am rather pragmatic about theoretical concepts and I think if they help to understand a certain situation in opposition to a previous situation, then I think that is already an emancipatory side of the use of the word. Now, if I think of some emancipatory moments of transnational in regards to family, I think one of the aspects that is very illuminating is the Finnish government policy towards family re-unification, for example, family re-unifications as we've seen with

Somali people and some others with very extended families. If we think in terms of the nation state as wanting to regulate who comes in, and imposing/making use of our idea of the nuclear family, like with Bosnians, we don't consider people who are over eighteen years members of a family or grandmothers or different relatives as part of the family when we want to unify only the nuclear family. That is problematic and then it helps when thinking of transnational families and mode(l)s of life. The Finnish government exposes families to DNA tests to prove that they are true relatives and members of the family which I think is also outside of the transnational scope of thinking or understanding different kinds of families. So there are many ways in which thinking transnationally is a moment of emancipation, and I hope there will come other moments of emancipation because there is a question of the second generation. I think that openness of the future is a part of my thinking of the transnational. Openness to(wards) the future makes the point that there is, for most people, no going back because where they might be going back to is not the same. Or, if we say that all ethnic groups should go back where they came from, then all the Finns should go back to the Volga or whatever we imagine we came from, and that is impossible. So, transnational also means paying attention to the openness of future, but at the same time it means the recognition of transnational past of the present. So there are transnational moments of the family history and there are transnational moments in the history of the making of the nation and if we forget about those then we end up becoming sort of touchy and exclusionary. It becomes the politics of memory and wiping out memories is not a good thing.

I think we have to be very careful when we say that people migrate in order to maintain kinship. That is sometimes true but it is not always true, people migrate for other reasons also, even when they migrate by their own choice, they might migrate for certain better living, or because they are forced to, like people from Uganda who came to Britain. Belonging is very important but not only within kin. When I studied Islamic families, for example, and people who live transnationally, they all like to emphasize that you have to be generous, hospitable, you have to always be able to accommodate whoever comes into your household so within that context they make transnational acceptance beyond kin. So this is a huge field where we find different homes and different logic in how transnational connecting takes place.

Rada Borić: I just wish to mention something more about women and home, about refugees returning home, about gendered return, because we didn't touch upon it. We have to keep in mind that in socialism women rarely owned a house or an apartment. So what happened to the returnees that I know of, to the Serbian women from so-called Krajina, in Croatia, was that if a man was killed, or disappeared or they feared to return to Croatia, women returnees had different problems in order to get back their houses or apartments and then to rebuild a home. Basically, the ownership in socialism, like in many societies still, was the privilege of a man. Just to get the documents, papers in your own name, was problematic, and of course the government was pleased if the documents belonged to a Serb man who disappeared or was a criminal or died, because often the house was already someone else's home (taken by force or given by the government). Also, it would have been good if we

had time to talk about the programs offered to refugees seeking asylum, how the programs were gender neutral and how difficult it was for a single woman to get refugee status. Even if you were a single mother with a husband killed in Bosnia, you couldn't get refugee status in Canada because the government expected that women were dependant, and if coming with a partner, a man would support a woman, otherwise as a single mother with two kids she would depend on the social welfare.

So there are many more gendered issues around exile and return we didn't have time to discuss. I just wanted to link some of the examples to Elissa's discussion of how gendered the return was. Then one more notion why women do not often want to return. It is not only that they think about the future of their children, but it is about women's mobility. You know how women were historically mainly wed into another village and had to 'adjust' to a new life in a new family and new community. This also shows women's ability to accommodate differently, and I noticed in Finland that Bosnian women speak better Finnish than Bosnian men, which might be one of the signs.

MELITA RICHTER

TRAVELLING SUBJECTS ALONG
THE (IM)MIGRATION PATH: WOMEN
EXPERIENCING CITIZENSHIP

In the elaboration of the contribution that follows, I have been guided by the necessity to attain a deeper insight of some concepts which, in my opinion, determine the core of the discussion on the dynamics of the intercultural society: *migration – identity – citizenship*. It is obvious that in feminist theory these concepts cannot be defined properly if distanced from others bearing a close connection to them, namely ‘responsibility’, ‘knowledge’, ‘recognition’... I hope that our reflections in Dubrovnik will search for the liaisons between the net of these concepts, and will enrich our perception and understanding of the complexity of their interactions.

1.

As an entry point, I will start with the concept of *citizenship* and try to answer the question which I posed to myself: why it plays a central role in my life and how it is impossible to separate it from my own life experience. In spite of the fact that I have never had the experience of living in a country without being a citizen with full rights, I have witnessed the differences in experiencing citizenship in different states and normative systems led by different ideologies. At the same time, I have been able to observe from the distance “of the migrant” the changes in the interpretation of citizenship in my own country, or rather my former-country, which between 1991 and 1995 was wiped out by the brutality of a war generated by nationalistic folly. While the destruction of former Yugoslavia was taking place, the first to notice a deep sense of loss were the women – loss of rights and loss of a plural identity able to embrace all in its complexity. The testimony of Vesna Teršelič allows us to enter into the general mood in which the women of Yugoslavia lived in that period:

I remember the summer of '91, the heat and the oppressive feeling of anxiety. I also remember having this need to do something, a need that I felt like a pain in my stomach. The space we worked in, we breathed in, the space we had been building for years, began to dissolve, shrink, and disappear. During that humid summer it became completely clear to me that all that we had built by way of Green Movements and Women's Groups was sinking from day to day (Teršelič 1997:19).

Another testimony, from feminist Vesna Kesić, describes the loss of the rights of women and their new marginalization. However, it also mentions the rebellion of women against the reinstatement of a renewed patriarchal wave which was hitting them.

In everyday life in Croatia, women lost many of their earlier achieved benefits and rights; they almost disappeared from public life; violence against women began to grow and women's economic well-being decreased. In independent Croatia's first Parliament, women made up only 5.4 percent of the members. But women had also contested and challenged that situation and searched for different ways of engendering the nation. One of the slogans in the election campaign in Croatia (December 1999) refers to the traditional saying that a woman holds three corners of the house, meaning that woman's power is located in private, at home. Women's groups launched the counter-slogan: I will exchange one corner of the house for a seat in parliament (Kesić 2002:80).

The building of the Nation State widely used the symbolic image of women and their bodies, underlining their sexual roles and inscribing them in the topography of the Nation. Family, tradition, the mother-woman, the mother of the soldier, the widow of the national hero were glorified. In one of her writings Rada Iveković states:

National mythologies draw on traditional gender roles and the nationalist narrative is filled with images of the nation as a mother, wife, and maiden. Practices of nation-building employ social constructions of masculinity and femininity that support a division of labour in which women reproduce the nation physically and symbolically and men protect, defend, and avenge the nation (Iveković and Mostov 2002:10).

Women became a symbolic collective. In the Nation-states that gathered strength throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia, citizenship acquired the flavour of the Nation. In the best scenarios, the rights of women derived from

the national rights to which they became subordinated (cf. Iveković 2003).

Citizenship is not a static concept. In different historical times and in different moments, even when referring to the same territory, it is perceived as having different meanings and different practices. In my host country, Italy, I was able to recognize diversified modes in which this concept was applied and codified, according to the origin of the persons, to their national belonging, to their gender, to the amount of time they had spent on the soil of the host country. I took part in the civil struggles of the excluded, of immigrants who tried different ways to have their identities recognized and to obtain acceptance of their “right to the right to citizenship” (Arendt). I recognized the emergence of the need for some sort of *mobile citizenship*, separate from nationality, due to the increasing circulation of subjects in intercultural environments, whether refugees, ordinary migrants, “extracomunitari” (overseas or non-EU citizens), displaced persons... The diversified space with a plurality of identities around us becomes more and more the normal context of our existence. Reflective thought on citizenship and on the meanings that the concept implies in contemporary modern and post-modern times, can only reflect our need to deal with the civilizing subjects of our times.

My personal interest in focusing on the subject of “immigrant woman” within this reflection has multiple origins and demonstrates a wish to remove women from the shadow of *universal citizenship* within which the immigrant, as well as local women, are subordinated to the hegemony of masculinity, without recognizing or creating their own particular history, without struggling for the status of women as a historical subject.

2.

When critically observing the concept of citizenship, the criteria should take into account its twofold nature: the normative one, as a *status*, i.e. subjects carrying a wide range of rights, and as a *practice*, involving political participation, broadly defined. Citizenship, both as a practice and in the relationship between practice and rights, should be understood as a dynamic process not as an outcome. It is therefore not limited to the analysis of the normative for the same reason that citizenship is much more than being the passive holders of rights; it involves an active engagement with political institutions and the social arena. A similar approach might be useful to overcome the unilateral concept of citizenship as intrinsically exclusive, drawing boundaries between those who do and do not belong as full members of the national community (Lister 2003:42).

During the 20th century, citizenship was subordinated to nationality and led, as Gallissot (2001) observes, to the exacerbation of the opposition between nationals and foreigners, and from this, to the coalition of nationals *against* foreigners. “Universalism is only a postulate because it finds itself within the

national citizenship and is therefore reserved only to nationals, can guarantee the assimilation for the price of submission and can be put to the service of the nationalistic project of the Great Nation” (Gallissot 2001:62).

In my experience as sociologist-observer, the first outcome (assimilation) takes place prevalently amongst the immigrants in the European Union countries, whereas the second outcome (the nationalistic project) takes place in a striking way after the dissolution of Yugoslavia into all its successor Nation-States, where the citizens became prisoners of interethnic relations and of the thrust towards ethnic purification. In both cases, only nationals may be citizens. This is the reason why, from my point of view, the only possible way out of this impasse would be the concept of citizenship understood along the lines of Habermas’ definition, trying to *overcome national civics* by proposing *another civics*, that which takes place in the space of communication through a relational, political and cultural space, open to inter-subjective relationships. In this way, it would be possible to avoid both the crisis and the limitations of national citizenship not only in the sphere of philosophical interpretation but also in everyday practice. Rada Iveković follows the same path when asserting that citizenship is also a co-citizenship, meaning that it can only be exercised from within “an *open* political, public, cultural and productive space” (Iveković 2003:24). The interaction between one subject and another subject takes place in this societal dimension, overcoming the traditional dichotomy subject-object.

In this context, I will shift my attention to immigrant women and to the modalities that allow them to become, or hinder them from becoming, social and political actors while acquiring active citizenship expressed either individually or collectively (or both). It is important not to forget the deep-rooted inequalities that undermine the citizenship rights of those who are considered *others*, the *non-citizens* who are positioned on the margins of society, as usually happens to a whole immigrant population.

3.

There are some conditions imposed by the host society on all migrants to let them actually and symbolically “enter into the city”. According to sociologist Adel Jabbar (1999), the stages of integration of the foreigner into the host society are as follows:

1. ***stabilization or territorialization***: the first contact with the host society and the search for the necessary means of survival;
2. ***urbanization***, or the stage of *exploration of the territory* and the first institutional contacts which will help the newly arrived in the networks of services and opportunities;
3. ***nativization***, or the process of *social naturalization* derivable from

the stay in the territory and from the perception of the symbolic tie between the foreigner and the native citizen;

4. **Citizenship**, *de facto*, or the true *entrance into the city* (right of *civitas*) through daily interrelations, using and participating in a public space, which makes them become effective members of society (political citizenship).

The first phases of the integration path, *territorialization* and *nativisation*, are deeply rooted in the sphere of the satisfaction of basic human needs (housing, work, health, formation in the sense of training and qualification, development of a network of primary contacts with the new physical and social environment) and comprise, therefore, a period of very limited opportunities to become a **participative subject**, the prerequisite condition to commence active citizenship and to develop a form of human autonomy. In their theorisation studies of human needs, different authors highlight the link of human autonomy with citizenship.

Crucial to personal autonomy is the opportunity to participate in social roles of production, reproduction, cultural transmission and political authority. Beyond that lies ‘critical autonomy – the ability to situate, criticize and, if necessary, challenge the rules and practices’ of one’s society, in other words, the ability to act as critical citizen” (Lister 2003: 7).

Reflecting upon these thoughts in the context of the “immigrant women’s world”, certain questions appear: what are the real possibilities of obtaining these objectives for women who are a significant part of the foreign labour-force if they are absorbed by the economy niches created by a gendered labour market which for them leaves only work in domestic service and care, tourism, catering, entertainment, prostitution and sex industries? In which way can they, from their disadvantaged economic position and social invisibility, acquire the ability to act as a (critical) citizen?

The majority of the migrants represent “un-constituted subjects”, “subjects without a community”, “un-representable others”. As Greek philosopher Assimina Karavanta points out, “these others are the body of a different local within the local, a presence and the articulation of a body that challenges the simple binary between local and global by revealing a third learnable dimension” (2006). In this relationship between the “body of a different local within the local” the gap in the occupational levels between autochthonous and immigrant women is “inscribed”. Giovanna Campani reminds us of the following general tendency: “[O]n one hand, there is a movement of European women towards managerial highly qualified jobs; on the other hand immigrant women are confined to the bottom of the economic scale” (Campani 2000:128). In this

process, Campani distinguishes the position of first generation immigrant women and that of recently immigrated women. Nevertheless her conclusion is unambiguous:

The immigrants are no doubt victims of discrimination and they fill the bottom levels of access to professions. The changes in the productive structure (...) have contributed to their disadvantaged position in the labour market (Campani 2000:145).

The changes mentioned above are due to economic reorganization, to the crisis in salaried conditions and to the widening of the grey economy – all conditions where professionalism is underestimated, devalued or annulled. Thus, one of the results of such a social and economical environment, typical for female immigration, is *professional disqualification*. This phenomenon causes feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction among the population which suffers the consequences.¹ It will take a long time to overcome this phenomenon and it should be subjected to bilateral or multilateral agreements on recognition of qualifications. In the meantime, many professional resources of immigrants will be wasted (cf. Richter 2003).

Another characteristic of immigrant women who work mostly behind domestic walls and who return home every day to continue doing their family tasks, taking care of the home, children and husbands, is some level of ***social invisibility***, a condition prevalent for most of the immigrant women of different ethnic origins. All these factors make their vulnerability and their position in relation to active citizenship even more questionable.

4.

We cannot omit to mention a new way to re-appropriation of citizenship beyond the restrictions of the normative. Through the cultural representations and writings of immigrant authors, the fragments of their existences are re-built, going beyond the private sphere, beyond the boundaries of their history and geography. Words and language become the tools of struggle and the places in which new citizenship takes shape and new states of consciousness are born. The will to share and participate, and the joy in doing so, is demonstrated daily. It seems that in Italian society there is another dimension of *being an immigrant* on the agenda which is slowly and relentlessly entering into the meanderings

¹ Refer to: “Immigrant women and the rights of citizenship”, Region Friuli Venezia Giulia, RUE Trieste, October 2002; and Stefania Maggioni, *Immigrazione al femminile: donne albanesi a Milano*, (diploma thesis) Università degli studi di Milano, 1999/2000 academic year.

of thought, in 'national' narration through the expressive capacity of migrant writers. This announces that we are facing a new époque in which the "foreigner" is on the way to being perceived as a "mind" rather than only "hands".

According to Azade Seyhan, "the migrant, exile, or voyager not only crosses the threshold into another history and geography but also steps into the role of an itinerant cultural visionary" (Seyhan 2001:14).

For many women and men this means *a new birth*, a real "entry to the city". In order to make this possible it is necessary to achieve a *favourable global context and internal reconstruction of the host society*. The latter should also be willing to change in the sense defined by Lévinas; in its own way as the new candidate-citizens themselves must.

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ELIZABETA ŠELEVA

HOUSE AND QUEASINESS: ANXIETY OF LOCATION¹

Is there still a place called home? Has such a place ever existed?

Aamir Mufti / Ella Shohat

The picture of the home and the house is, doubtlessly, one of the strongest archetypal pictures with a rich associative spectrum.

But the idea of this text is to point to the unusual, yet theoretically and creatively provocative notional/conceptual relocation (reevaluation) of the category Home/housing, as well as the typology of some of the complementary concepts that might hold certain and not that certain meaningful power: such as, for example, accommodation, dwelling, household, overpopulation, displacement, homelessness.

I would start with the premise of the home as a necessary Place, a dwelling and a shelter.

But at the very beginning, two basic approaches can be distinguished in understanding the home and housing: according to the first, a philosophical attitude, the home is an ontological category, equivalent to life. “The way in which you are, in which I am, the way in which we are people on earth, is housing”, says Martin Heidegger.

The renowned poem by Kočo Racin “Tatunčo” is, actually, a confession in front of a never built house, or rather the comprehension of the entire world as a house, a Home of his own: “If I haven’t built a house, with high wooden gates, the whole brotherly world is my home”. Regardless of the devastating feeling of homelessness, the lyrical subject, however, shows a strong emotional

¹ This article was originally published in: Nebojša Vilić (ed.) 2003. *House_Chaos: The Woman and the Destroyed Home Discourse Re-Built*. 359°. Skopje, 35-46. Translated by Marija Hadžimitrova-Ivanova.

and ideological compensation. Although homeless, without a house that he would've built by himself, he still remains open and potent, not being disturbed or haunted by feelings of alienation and senselessness. Dedicated thoroughly to the optimal projection of his own life as a project, this lyrical subject is Utopian oriented and thus relieved of the burden of homelessness and non-authenticity.

Here we see a projection of the entire world as a home, which Peter Sloterdijk calls *uterocentric*, and which refers to the existence in this world as a synonym of housing. On the other hand, and in a fascinating way, it coincides with the philosophical thesis of Heidegger on the ontological character of the housing, i.e. on the housing in the world as the most general ontological category. And if we identify, as Heidegger does, the language with the house of the Being – then the house (the home) in its wider, metaphorical connotations, can equally include the language, the nation or the fatherland as our home.

The second, socio-psychological attitude considers the home as a particular, factual space, pointing out its vital functions, in regards to the development and forming of the personal identity. It claims that the lack of one's own home has a catastrophic effect on the physical integrity of people because it disturbs the basic territorial principle, the principle of the hearth with which the territorial aspect and the identity unite into an important interrelation. It was probably the reason why French theoretician Roland Barthes sees the basic motivation for this tragic conflict exactly in the "crisis of space", more precisely, in the insufficiency of a space or the irreconcilability with the co-set actors within a certain (common, yet too small for the both) space.

Thus, the proceeding analytical point, as the primary function of the home, would be the protective function, that is, the existential protection; whose formal modalities, as well as the specific styles of housing, vary depending on the different cultural contexts. So today, under the circumstances of technologically accelerated development and intensified consuming we might as well consider the overpopulation, that is, the pointed isolation of people, totally dedicated to their (TV or computer) screens. On the other hand, the mobile and changeable life space, working relations and engagements, that is, the frequent travels and longer (temporary) stays in other spaces result in a nomadic and ungrounded life and housing style, that rather reminds of "nesting" since it happens in temporarily adapted and only temporarily adopted dwellings. Considering this, the nomadic positioned Gloria Anzaldúa in her program essay "Borderlands" wittily compares herself to a "turtle that carries its home on its back".

On the other hand, we are facing the fact that the house (home) is an integral part of the personal story, a "logistic" precondition for forming one's personal

identity as well as for the return inscription of one's recognizable traces in the space that one inhabits. In that case, we have the so-called expressive function of the home, or the house – story, that differs from one family to another, from one particular example (case) to another.

One of the latest significant examples of such a projection of the House as an indestructible family archaeology is the movie “The Others” where Nicole Kidman, although just a specter, does her best (and succeeds) to keep the house where she and her family used to live for themselves only, untouched by others. Thus, the archaeology of a house, with all the objects preserved in it, actually reflects the physiognomy of a home (maybe this is why the attics and the basements of a house are said to represent its subconsciousness). Therefore, the depersonalization of a home starts as early as the seemingly practical rejection of some of its significant memories, inscribed in the very objects (for example, the letters, the lamps, the home furnishings), therefore wiping away the familiar, personal marks. At first imperceptibly and slowly, the house ages and gradually dies together with its story. The story of a home as the pattern of a family story is a very frequent, idyllically tuned motif in narrative prose, present to a large extent in Macedonian literature as well. Here the narrator shows a symptomatic overlapping of two motifs – the home and the childhood – into a new chronotope of the childhood, which is pictured as a paradise lost or an inexhaustible creative arsenal. This approach towards the home proceeds from the fundamental experiencing of an authentic housing (coinciding with the housing selfness), together with the numerous accompanying connotations, such as: the undisturbed enjoyment and harmony with oneself, with one's origin, with one's family, with one's past. Such an experience usually presupposes a conservative loyalty for the home (the place), but it can also be the result of a retroactive, additionally projected idyllic picture and harmony upon a particular place (most often, the birth place or the village) or period (for example, before or after a war, in one's youth, etc.).

However, the picture of the home also imposes or presupposes a kind of poetic of the boundaries. Here we find the third, and so far maybe the least known, yet beneficial, function of the home and housing, when against the idyllic house-story we meet a different house, a house-uneasiness. This, at first sight, paradoxical experiencing of one's home as an unpleasant boundary can be acknowledged in the metaphor “tight skin” by the Slovenian poet Aleš Debeljak: “Give me strength to live at home in my tight skin”. Motivated by several different reasons, these boundaries sometimes go pretty far, thus arousing with the dweller of the home a permanent feeling of homelessness, queasiness, not belonging to the home space. The theoretician Homi Bhabha says: “being unhomed is not the same as being homeless” – and that feeling of

being unhomed (*unheimlich*) is taken from the psychoanalytical terminology of Freud. With him, *unheimlich* (being unhomed) is, actually, a metaphor of our unconscious that we never get to know thoroughly enough, but which remains in permanent discordance with us, beaming queasiness and disturbing alienation.

The fatal experience of the home as our existential boundary is in a paradigmatic way shown with the great narrator Franz Kafka, whose works picture the home as a critical, distressful, mad, false space, both when it concerns a man (Gregor Samsa in “Metamorphosis”) and even an animal (the mole in “The Den”). The housing (the stay at home) is permeated with an overt feeling of uterophobia, not belonging, alienation, captivity, claustrophobia, even when it comes to one’s own home.

We also see a contradictory experience of one’s own home with Gloria Anzaldúa, a sworn follower of boundaries: in her program essay ‘Borderlands’ she uses the word “homophobia” (fear of homosexuality) as a literal etymological metaphor of her intimate, deeply grounded fear of returning home. In this case, the homophobia (as fear of the home) stems from the quite real probability of being rejected by one’s own mother, culture or race (in this case, the conservative Chicano culture) – due to their own, for the given culture completely “unacceptable” features or attitudes.

This approach towards the home, characterized by uneasiness and personal inadequacy or disagreement with one’s own origin or past, or more precisely, the amnesic discrepancy with the home, against the housing, could be called in-housing. However, here the category in-housing holds rather negative connotations, so that the home is not experienced as something home-like, personal, intimate but as claustrophobia, as an unwanted pact with the grayness, as a wrongly rooted tree. Here the so-called repressive function of the home shows its ultimate meaning.

The queasiness of the home also has its specially shown sexual dimension. As early as the stage of legends, we can detect some of the deep motifs of that sexual anxiety: in the “Building of Skadar” we have an exemplary situation – building in a woman into the edifice as a sacrificial pledge and a magical protection for securing the permanence of the edifice (or race). So, the entire city becomes a symbolic tomb of the buried (sacrificed) female body. Surely this story can be understood in different ways within the general, anthropological and the particular, ethnological contexts, in this case – the Balkans. Here I would like to point out an authentic and very actual sexual sensitization of the legend as suggested by Branka Arsić. According to her, the motif of building in a living woman into the edifice is rather an imperative of the patriarchal culture than its ritual exception. Namely, here the fundamental expatriation (exclusion) of the otherness (strangeness) and of the woman is presented as a

necessary precondition for the future uninterrupted functioning of the very patriarchal xenophobia before the otherness.

These interpretations of Arsić are in accordance with the presently actual feminist terminology where the space of the home is named and compared to a “pink ghetto”. It mostly refers to the bedroom and the kitchen as exemplary female spaces, serving as means for effectively limiting not only the domain of the archetypal but also of the actual activities of women. Such is the example originating from oral literature: it includes the fantasmatic (forbidden) spaces of the fairy tales. Thus, the fairy tale of the Bluebeard is made of the very tabooing (securing) of the forbidden room as a space that not only initially excludes, but in case of disrespect also punishes the very female presence in the room.

The contradictory experience of the home by the woman often proceeds from the so-called circulation of homes. Although a tacit rule, solving the “riddle” *who lives where* is very important. When they get married, women are, as a rule, the ones who leave their parents’ home and move into their husband’s home, where they are expected to adapt appropriately (meaning patriarchally) to the new (present) home coordinates. So, although she is not really homeless, for a considerable period of time the woman can experience the queasy feeling that she is, actually, dissipated from her home and that she lives at a false address, that her soul has still remained unsettled.

Today the category of displaced people or people dissipated from their home/society/family is accompanied by a new socio-cultural group – the colonized ones.

It is believed that the experiencing of homelessness is the exemplary post-colonial experience and that the colonized people show a dissonance between the home as a factual space and the home as a craving. “The colonized men settle two places at the same time. If it is so, then, how many places do the colonized women settle?” – lucidly asks Franz Fanon, referring exactly to the double (sexual and ethnic) dis-homing of the woman. In the first case, within her “domestic” patriarchally ordered community, she is initially sexually discriminated; while in the second case, within a submissive (colonized) culture that is expected to act by the rules of her masters, she is an additionally ethically discriminated subject.

Home and the refugee – homelessness

We saw our country immigrating and leaving us.
We didn't immigrate, it was our country that did it.

A statement of a woman from former Yugoslavia

The home and the loss of home are the reverse topic of Modern thought. We can make the following typology:

- a) not belonging or “unhomed” – a tacit expatriation, that is, excluding and/or forcing out the otherness in the patriarchal home, nation, culture;
- b) leaving the home (displaced) – voluntary abandoning (as a rule – westward) and necessary replacing one's own language (and nation) with some other language (or nation);
- c) loss of the home or “homeless” – ethnic cleansing i.e. violent discharge.

It is not then by chance that in the domain of cultural critique as well, especially in the last decade of the late capitalism, existentially grounded concepts like exile, Diaspora, migration, etc. prevail.

Today we can rightfully say that the possession of one's own address is the reference of one's existence and acting in the world. The Cartesian saying “I think, therefore I exist” under contemporary circumstances of mass and periodical, voluntary or forced migrations, gradually and discreetly turns into “I have an address, therefore I exist”. Maybe it is due to an older European practice, more precisely, the Hellenic hermeneutics of barbarianism. The Scythes, according to the ancient Greeks, are *aporoï* (unreach-able), ungrounded, homeless (“without an address”), and as such they are at the same time barbarians.

Un-homing still occurs in the Balkans, most often as a consequence of military actions and violence (although it is more and more often additionally complicated by encountering the collateral phenomena of the transitional crisis, like the unemployment and poorness).

Therefore, the experiences of the contemporary, unwillful *aporoï*, the refugees and displaced people, are more than dramatic. They themselves say that being a refugee means being “without an identity”, or as a woman displaced from the village of Aracinovo said, “I have no eyes to see the future”.

Unlike someone else's still preserved and safe dwellings, their (the refugee's) homes proved to be less important and sacred, less worth an appropriate security protection and even lesser worth the right to be considered the bastion of the statehood (as a collective home). The refugee is the one who literally has no choice in deciding her/his destiny and thus she/he is positioned lower than the lowest limit of humanity. According to sociologist Ulrich Bielefeld, the refugee, like the marginal in a developed society, is actually a symbolic dead man, being hopelessly excluded from reaching any social decisions, therefore she/he has no influence in his environment.

However, the greatest responsibility considering the loss and the restoration of the home is again expected of the woman. Unlike the so-called terminal, destructively disposed man – it goes without saying that the woman is the one who once again tames and turns the originally neutral space into a home, introducing all the necessary symbolic (and not only them) details to make it alive again. She starts just another cycle of “delayed immigration”. In the Balkans the history lurks behind every bush and you don’t know in what country you’ll wake up and to what home or place you’ll have to move, “just this one more time”.

Conclusion

Although it might be unconsciously applied, the effective rhetorical connecting of these two words (the house and chaos) into a new, paronomastic figure that stays as the title of this symposium, at a semantic (meaningful) level, proved to be an entirely justified gesture.

Today it is becoming usual to (mis)use the metaphor of the home considering its large manipulative power.

Here I refer to several aspects:

- the regular misuse of the home as the “pink ghetto”, that is, a space for preventive exclusion of the woman from the public space.
- the ultra-nationalistic (mis)use of this notion through the militantly toned syntagm of “ancient hearths” and the necessity of their violent, pretending defense;
- multiplication of the euphemistically called category “displaced persons”, for whom the home bears an essential, yet epochally “deprived” meaning.

For many people today the questionable belonging to the home (as a place and as an origin), that is, double homelessness, remains more or less a permanent mark in their lives. This questionable homing (“none of them feels like home in this world”) is an exemplary spiritual state in the works of the last year Nobel Prize winner for literature Vidiadhar Surprakash Naipol, as well. The female characters of the writer Toni Morrison also suffer from their belonging to the home where they live and work, and they are constantly haunted by the question “whose house is this?”

- Many people in the world, and not only the few stated fictional characters, feel like they are living at a false address. As if subjected to the “influence” of the existentialism of Sartre, they finally reveal that they “are” not where they live because they live elsewhere, where there are no addresses.
- This state in a special way refers and concerns women who, besides the loss and the destruction of the home, in different (although sometimes very sophisticated) ways permanently experience the reality of the inside exile and discharge. Therefore, it is not by chance that Jane Marcus states: “the

feminist critique is a natural medium and a method for researching the exile”.

The home is, nevertheless, something more complex and more serious than the small idyllic garden of Candide. While some of us (wilfully or forcefully) are turned into captives of the Home, others remain permanently infected by the herpes of homelessness. For some the home remains to exist only in the domain of the virtual, as an inexhaustible craving, as an important energetic and motivational charge. The home is, perhaps, only a lifelong, unfinishable, unreachable, inestimable project... Therefore, the ultimate question of this text addresses the fundamental dilemma: does our home have an address in the real? Clear spatial (or, if you will, numerical) coordinates? And, do we know, here and now, what is the address of the “home” in Macedonia?

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Comment:**Biljana Kašić**

Both presentations are very dense, inspiring and challenging in so many points and I agree with Ulla that we shouldn't waste more time on our own comments, and rather open up the debate and invite all participants to give their contributions/ share their thoughts.

Although I prepared some notes in advance referring to Melita's paper, listening to both the presenters I changed my mind and right now I am full of, or better said, flooded with new ideas, moments and questions as potential entries into the discussion. And in addition to this, I am in a totally new mood. By carefully listening to the content of papers I tried to find some common points around the presentations in a sense that would shape, embrace and direct questions both to Melita and Elizabeta and therefore I decided to share with you these important "riches" that I discovered.

What I felt during this process of listening is certainly an anxiety of location or situatedness regardless of whether it was clearly signified or entitled or not, and relating to an uncertainty of Self no matter how mobility or possibility of motion influence that. The key point is there. Another issue which matters and which is not explicitly presented is an issue (or one) of melancholia that functions within feminist discourse but more within postcolonial discourse as the most intriguing value and force. On one hand I feel that melancholia or the radical potential of melancholia as outstanding Cuban artist Félix González-Torres explicitly shows in his artwork might solve some of our dilemmas, in its interpretation of not what is lost, but instead of what remains, on the other hand I fully agree with Elizabeta that a lot of dilemmas are certainly not solved.

So we should face this anxiety of unsolvable dilemmas around very existential issues that we discussed this morning. As major concepts in this regard Melita used the concepts of citizenship, intersubjectivity and responsibility, while Elizabeta in order to deal with multiple anxieties posed the intriguing question of being as, how Ulla marked once more, with or without an address. This very powerful expression: what does it mean to be addressed, or more precisely, to be a carrier of an address, to have an address, to be in a special kind of subjective ownership and ownership upon one's own subjectivity signified through "address" or to live without this signification, and how it matches with an issue of belonging or unbelonging in Homi Bhabha's sense, for example, provoked new questions. One of those questions that deserves our attention at present in the multiplicity of motions is: where is the place in between and, going further, where are human potentials to transverse or cross over this place. Both presented perspectives are very moving to speak about.

Now I would just like to list some common elements within the presentations although Melita and Elizabeta used different discursive practices as well as perspectives from very distinctive fields. The first element is one about life. Arguing that life is a project itself and therefore life might be considered and articulated

as a travelling concept gives us a new horizon to talk and deconstruct meanings captured in the metaphors of home or homelessness but even more a chance to rethink life as an uncertain matter.

Connected to this, what emerges is the issue of security and feeling of one's own security and how to deal with all these concepts and metaphors or how to face respective formations of our being in their complexity and ambiguity, however we might define them. Associated with this is the concept of mapping as a sort of postcolonial tool. Who mapped us and how it happened that someone mapped us in so many different ways – public, private, inside, outside, that pulsate hegemonic order(s), injustice and lack of comparability, occupying different spaces or places. This is what I also found in both presentations. When different kinds of maps are drawn within human/spatial geographies then you can find borders and boundaries of various kinds, cemented, physical and mental, and then we are in the trouble of how to deal with it.

What I found very common, going further, is what Elizabeta explicitly qualified as a crisis of space. In both presentations this crisis of space appeared as a reason or motive for either destructing or deconstructing/reconfiguring concepts of home, houses, migrants, figures of migrants, of belonging, transgressing, exile. The concept of crisis of space is an entry when discussion on humanness emerges again as an urgent need; the crisis of not only life but of living life. And then there is an appeal for looking at the gendered location(s) and how to deal with all these gendered places and spaces around as well as how to create an imaginary for new 'engendering' ones.

And finally, there is not only the philosophical but much more real, concrete question that was highlighted here: where is the subject? And who is the subject? How can we locate and address the subject right now? I mean feminist subject, female subject, ethical subject, migrant subject. Melita spoke of a migrant being a sort of non-constituted subject, while Elizabeta spoke about subjects without address. I think it is very crucial for our discussion today. I will conclude my little "impressionist" talk by posing two questions for you Melita and you Elizabeta.

For Melita:

How can you elaborate the concept of intersubjectivity especially in relation to this unsolved potentiality of being a migrant and being a citizen at the same time? Is it, in your view, an emancipatory place? And in addition to this, a very intimate question: How can you survive with your life as a travelling concept? Because I know you are here and there all the time?

For Elizabeta:

Do you find nostalgia as a productive means for dealing with this sort of existential anxiety? We all know that the figure of nostalgia is a very fashionable concept right now.

The second question is in a sense rephrasing the sentence you pointed out and I am going to use it now as a question. Very directly: is there a place such as home from a feminist perspective?

Response**Melita Richter**

1) Thank you Biljana, you addressed many questions, to answer them properly I think we would need another conference. I will first try to answer your question, Ulla, of how do we address this plurality. As you said in your presentation, I think it is important not to underline only the meaning as it is always linked to *who is addressing whom*, so it depends on the subject of addressing, on the nominator. In Italy what is very manifest is a kind of double addressing and feeling others at the same time as richness of the society and as a problem, the disturbing element. On this dichotomy is also constructed the policy of integration. If you see others as a disturbing element it means that the inner structure of your society is very static and based on defensive norms. In other words, you are there, you are native, which means you belong as a full member to the citizenship community and somebody is crossing your boundaries and questioning this intrinsically exclusive concept by expecting to co-divide the rights of citizenship in both senses: as status and as social and political participation. You see this presence as a disturbing element, as the threat. If instead you accept Otherness as richness of your society, it means that you are potentially open, inclusive in the sense of Levinas's philosophy of *changing together* on the path of immigration. It means being exposed to the change together, the host society and immigrants. In this case, it is not only the immigrants coming from "abroad" who have to adapt *to us* but we are all changing and adopting together in a global context of internal reconstruction of the society.

To this I would add the consideration about what do we think about "us" as a native society. Do we represent ourselves as a homogeneous society in the sense of state, of nation or have we already incorporated differences and different Otherness inside? So if we are conscious about this otherness inside "us", we can recognize very easily that there is so much in common within our plural identities, so many similarities. On this dual focus – considering the new-comers as an element of disturbance or bearers of potential richness – is based the policy of immigration and integration in Italian society. Of course, the declaratory policy is: *intercultural society*. Which means including, recognition and respect of diversity and so on. But in real life it is not so. The reality in which we act is a very asymmetric space. For instance, if we focus on school – and I consider it as a crucially important institution – we can observe the efforts of the inclusive policy and the promotion of intercultural encounters, the effort of teaching and behaving in a sense of interculturality considering the Other as a source of richness. At the same time we can't forget that the pupils are coming back home daily and they circulate "in the city", watch TV; all these are facts which give them the possibility to compare the situation outside the school and to feel the pulse of the "real" society. Coming back daily to their homes children of immigrants realize that they and their families are living in a socially unprivileged world, which is generally not the case of the natives. Sometimes, when we face the not satisfying results of immigrant pupils in school, or even their abandoning school, we should ask ourselves is it because of

their questionable cognitive capacity, of insufficient knowledge of the language, of their intelligence or is it perhaps due to the social location of immigrant families in an unequal social environment, an environment of deprivation and of being non-citizens. So that would be my partial answer to your question.

2) And Biljana, you raised so many challenging questions, for instance about location and nostalgia. Location is so important for immigrants. Firstly, I would say, it depends on the starting point and the point of the arrival as cardinal points in the migratory project, and the distance in between; from where the people are coming, are they located close or far from their homeland. The distance determines the arising of the illusion of double belonging and of the belief to be able to live in both spaces – “here” and “there”. In Trieste we can see it clearly in immigrant populations coming from Serbia or Bosnia who continue to travel, to go back and forth and to cultivate some interest in what is going on in their native society. It is not rare that they build a new house in their native country while at the same time they are “building the future” for their children in the host country and aiming at full integration. Such illusions of trying to connect the two separate segments of their migratory project is possible because the distance from their countries and Trieste is short. But who is living far from home, as for instance the Chinese, actually very much present in Italian society, especially in towns and in central urban areas, the distance is decisive: they are not returning home and at the same time they are so much fixing their ideal image of what they left behind. They do not have this opportunity of going back and forth again and again, and to travel a lot: China is too distant and the travel costs a lot. The same is for people coming from far places like central Africa or America, who are maintaining the connection with their separated world by using the phone, Skype and Internet. Saying that, we should remember that the immigrant population doesn’t always have at their disposal all these technological instruments of communication which would allow them to be present contemporarily in two societies and to follow what’s going on at home.

The concept of nostalgia arises then and reinforces itself. In some ethnic communities, nostalgia is more visible than in others, but generally it is not lived solely, it needs to be shared with others who are in the same social and cultural condition. It can also represent a kind of trap, whereas the natives, the host society is seeing immigrant communities as compulsory imbued with nostalgia. Nostalgia as a stigmatic mark of immigration. This kind of stereotype is reproduced in the cultural field too, an example is in the field of migrant writings. There was some kind of searching for exoticism and nostalgia in migrant writings, for the constructing of ethnicised memories which would help the natives in the redesigning of distant and unknown worlds. On the contrary, as Elizabeta said, the process is completely different because migrants are *producing home* in their writings, they are *citizens of literature* and it is something completely different than writing about nostalgia or about one’s suffered travel. Of course, when we read the authors who are “writing outside the nation”, as Azade Seyhan would say¹, we’ll find a lot about nostalgia because writing needs the space of memory, of home. But many migrant authors are just turning their view towards the society in which they actually live and are

acquiring the ability to think, to write and to act as critical citizens. With the critical glance they are focusing the dynamics of change in the host society which now represents their reality and their present. They became conscious of the fact that it is the only present they have. Taking distance from nostalgia is also a step, in a way, to become a so-called vivid and participative subject, at least in the cultural life of the host country.

3) Then about the concept of mapping in private and public spaces. I do not know what to add to this argument because all of us are mapping and are mapped in some way. I see it as the process of the appropriation of the space, of urbanization or exploration of the territory in Jabbar's sense, but what to say about my experience in the city that I am living, in Trieste, a city close to the border? I find that this mapping there is very much defined by the historical memories which are separated and ethnicized. So you depend, very much, on mapping rooted in people's minds which can be fixed and opposing you while in another segment of time and space or in another segment of society, it can be mobile and open. In Trieste this discourse became very much a discourse of belonging and of the relations on the majority-minority line. We can distinguish two such lines: a) relations between Italian and Slovenes, and b) relations between Italians and newcomers. The last one is switching the discourse from ethnicity to otherness. It also means switching the threat: you are mapping the threat differently. Before, it was personified in a national minority group (Slovenes) which was exposed to a weary struggle to obtain the citizen's right for national minorities, now the perception of the threat changed direction and the rise of a general feeling of insecurity is linked to the "invasion" of immigrants. Immigrants who are seen as the main factors of spreading crime in society and, among them, all this Muslim community which is threatening "our identity". Such kind of mapping is very much linked to the simplified dichotomy of incomers and autochthones, and in the last instance, of the concept of inclusion-exclusion. We can also speak about the reversibility of mapping: mapping the "other" who by reflection is mapping "us".

4) Crisis of space – I find it a very wide topic but I would translate it in what we are feeling so strongly: the everyday crisis for associations, for encounters and living together. When I say associations I don't mean monocultural associations, not the fragmented cultural spaces where you have for instance, a Columbian association, or Albanian, or Somali, or similar ethnic associations; I do mean associations with multicultural identities where natives and immigrants of different origins can do things together, can interact. For such an encounter and sharing experiences you need a space. Searching for a space for the activities of the associations is hard work. Even if you propose extraordinary projects and a network of different multicultural associations you will not easily get a space from the community, or from the region... In the meantime, you have to develop your ability to meet and work in

¹ Seyhan, Azade (2001) *Writing Outside the Nation*, Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.

cafés, in private houses, in rented spaces, in parks... This would be one aspect of crisis of space. The other is situated in the public space where you are supposed to act as a participative citizen. In other words, I see clearly the spread manipulation of immigrants because formally you have your democratic institutions, a specific consulting body in the commune and also the consulting body for immigrants in the region, but these institutions are very often just formal bodies promoted by the Central Immigration Law but on the territory where you live it depends what political picture we have, what is the frame of the political situation. And this framework is not always favourable to intercultural dialogue.

5) In conclusion I would only briefly comment Biljana's referring to life as a project or as a travelling concept. Here we are again back at the basic question of how you left your country. Your life project depends so much on the fact if your choice of leaving the homeland was a free choice or was it obliged, a non-choice. On these two bases you will develop your life project with very different outcomes. I see an individual, subjective way where you leave your country as an autonomous subject as a premise for searching of autonomy also in the host country. On the other hand, I see the push of masses outside the country, emigration as a collective experience, as a possible premise of searching for shelter in the collective identity. This kind of immersion of personal in collective and communitarian gives security to the migrant, quite often it also offers to him/her welcome and solidarity and warm sharing of sounds, music, language, narratives, tastes and food, all elements which brings him/her close to their distant homes. But at the same time it is very much entrapping the person inside the community and here I see the danger of losing autonomy for women. Many women were already autonomous in the society which they left and then coming abroad, living in a community they are again subject to control. Usually all these ethnic communities and monocultural associations are gendered and power structured: usually, men are leaders and presidents of these associations and often their inner structure is based on the patriarchal model. So that would be about the life project. At the end, just a few words about my life project, as you asked me something personally about how do I elaborate this travelling from one society/country to another, from one cultural pattern to another and so on. I think what is essential to define is the fact that I wasn't moving very far. My starting point and arrival too were always situated in middle Europe. Zagreb and Trieste, both cities in their past were parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they presented the cosmopolitan area with multiple presents of cultural diversities. And besides, I knew the language, I was studying Italian in school and at the University. I knew not only the language but was also close to social and cultural norms of the host country, it made a difference. My migratory experience was not painful. Still, it meant a discontinuity and loss of equilibrium. I was dislocated from my own space and time, I had to find my new stability. Usually people go abroad because they are gaining, but in every movement, in every migration you are also a loser. I was very much conscious about that, conscious and not scared. You are losing and gaining at the same time and when these two parts find equilibrium, then you can start with the harmonious feeling of recomposed identity. That would be my

answer to this personal question. I would underline also that I never accepted the reduction of my identity. In a new cultural context I was (and still am) just adding something new to my “old” identity: I am still Croatian and Yugoslav, even if the last one doesn’t exist any more, I am partly Italian, I am a woman, a sociologist, an essayist, a cultural mediator, a mother, a wife, a friend... I am just adding new segments to my identity and I am trying to feel and to act in this new cultural, social and political environment as citizen.

*Response***Elizabeta Šeleva**

The issue of nostalgia is crucially connected to writing about exile and there are two complementary myths that are very often met together but it doesn't have to be the case. The first is the myth of the promised land, presented in novels about moving to another continent or treating America as a promised land. It is also a very popular topic in films; there were a number of works dealing with this inhabiting or moving the borders towards this unexplored continent or it is connected to the western world as a promised land or future for example. The other myth which is also very potent is the myth of the return. It is like a compensatory movement, once you gain your status and citizenship, people are constantly dealing with their nostalgia and dream about coming back to their homeland. This is also a case or a myth with two possible outcomes, yet contradictory and opposed. The first one is making your homeland an ideal place or chronicle; it is the constant object of your desire. And the second one which is not so rare but provocative when put in novel: when you get back to your country finally you are disappointed with the image of that country.

One of the approaches to nostalgia is a retroactive move or mood which is focusing on the past or promoting the past as an ideal reservoir of values. And the next one which I would like to propose is the prospect of nostalgia as a project of the future. Nation can be understood, as it is frequently, as a story of the past of a certain group of people, a certain community. But nation could be understood as a project, as that kind of community that is yet to be achieved in the future and ideally framed. So why not deal with nostalgia in that kind of prospective or attitude; keep these most potent, vital, libidinal aspects of that past but not just to sacrifice ourselves to that past but transform these aspects of past into a functional, creative, curative perspective. There are some values that cannot be destroyed terminally, despite wars, violence, etc. They could be delayed or put aside or silenced for a while but not definitely.

The second question was is there still a place called home from a feminist perspective? I think yes but home in quotation marks, many homes. Because we are cursed or we are made to reestablish our homes perpetually because of our questionable identity, belongings so we have to do with these questionable homes as well, like we do.

Discussion

Jasmina Husanović: I think it is very important that we depathologize nostalgia and melancholia because I think that pathologizing these things is extremely dangerous, or treating them as a disease rather than as the basis for our imagining and enacting a hopeful politics, or hopeful lives, as projects. There is a lot of literature that tries to depathologize melancholia and nostalgia which have been pathologized in so much literature and most of our everyday life. Let's just avoid this metaphor of disease which is basically connected to our state of being between migrant and citizen. Let's just ask ourselves what is the politics of citizenship for all of those who assume, whether voluntarily or forcibly, the position of a migrant even if it doesn't mean moving away to another country. It is important to think from this position about losses and remains, changes and gains, nostalgia and melancholia and hope. (...) We simply can't talk about trauma without these ingredients of the politics of witnessing that depathologize it, acting towards hopeful politics.

Rada Borić: But, also, briefly, this other term that you used – *overhomed*. Many of us feminists felt *overhomed*, in a sense of the loss of the home but also *overhomed* by the home that was created as a homeland. So, it does not matter if you were expelled by force like a refugee or as I always felt like being a refugee, or a woman I knew who was abused by her father and wrote a wonderful essay called *Leaving the fathers home*, so the homeland is also the father's home. She would say: "I feel excellent in a refugee camp, I feel at home here". So you would have the whole scale of how one would feel. She said: "Every woman who was abused in any way should feel homeless being at home". So when you said was there a feminist perspective, I would say that the type of activism in supporting homeless and displaced people makes it possible.

And it is a different thing when you said "if I displace myself, at least I could take with me what I choose, three books from the library, but it is still my choice". The refugee women whom I worked with would choose an alarm clock or a little toy for a child, not knowing why exactly they took those things, in a panicking way, trying to keep something as a memory of home. What is a home from the feminist perspective? Many women activists that I know would literally say "I lost the home, a self-support group is my home or the Centre for Women War Victims is my home". It is a question of how to really create a home from a loss.

Ulla Vuorela: One question to you, Elizabeta, which is related to memory. I would be very curious to know how would you address the question of remembering? Do you see any difference in remembering from the outside or from within because, then I think, I'll put it in a more concrete question. When I am discussing slave status, of a slave who is put in a position of an animal, or object or "unheimlich" or "abject" in the slave society. Now, I am talking also of present day Africa where it is very difficult to get rid of the slave status that has been given to you, even many generations back... Recently I was at a conference where the solution offered was that the only way to get rid of the memory (of your slave status) is to move out to a place where you no longer have that stigma. But then, is it possible, because then,

when you get the status of immigrant or refugee or whatever. It is a very complicated situation in a way, because even having the status of a slave from generations back may apply to anybody who might be in any kind of an outsider position; it may not necessarily be a deprived position but it's a memory that sticks to you as a label, willingly or not. We have given a lot of importance to the importance of remembering, and to memory. But here I see there is a problem. I would very much like to hear what you say.

Elizabeta Šeleva: I will try to answer this very interesting question. The process of remembering is actually not one sided or in one direction. Because whenever we try to remember, even from the inside, our own journal experiences, we again act or finish, we become others to ourselves. Whenever I remember what happened to me a few years ago, or in certain circumstances, I am no longer the same person, the same way, of not just thinking but estimating, valuating that process, is direct. It is always transformative. Even when we observe our own memories, or recall our memories, we always already are formed like we are others. I mean with this component of Otherness, which is inscribed in us so and so. And especially in this case when we deal with traumatic or shocking or shaking experiences. And it is very interesting, I read somewhere, one of the possible outcomes of these situations when victims of those traumatic situations become hysterically blank. They just erase, on the subconscious level, erase that what happened in order to survive, transcend the situation and in certain psychoanalytic witnessing makes insecure because of the syndrome of the false memories. So some of us can really have these false memories and it is not always on a manipulative level, it is on the level of subconsciousness, and internal transformational processes which are also very interesting to be studied in the future. Who knows, I mean, take some kind of witnessing, in life or in literature, how these people deal with their own burden of memories or remembering. They act as if that happened to someone else, they deprive themselves of their own pain. They live the pain without subject, that's what I read about these operations, it is very interesting. They live the pain without the subject, I am not the subject of this pain, this pain is existing but it has no previous subject or specific subject. So, this is what you mentioned next, the issue can we move out from the place of stigma. I think the problem is that we can't because the stigma is already inscribed and we are just living or breathing this stigma, like it or not. It can be personal, but it can be transpersonal like generational stigma. There are many examples in history and in communities that you are considered to be collectively guilty of something, or collectively stigmatized as such. Either on the level of family or nation. I got some transgenerational aspects in one family, stigmatized people for something, no matter what. So this is the most, actually, benefit situation or example to deal with because first of all, it is inside. And whenever you move you are just maybe increasing that stigma or losing more and more energy just to displace the stigma, to try to disable the stigma. So the question how to disable the stigma, not how to do it with memory but how to disable the outside.

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Acknowledgments

The editors wish to thank the publishers and journals for permitting us to reprint the rewritten and abbreviated versions of the following articles previously published in:

Elissa Helms (2008) East and West Kiss: Gender, Orientalism, and Balkanism in Muslim-Majority Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Slavic Review* vol. 67(1), Spring 2008, pp. 88– 119.

Laura Huttunen (2005) 'Home' and ethnicity in the context of war: Hesitant diasporas of Bosnian refugees. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* vol. 8 (2), pp. 177 – 195.

Melita Richter (2006) Women Experiencing Citizenship. In: Eva Skaerbaek et al., *Common Passion, Different Voices: Reflections on Citizenship and Intersubjectivity*. Raw Nerve Books, 36-48.

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