Our Bodies, Our Location: The Politics of Feminist Translation and Reproduction in Post-socialist Serbia

by Anna Bogic

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Doctorate in Philosophy degree in Women's Studies

Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ottawa

Table of Contents

Abstract

The dissertation studies feminist knowledge production through translation in the context of post-communist Eastern Europe. It focuses on one case study, the Serbian translation of the American feminist health classic *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (*OBOS*) through the lens of the politics of translation and reproduction. The translation, *Naša tela, mi* (*NTM*), was published by a group of feminist activists from the Autonomous Women's Centre (AWC) in Belgrade, Serbia in 2001. By focusing on this one case study, my dissertation offers an in-depth analysis of the political, social, linguistic, and feminist dimensions implicated in the transfer of a Western feminist project from one geopolitical location to another, to a post-socialist, post-conflict Eastern European country in the 1990s.

Against the background of the Yugoslav wars and the influence of ethno-nationalism in the 1990s, I examine the development of domestic and transnational feminist networking, including the Belgrade feminists' work with victims of domestic and sexual violence and refugees. I assess the extent to which *NTM* serves as oppositional discourse to the changing politics of reproduction and pronatalist discourses around abortion and fertility in Serbia in this period. Furthermore, I analyze *NTM*'s contribution to local feminist knowledge on women's reproductive health, rights, and sexuality. I emphasize the importance of the local context, including the history of abortion access and traditional gender relations. Methodologically, the dissertation is based on interview data, archival documents, and comparative textual analysis.

The dissertation draws attention to feminist knowledge production across uneven geopolitical borders, translation flows across the East-West divide, and the role of English in transnational feminist networking. The dissertation brings together the politics of translation and the politics of reproduction and calls for further studies into the role of translation in transnational feminist patterns of knowledge production.

Résumé

La thèse examine la production des savoirs féministes par le biais de la traduction dans le contexte de l'Europe de l'Est post-communiste. Elle vise une étude de cas en particulier, à savoir la traduction serbe du classique féministe américain en matière de santé – *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (*OBOS*) – dans l'optique de la politique de la traduction et de la reproduction. La traduction, *Naša tela, mi* (*NTM*), a été publiée en 2001 par un groupe de militantes féministes, membres du Centre autonome des femmes à Belgrade, en Serbie. À partir de cette étude de cas, la thèse offre une analyse détaillée des dimensions politiques, sociales, linguistiques et féministes impliquées dans le transfert d'un projet féministe occidental d'un espace géopolitique à celui d'un pays post-socialiste, dans Europe de l'Est post-conflit des années 1990.

Située dans le contexte des guerres en ex-Yougoslavie et de l'influence de l'ethno-nationalisme des années 1990, cette étude porte sur le développement du réseautage féministe transnational et national, y compris le travail des féministes de Belgrade auprès des réfugiées et des victimes de la violence conjugale et sexuelle. Nous évaluons la capacité de *NTM* de servir de discours oppositionnel à la politique changeante en matière de reproduction et aux discours natalistes entourant l'avortement et la fertilité en Serbie à cette époque. Qui plus est, nous examinons la contribution de *NTM* aux savoirs féministes locaux sur les droits reproductifs des femmes, la santé reproductive, et la sexualité. Nous soulignons l'importance du contexte local, ainsi que de l'historique de l'accès à l'avortement et des rapports sociaux de sexe traditionnels. Du point de vue méthodologique, l'étude est fondée sur les données récoltées dans le cadre des entretiens, les archives, l'analyse de discours, et l'analyse textuelle comparative.

La thèse fait ressortir la production des savoirs féministes croisant les frontières géopolitiques inégales, la circulation des traductions au-delà de la division Est-Ouest, et le rôle de l'anglais dans le réseautage féministe transnational. La thèse réunit la politique de la traduction et la politique de la reproduction et invite à la réalisation de plus amples études sur le rôle de la traduction dans les tendances féministes transnationales de la production des savoirs.

Acknowledgements

I would like thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Ontario government (Ontario Graduate Scholarship), the University of Ottawa, Monique Lortie-Lussier, and Nicole Bégin-Heick for supporting my work through generous scholarships.

I am greatly indebted to my thesis committee. It was a great honour to have Dr. Kathy Davis as my external examiner. Thank you for your incredibly generous comments and very pertinent questions. Your scholarship continues to inspire me. I would like to extend my gratitude to the internal examiners, Dr. Luise von Flotow, Dr. Angel Foster, and Dr. Agatha Schwartz, for their valuable guidance and insightful feedback which steered the dissertation in the right direction.

I owe deep thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Christabelle Sethna. Thank you so much for your complete dedication and commitment to this project over the last five years. Your thoughtful comments and revisions vastly improved the quality of the dissertation. Thank you for coming up with a great title for the dissertation! I am grateful for your constant care and for the many discussions we have had over the years which continually pushed my research forward, helped me get through the tough times, and nurtured a passion for feminism and academic research.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generous participation of the interviewees: the Belgrade feminist activists – Dr. Stanislava Otašević, Lepa Mladjenović, Sunčica Vučaj, and the anonymous activist; Judy Norsigian and Ayesha Chatterjee of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective; Laura Busheikin; and Nesrine Bessaih. I am grateful for the support and assistance of the staff at the Autonomous Women's Centre in Belgrade, the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University in Boston, and the Library Matica srpska in Novi Sad. A big thank-you to Vera Kostadinović, Zoran Kapor, and Milica Jevtić for their assistance with the materials in Serbia.

I would like to thank the staff and the faculty at the University of Ottawa's Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies, for all the support over the years. In particular, a big thank-you to Sylvie Thériault, Natacha Lemieux, and Margot Charbonneau for their wonderful help with all the administrative hurdles at very critical times, as well as to Dr. Dominique Bourque, Dr. Shoshana Magnet, Dr. Mythili Rajiva, and Dr. Agatha Schwartz for rewarding and valuable research experience. I would also like to thank Dr. Michael Orsini for believing in my project and for offering so many opportunities to develop my academic skills.

A special thank-you is due to Dr. Dominique Bourque whose encouragement and support at the initial stages made it possible for me to join the Institute of Feminist and Gender Studies and embark on this doctoral journey. Over the years, Dr. Luise von Flotow has remained an incredible academic force and inspiration as well as a mentor. Thank you for bringing *Our Bodies, Ourselves* to my attention and for planting the seed for this dissertation.

Finally, completing the PhD program and the dissertation was a long process which was made much easier and more enjoyable thanks to the caring friendships and encouragement of

colleagues: Anabel Paulos, Jelena Holland, Ishrat Ahmed, Marie-Eveline Belinga, Nesrine Bessaih, Joyce Portilla – Thank you! Boba Rajšić took wonderful care of Katarina at crucial times and made it possible for me to return to my studies. Hvala!

Thank you to my parents who made it all possible by moving to Canada. I am greatly indebted to my little family for believing in me: Thank you to my dear Yannick and my lovely Katarina for bringing so much joy to my life.

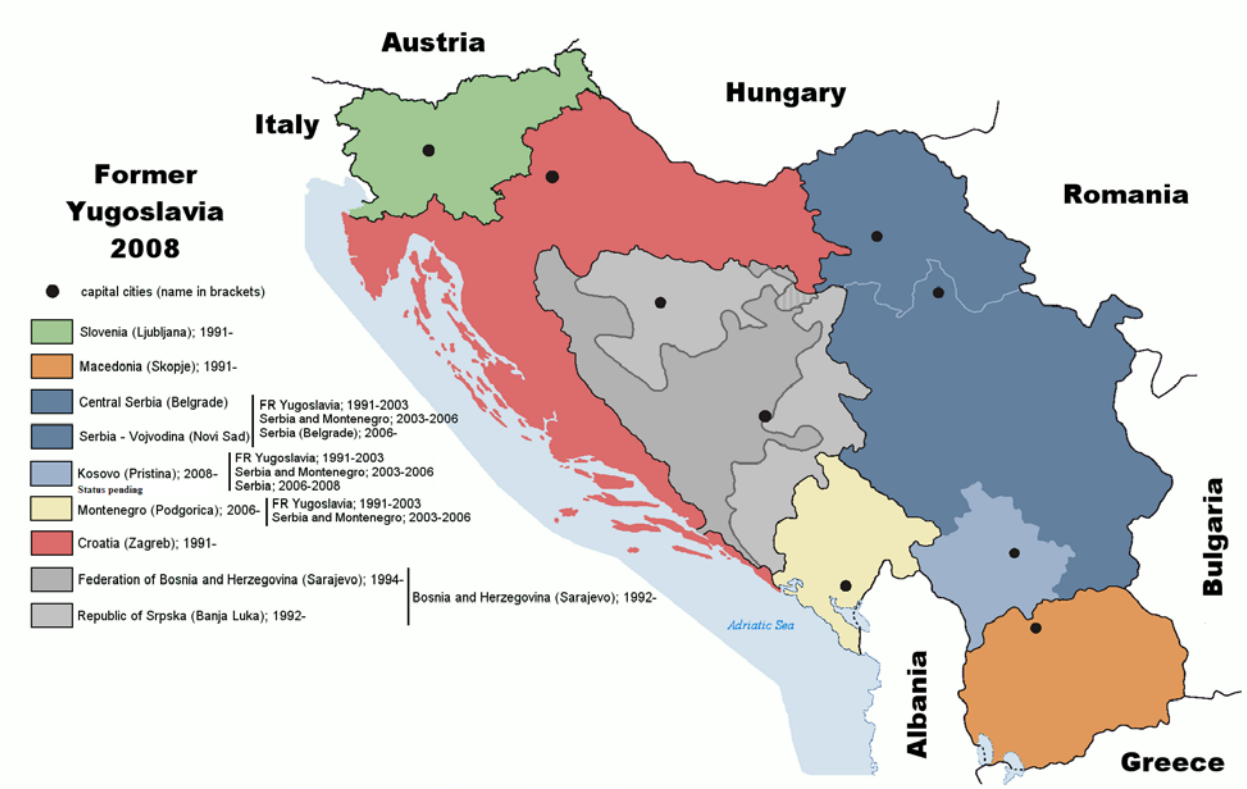
Dedication

to the Belgrade feminist activists who worked tirelessly in the 1990s against all odds

Map of socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)

(source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/europe/former_yugoslavia.jpg)

Map of Yugoslav Successor States (2008)



(source: By Ijanderson977 - derived from File:Former Yugoslavia 2006.png by Dudemanfellabra at en.wikipedia, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7523932)

Timeline of Selected Events: Yugoslavia and Serbia[1]

1918 – Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is formed

1929 – the Kingdom is renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia

1941 – the Kingdom is occupied by the Axis powers (Germany, Italy, Japan); the royal family is exiled in the U.K.

1945/1946 – after the Second World War, the Yugoslav partisans under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito form the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY); under the 1946 Constitution, the federation is made up of six socialist republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

1948 – the Tito-Stalin or the Yugoslav-Soviet split takes place

1951 – the law allows for termination of pregnancy only to save the life and to prevent a serious threat to the health of the woman; prison sentence for those performing abortions outside the stipulated conditions.

1952 – the first detailed abortion law which stipulates clearly all the conditions related to the procedure and allows for socio-medical indications

1960 – the abortion law is further liberalized and for the first time social conditions are openly acknowledged as justifiable reasons for the procedure

1961 – the Non-Aligned Movement is founded in Belgrade, Serbia; founding members are India's prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesia's president Sukarno, Egypt's president Gamal Abdel Nasser, Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah, and Yugoslavia's president Jospi Broz Tito; the organization gathers states that are not formally aligned with or against any Cold War superpower (the United States and the Soviet Union)

1963 – the Yugoslav Constitution is amended; the country is renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)

1969 – the abortion law is further liberalized.

1974 – the Yugoslav Constitution is amended once again; the Republic of Serbia is internally divided to include two autonomous provinces: Vojvodina, in the north, and Kosovo, in the south, in addition to Serbia proper. This constitution also declares that family planning is a human right.

[1] Information collected from Jović (2009) and Wikipedia: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Federal_Republic_of_Yugoslavia

1980 – the death of Josip Broz Tito

1989 – the fall of the Berlin Wall

1990 – dissolution of the Yugoslav Communist Party; first multi-party elections take place in all republics

1991 – Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia declare independence

1992 – Bosnia and Herzegovina declares independence; Serbia and Montenegro form the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)

1991-1995 – armed conflicts take place in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina; crimes against humanity are committed and more than two million people are displaced

1995 – the war in Croatia ends; the Dayton Accord is reached ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina; a new, more restrictive abortion law is adopted in the Serbian parliament

1996 – FR Yugoslavia recognizes independent Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina

1999 – armed conflict in Kosovo and NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosovo

2000 – Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević loses in the presidential elections and is replaced by Vojislav Koštunica

2001 – Milošević is arrested and extradited to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia located in The Hague

2003 – Serbia and Montenegro form a loose union, the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro

2006 – Montenegro declares independence, followed by Serbia

2008 – Kosovo declares independence from Serbia

Timeline of Feminist Movements and Selected Events: Yugoslavia and Serbia[1]

1919 – the Serbian Women's Alliance together with other women's groups across the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes forms the National Women's Alliance of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Narodni ženski savez Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca); the general goals of the Alliance include equality of women and men in private and public law, equal pay for equal work, the protection of women, children and youth, equal access to education for women and girls

1945 – women gain the right to vote in socialist Yugoslavia, in addition to laws proclaiming equality between men and women in matters such as divorce, employment, education, and inheritance

1976 – one of the first public discussions of feminist issues is held at the conference in Portorož, Slovenia, entitled "Social Position of the Woman and the Development of the Family in the Socialist Self-Managing Society" and organized by the League of Communists of Slovenia and the League of Communists of Croatia;

1978 – landmark international feminist conference is held in Belgrade, Serbia, from October 27-30, entitled "Drugarica žena. Žensko pitanje – Novi pristup?" ("Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach?")

1979 – feminist group Woman and Society is formed in Zagreb, Croatia as a section of the Croatian Sociological Association

1980 – Woman and Society is also formed in Belgrade and begins to meet and organize discussions in the Student Cultural Centre (SKC)

1980s – public forums ("tribine") on feminist topics are held regularly both in Zagreb and Belgrade and organized by Žena i društvo

1986 – feminist group Lilith and first lesbian group Lilith LL are founded in Ljubljana, Slovenia

1987 – first Yugoslav Feminist Gathering held in Ljubljana

1988 – second Yugoslav Feminist Gathering held in Zagreb; the first SOS hotline for victims of violence is opened in Zagreb

1990 – third Yugoslav Feminist Gathering held in Belgrade; SOS hotline is established in Ljubljana; Belgrade Women's Lobby and Women's Party are founded

[1] Information collected from Schwartz and Thorson (2014), Miškovska Kajevska (2014), Blagojević (2010), Milić (2011), and Stojaković (2011).

1991 – last Yugoslav Feminist Gathering held in Ljubljana; SOS hotline is established in Belgrade; the Belgrade chapter of Women in Black is formed in September; activists organize the first Women's Parliament on March 8, 1991 in response to the elected male-dominated parliament in Serbia; Women's Lobby, Women's Party, and Women's Parliament organize the first peace demonstrations in Belgrade in response to the rising political tensions across former Yugoslavia

1992 – the Centre for Women's Studies is founded in Belgrade by Woman and Society; the first course entitled "Rod i društvo" or "Gender and Society" is offered at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade

1993 – the Autonomous Women's Centre Against Sexual Violence opens its doors in Belgrade

1994 – In Zagreb, an email network and server *ZaMir* (For Peace) is established connecting peace activists across former Yugoslavia for the first time after the start of the war and acting as the only means of communication; the first international feminist conference in the post-communist world is organized by the Centre for Women's Studies in Belgrade in September, entitled "What Can We Do for Ourselves?"

1995 – lesbian group Labris is formed in Belgrade

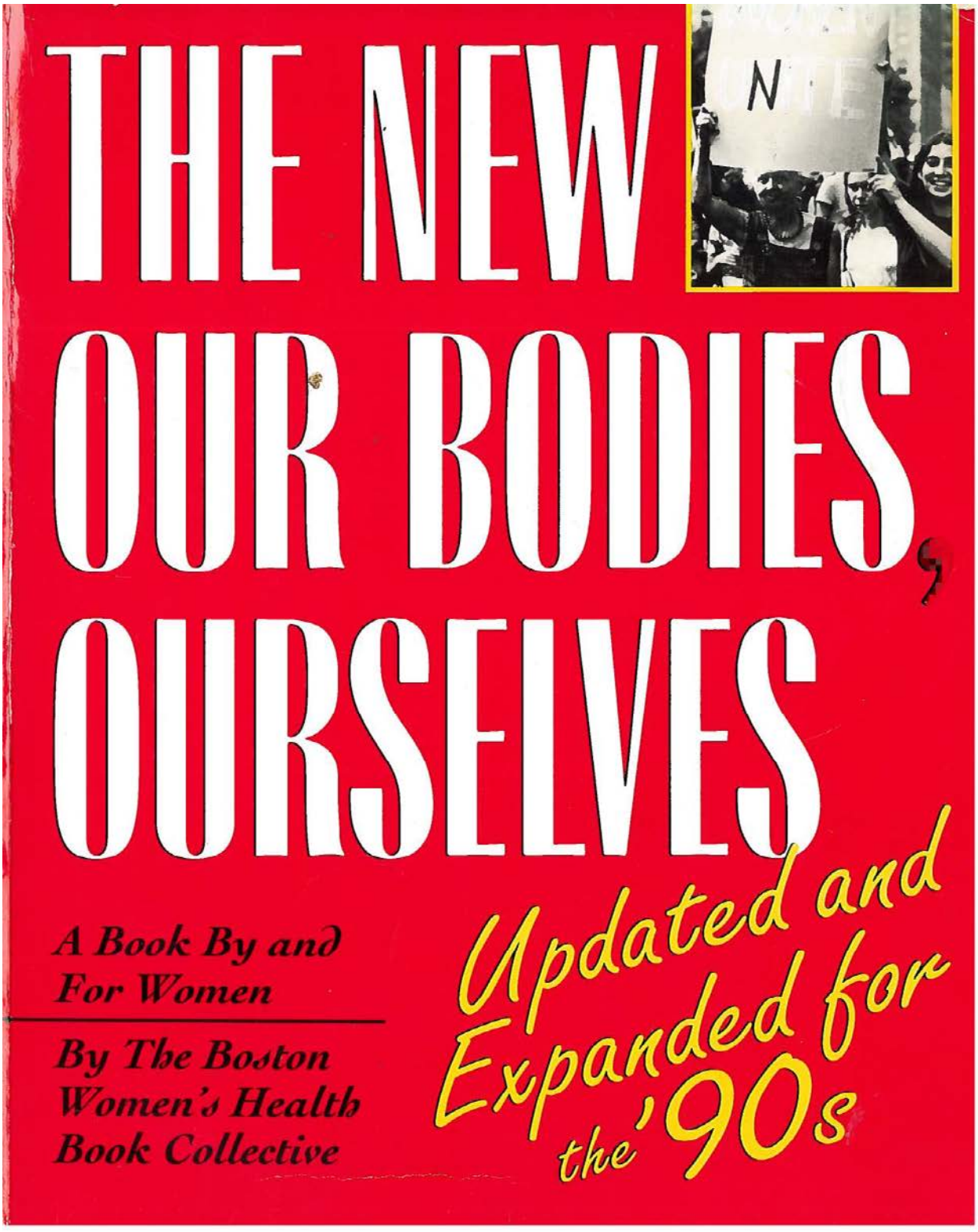
1995-1996 – establishment of the Women's Network in Serbia for the purpose of coordinating and strengthening the women's movement in Serbia

1996 – the first shelter for women refugees is opened in Belgrade, called *Lastavica* ("Swallow"), as a joint project between the Autonomous Women's Centre and Oxfam

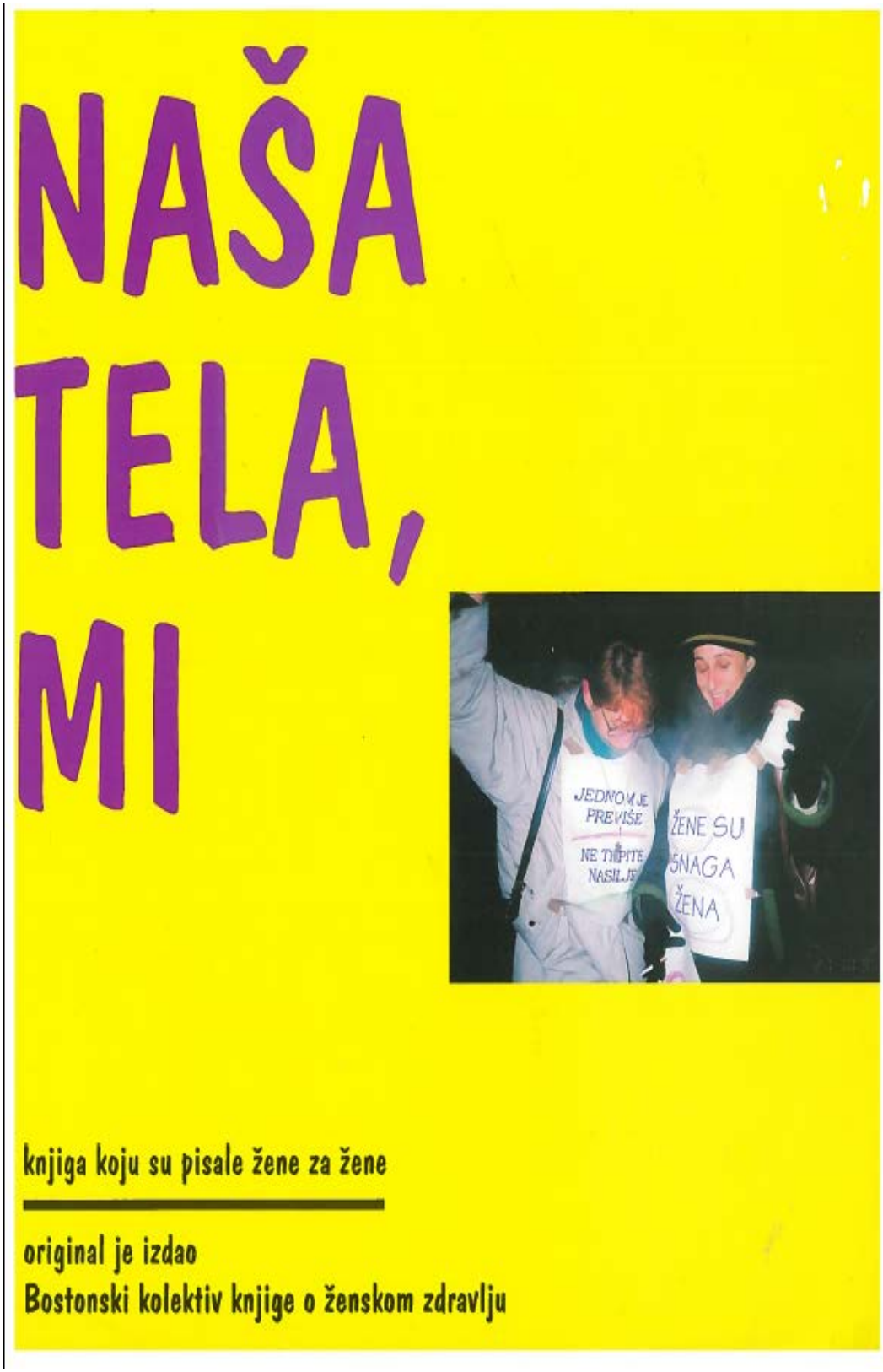
1997 – the Centre for Women's Studies is founded in Novi Sad

1998 – international conference celebrating women's studies in the post-communist transitional countries takes place in Belgrade and is organized by the Centre for Women's Studies

2001 – the Autonomous Women's Centre publishes *Naša tela, mi*



The cover of the 1992 edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (with permission from OBOS)



The cover of *Naša tela, mi* (2001) (with permission from Stanislava Otašević)

Introduction

"If 'our whole life is a translation,' we cannot help wondering: what then is the original? Is it another text, another experience or another reality?"
(Slavova and Phoenix, 2011, 331)

This interdisciplinary study is born out of my interest in translation, feminism, and women's history. As a professional translator, I have become accustomed to occupying that in-between space that lies between different languages, cultures, and world perspectives. As a feminist, I am driven by questions about women's bodily autonomy and gender relations, and by the need to understand the history of women's struggles. From suffrage battles to the women's liberation movement, and more recently to transnational feminism, women have organized in myriad ways to challenge sexist oppression and exploitation (hooks 2000a). Translation has often been the main method of sharing feminist ideas across languages, but it has rarely been studied within the feminist context. Since at least the 1970s, the field of translation studies has been developing diverse analyses and practices, but there have been only a few, albeit ground breaking, works that have taken a feminist approach or challenged the gender inequality that underlies translation practices and theory.[1] In women's and gender studies, inquiries about translation and the role of translation in transnational feminist collaboration and the global circulation of feminist ideas are also rare (Palmary 2014). More recently, Claudia de Lima Costa and Sonia Álvarez have highlighted translation's potential in feminist studies:

> In contemporary globalized postcolonial formations, in light of the reconfiguration of knowledges and the remapping of all kinds of borders (geographic, economic, political, cultural, libidinal, among others), the problematic of translation has become an important, as well as recent, domain

[1] For works on feminist translation and feminist critique of translation practices, see Chamberlain (1988), Lotbinière-Harwood (1991), Godard (1991, 1990), Simon (1996), Flotow (1995, 1997, 2011), Henitiuk (1999), Santaemilia (2005), Castro (2009), Federici (2011), Ergun (2015).

> of feminist contention. We are witnessing an ever-growing need for feminists to engage in productive dialogue and negotiations across multiple geopolitical and theoretical borders (2014, 557).

Given the growing concerns around the global hegemony of the English language in all spheres of life, including feminist studies, it is not surprising that voices critical of English domination are coming from the global South as well as from activists and scholars whose mother tongue is not English (Costa and Alvarez 2014; Spivak 1992/2004).

Charges of cultural imperialism have long mired the spread of Western feminist concepts and theories.[2] More recently, Kathy Davis's pioneering study of the global translations of the American feminist health classic *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (*OBOS*)[3] (2007) delves into the potential of translation to build feminist alliances across borders and differences. Davis traces the history of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective (hereafter the Boston collective) and its landmark publication within the context of second-wave feminism and the women's health movement in the United States. Published in 1971, *OBOS* was a product of intense second-wave feminist activism, consciousness-raising meetings, and women's fight for abortion legalization. Its main message, women's knowledge of their bodies as a form of female empowerment, figured at the centre of the nascent women's health movement which crossed U.S. borders and consolidated into a veritable international health movement (Morgen 2002). Davis researches the trajectory of *OBOS* and argues that global translation projects had the effect of "decentering" *OBOS* as a Western feminist project (2007, 197-201). The feminist activists involved in these projects were not passive recipients of this American text but were actively engaged in its

[2] I discuss terminological issues such as those around the phrase "Western feminism" in chapter one.
[3] *OBOS* in italics refers to the book; OBOS without italics refers to the Boston collective. In 2002, the organization adopted a new name Our Bodies Ourselves (without the comma) or OBOS, while it maintained the original name (the Boston Women's Health Book Collective) for legal purposes.

adaptation and revision. In the process, they became agents in the production of feminist knowledge.

Tying together perspectives on translation and feminism, this dissertation is a multi-method study of one specific translation of the 1992 edition of *OBOS*, the Serbian translation, *Naša tela, mi* (*NTM*), published in 2001 by a group of feminist activists from the Autonomous Women's Centre (AWC) in Belgrade. By focusing on this one case study, my dissertation offers an in-depth analysis of the political, social, linguistic, and feminist dimensions implicated in the transfer of a Western feminist project from one geopolitical location to another, to a post-socialist, post-conflict eastern European country in the 1990s. I begin by formulating two sets of research questions:

1) What changes to the politics of reproduction prompted feminist activists in Serbia to translate *OBOS*? In what ways does the feminist, pro-choice discourse in the Serbian translation oppose this changing politics of reproduction?; and

2) How does *NTM* contribute to feminist knowledge about women's reproductive health in Serbia? How does feminist translation contribute to and/or hinder local production of knowledge? But also, what are the ways in which this feminist translation exposes knowledge production in transnational feminist networks? Answering these questions, I believe, will contribute to a better understanding of transnational feminism on a larger scale.

To ground this case study, I will take into consideration the growing evidence that women's reproductive rights have experienced a retrenchment in many post-socialist Eastern European countries, including Serbia (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Renne 1997). The fact that *OBOS* was translated in five other post-socialist Eastern European countries at roughly the same time as it was in Serbia (Bulgaria 2001, Moldova 2002, Poland 2004, Albania 2006, Russia

2007[4]), is important. As noted by Davis, women's reproductive rights are the "undisputed ideological lynchpin" of *OBOS* (2007, 206).[5] The publication of *OBOS* translations signals that regardless of the different socioeconomic, political, and historical evolution of these countries, the retrenchment of women's reproductive rights is a common phenomenon, albeit appearing in different forms.[6] Abortion became one of the most controversial reproductive rights; it was openly attacked by conservative politicians and religious organizations. In the words of Susan Gal and Gail Kligman: "It is a striking fact about the collapse of communism in 1989 that abortion was among the first issues raised by virtually all the newly constituted governments of East Central Europe" (2000b, 15). I pay particular attention to women's access to abortion in Serbia in the 1990s, given the politics of reproduction and the political weight assigned to abortion in Serbia in the 1990s. But, importantly, I also pay attention to the fertility discourses of the state and the church, and discuss them at length since they also put pressure on some women, as opposed to others, to *have* children. In this way, I am interested in moving beyond the issue of abortion to the larger concern of which women are allowed to have children and which women are not.

The sharp contrast between two geopolitical locations, that of the capitalist United States and post-socialist Serbia, places the spotlight on power differentials and power relations. The ways in which texts from dominant cultures flow into marginalized spaces are not accidental. They are greatly facilitated through translation (Robinson 1997). This aspect led to the formulation of my second set of research questions concerned with power imbalances in

[4] Depending on the study, Russia may or may not be included in the term Eastern Europe. This practice has historically fluctuated. See Wolff (1994).
[5] I discuss the shift from women's reproductive rights to reproductive justice in the terminology section in chapter one.
[6] Prefaces in the Eastern European *OBOS* translations offer important perspectives on this issue. Available at http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/global-projects/

knowledge production. As Kornelia Slavova and Ann Phoenix ponder in the quotation that opens this chapter, translation issues have much to tell us about women's lives and identities as well as women's differences within the framework of transnational feminist solidarity building. By focusing on one specific case study, the Serbian *OBOS* translation, this dissertation aims to study in detail the dynamics of feminist knowledge production in one particular geopolitical space, a transitioning post-socialist, post-conflict Eastern European country.

The research questions helped me to formulate my central argument: *NTM* contributed important feminist knowledge about generally neglected topics of women's reproductive health, violence, and sexuality, and acted as an oppositional discourse to the dominant politics of reproduction, all the while exposing uneven feminist knowledge production in Serbia specifically, and in Eastern Europe, more generally.

Overview of the theoretical framework

Translation is a political act, deeply embedded in the geopolitical landscape and always entangled in different configurations of power relations (Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002; Álvarez and Vidal 1996). Translation of feminist texts is doubly political as it necessarily engages with feminist knowledge and claims to knowledge production that contradict patriarchal norms (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002, 11).[7] As Kathy Davis contends, *OBOS* as well as *OBOS* translations constitute a feminist epistemological project "that generates feminist knowledge and knowledge practices" (2007, 11).

By bringing together feminism, politics, and translation, the case of the Serbian translation of *OBOS* illustrates the ways in which feminist models of consciousness-raising are

[7] In this light, Shulamit Reinharz writes: "Women's position in patriarchal society casts further doubt on the truth of our ideas. Feminism has partially corrected this imbalance" (1983, 167).

imported through translation. The framework of the politics of translation highlights the agents involved in the translation process, funding, dissemination, and availability of other similar texts. Translation can be seen "as a social practice that is historically located, has political consequences and is imbued with power relations" (Slavova and Phoenix, 2011, 333).

Power relations are key determinants of labels such as the *core* or the *centre* and the *periphery*. Post-communist Eastern Europe is often referred to as the periphery of Europe (Wolff 1994). The divisions between Eastern and Western Europe – whether economic, social, political or historical – still linger in the imaginary of the populations in the region, even after the inclusion of a number of Eastern European states in the European Union. The ever-present trope of "the other Europe" places Eastern Europe on the periphery while Western Europe (and the elusive "West") still assumes the "subjective position" of the centre in the constructed discourses (Hall 2003, 56). However, Eastern Europe can also be viewed as a *semiperiphery* which is "positioned between the centre and the periphery and contains the characteristics of both;" it is never different or same enough (Blagojević 2009, 33). Such perspectives break down the centre-periphery binarism by bringing in the third element, the semiperiphery that is always in transition.

The most striking illustration of the "flooding" of the semiperiphery with not only texts but also values and cultural points of reference of the West is seen in the post-1989 period. The removal of the overarching communist and socialist ideologies allowed for the entry of the "winning" capitalist and Western culture. Just as the transition to democracy and market economy was being celebrated, Eastern European societies turned to their neighbours to the west for guidance, and thereby, became some of the largest recipients or importers of Western culture (Gasior 2010, 149).

bell hooks writes: “Much feminist theory emerges from privileged women who live at the center, whose perspectives on reality rarely include knowledge and awareness of the lives of women and men who live on the margin” (2000b, xvii). In a similar vein, Douglas Robinson (1997) argues that a much greater number of texts from the hegemonic culture are translated into other languages than vice versa. These foreign texts are chosen specifically because they come from a culture that represents the *centre* and are therefore prized even if they “are written in utter ignorance of the dominated culture” (Robinson 1997, 32). Scholars working on the role of translation in post-communist societies suggest that translation is the vehicle of dominant representations which construct “privileged mental models” (Mihalache 2010, 2).

Historical background

My study of feminist activism by AWC and its Serbian translation of *OBOS* is set within the context of post-socialism, the ethno-nationalist wars of the early 1990s, and the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia. After a period of conservative and religious monarchist rule between 1918 and World War II, and a period of Yugoslav socialism (1945-1991), the country split into five separate republics in the last decade of the 20th century (Woodward 1995).[8] The so-called “woman question,” debated already in the 19th century, was championed by the socialist Yugoslav government under the banner of “women’s emancipation” (Schwartz and Thorson 2014; Ramet 1999; Božinović 1996; Woodward 1985). In Serbia of the 19th century (and elsewhere), the woman question arose out of the liberal ideas of Enlightenment and questioned the fundamental roles of women in society. It comprised concerns about and interest

[8] Between 1945 and 1991, Yugoslavia was a socialist federation of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. After 1991, the country split along the republic borders, with the exception of Serbia and Montenegro, which formed a short-lived, “new” Yugoslavia in 1992, which ceased to exist in 2003. See the timeline of selected events.

in improving the status of women in society, starting with their education, with the belief that without this improvement the whole society and the Serbian nation could not attain a western European model of progress and modernity (Božinović 1996).[9] In the second half of the 20th century in socialist Yugoslavia, the government proclaimed that the woman question was resolved when women's equality was enshrined in legislation, and policies such as the right to vote, equal pay, access to education, maternity leave, child care, abortion access, and political representation were implemented (Gudac-Dodić 2014, 2006; Božinović 1996; Jancar 1988). However, the gap between Yugoslav laws and women's lived experiences was never completely removed. Gendered labour divisions persisted, and women continued to experience discrimination in all areas of life. In particular, women continued to shoulder the largest portion of responsibilities for housework, reproductive labour, and domestic duties (Ramet 1999; Woodward 1985). Reproduction, sexuality, and domestic violence were rarely discussed publicly and were generally treated as taboo topics (Gudac-Dodić 2014; Drezgić 2010; Bonfiglioli 2008; Denich 1974). Domestic violence in particular, was considered a common occurrence and a private matter and was generally ignored by the police and the state (Mršević 2000, 1994; Protić 1999a).

With the appearance of a small, urban feminist movement in Yugoslavia in the late 1970s and the 1980s, these issues were finally opened up for critical discussion, exposing the failure of the socialist Yugoslav government to fully emancipate Yugoslav women under socialism (Stojčić 2009; Sklevicky 1987). The Yugoslav feminism of this period refuted the socialist Yugoslav government's assertion that the woman question had been resolved by the Yugoslav

[9] Serbia in the 19th century was still under the Ottoman Turk rule, and the Serbian intellectuals at the time thought of the Ottoman Empire as a major obstacle to Serbia's modernization (see Božinović 1996).

revolution and that the "solving of the class issues solves the 'Woman Question'" (Jancar 1988, 21).

The violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s produced deadly ideological and physical assaults on women.[10] Feminist activists in Belgrade, and elsewhere across Yugoslavia, responded with a flurry of anti-nationalist and anti-militarist campaigns (Žarkov 2003). Domestic violence increased and was also compounded by war violence (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002; Korać 1993). In addition, pronatalist discourses and a more restrictive abortion law, adopted in Serbia in 1995, brought significant changes to the politics of reproduction. Feminist activists at the AWC strove to respond – through counselling as well as material, emotional, and legal support – to the needs of women whose bodies became targets of not only "peacetime" domestic violence but also "wartime" ethno-nationalist ideologies. Despite the intense nationalist scene and socioeconomic and institutional decay, feminist activists continued to maintain solidarity with other feminist activists across republic and international borders. In so doing, they challenged the patriarchal, ethno-national, and pronatalist agendas of the Serbian state and the Serbian Orthodox Church.

Given this context, I argue that the AWC's translation work behind *NTM* calls for an examination of the rapidly changing politics of reproduction and increasing violence against women. An analysis of *NTM* and the history of the AWC provides a window into the larger social dynamics such as patriarchal nation-building and re-traditionalization, which stifle women's reproductive rights and their general status in society. I pay particular attention to the role of foreign feminists' support, foreign funding, and transnational feminist networking since these are important actors in the politics of translation. I suggest that the Serbian translation of

[10] Some men and boys also experienced torture, violence, and even rapes. However, men were less likely to admit that they were victims of rape due to shame and perceived injury to their masculinity (Helms 2013; Žarkov 2007, 165-167).

OBOS sheds light on at least three aspects: 1) violence against women and repressive politics of reproduction in Serbia; 2) unprecedented international attention, in particular support and visits by transnational feminist groups and individual feminist activists; and 3) unequal geopolitical positions, and therefore, uneven knowledge production.

Overview of the methodological framework

The dissertation is informed by perspectives produced by gender scholarship on Eastern Europe and the transition to democracy, as well as by perspectives in transnational feminist scholarship. Moreover, by focusing on the politics of translation and especially feminist translation, this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of the production of feminist knowledge from Western European and North American to Eastern European spaces.

My research draws on data collected through interviews, archival research, and relevant secondary literature in English, Serbian, and French, the three languages in which I am fluent.[11] I interviewed eight key informants in total. This included valuable interviews with four Belgrade feminist activists and two members of the Boston collective. I also interviewed a Canadian journalist and feminist activist with experience of activism in Eastern Europe in the 1990s, as well as a Canadian feminist leading the French-Canadian *OBOS* translation project. Our conversations were often supplemented by information found in archival documents. I visited the *OBOS* archives housed in the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University in Boston in November 2014. Archival documents on women and health in Serbia were collected from the Matica Srpska Library (Biblioteka Matice srpske) in Novi Sad, Serbia in July 2014 and January 2016. Secondary literature provided the necessary background to my study and served as important sources for political contexts, historical information, and

[11] Research methods are discussed in detail in chapter one.

theoretical perspectives. It allowed me to understand what has been studied and argued thus far, guiding me to choose my angle of inquiry.

I based parts of my research on comparative textual analysis. This method is frequently used in translation studies and contributes to a clearer understanding of the ways in which *OBOS* was translated and adapted into Serbian. I also use discourse analysis to analyze the data collected during my research. In order to evaluate the extent to which feminist discourse – in the form of feminist messages of empowerment, reproductive rights, and bodily autonomy – found in *NTM* is oppositional discourse, I draw comparisons between *NTM* and a number of different Serbian texts. Specifically, I analyze official government statements and policies, including laws such as the abortion law; official statements published by the Serbian Orthodox Church; demographic studies; and women's self-help books and magazine articles published in the 1970s and the 1980s. I place these texts in dialogue, and through their juxtaposition, I seek to draw insights into the social and cultural values about women's bodies and reproduction in the region.

Summary of chapters

In chapter **one**, I provide a brief look at the history of the Boston collective and the "origin story" of *OBOS*. I describe my theoretical framework of the politics of translation and how it guides this dissertation. I then justify my methodological approach and elaborate on the methods used in my research. In the last section, I discuss briefly a number of key terms and phrases used throughout my dissertation in order to clarify some of my terminological choices which position my research within the wider academic field.

In chapter **two**, I trace the history of the Autonomous Women's Centre and their translation project *Naša tela, mi* within the growing feminist activism and transnational feminist

networking in Belgrade. I briefly present the political and social context in Serbia in the 1990s, in particular the wars and the influence of ethno-nationalism.

In chapter **three**, I explore the development of and the changes in the politics of reproduction both in socialist Yugoslavia and then later in Serbia in the 1990s. I argue that *NTM* serves as an oppositional feminist discourse to the dominant discourses produced by the Serbian Orthodox Church, the government, and demographic studies. I examine the abortion law of 1995 as well as the feminists' resistance to it. I assess the extent to which *NTM* takes into account the local history of abortion and cultural taboos related to women's reproductive health and sexuality.

In chapter **four,** I review archival documents such as older women's health books and guide books as well as women's journals from the 1970s and 1980s in order to contextualize *NTM*. In line with my focus on the politics of translation and language, I study a number of key words in the Serbian translation as an illustration of the complexity of feminist translation. I argue that *NTM* fills an important gap in feminist knowledge in Serbia on women's reproductive health, sexuality, and violence.

In the **conclusion**, I highlight three contradictions or "ironies of translation" in the case of *NTM*. I conclude by bringing attention to some of the lessons that can be drawn from the politics of translation and reproduction and feminist knowledge production, translation flows across the East-West divide, the choice of translation and funding, and the role of English in feminist theorizing and transnational feminism in Serbia and Eastern Europe in the 1990s.

Chapter 1:

Our Bodies, Our Location: Historical Context, Theoretical Framework, and Methodology

"The point of this book is to speak to women in this country. I assume that when women in Boston wrote it they didn't dream that it would be translated in all these ways, […] they wrote it for women there, they wrote about themselves, […] so that was their idea and their context, so we did too, we weren't loyal to the translation but to the life of the women here. That was what we knew best."[1]

Sunčica Vučaj (Interview)

1. Historical context: *Our Bodies, Ourselves* and its global trajectory

1.1 The Boston collective

The beginnings of the Boston collective can be traced back to the late 1960s and specifically to a conference held in May 1969 at Emmanuel College, Boston (Davis 2007, 89; Hayden 1994, 34; BWHBC 1971, 3). Entitled "Female Liberation Conference," the gathering attracted hundreds of women who were willing to question power structures in an American society already shaken by civil rights battles, anti-war protests, and new social protest movements emerging out of the New Left (Gitlin 1987). The conference workshop on reproductive health brought together a group of women, many of whom would eventually become founding members of the Boston collective, and embark on a decades-long collaboration. Workshop papers from the conference were further researched and developed, and

[1] The original in Serbian is as follows: "Poenta u knjizi je da adresira žene u ovoj zemlji… Pretpostavljam da žene u Bostonu kad su pisale da nisu ni sanjale da će se tako prevoditi…. da, da im nije palo ni napamet. One su pisale to zato što su htele da približe ženama tamo, pisale su o sebi, … tako da to jeste njihova ideja, time su se one rukovodile u svojoj sredini, tako i mi nismo bile lojalne prevodu nego što je život žena. To je najbolje što smo mi znale."
All translations of interview excerpts from the Serbian into English are mine.

subsequently turned into a women's health course text that became the feminist classic, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.[2] The first edition came out one year after the conference and was a product of intense feminist activism, research, and consciousness-raising meetings.

It is from such consciousness-raising meetings that arose the now famous second-wave feminist slogan "the personal is political" (Davis 2007, 22). No longer isolated from each other and thinking that their seemingly unique experiences were just individual matters, many women came to the realization that their often troubling experiences were shared by other women across the United States. By identifying their commonalities, women in such discussion groups were able to identify the link between individual experiences and the wider structures of oppression. This was that "aha" moment experienced in the 1970s, "the bread and butter of consciousness-raising" (Davis 2007, 91).

OBOS provided information on women's anatomy, as well as on sexuality, lesbian relationships, masturbation, healthy relationships, violence against women, self-care and self-defence, contraception (including the then controversial birth-control pill), abortion, which was still illegal at the time,[3] pregnancy, birth, and aging. Most importantly, *OBOS* combined adapted medical information with intimate first-person accounts. It also included photographs and drawings of real women's bodies, which gave women readers essential and empowering knowledge about topics that were usually treated as taboo, rarely discussed, and if discussed, articulated in shameful terms. The text's message was highly political and addressed its readers with a voice that called upon women to join the feminist movement.

[2] Between 1970 and 1971, the title changed from *Women and Their Bodies* to *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.
[3] Abortion was legalized at the federal level in the United States in 1973, after the legal challenge of Roe. vs. Wade. A number of states (California, Colorado, Maryland, New York, among others) had, however, already in 1969 and early 1970 reformed their laws to include more indications allowing for a "therapeutic abortion," making the procedure somewhat more accessible. The early editions of *OBOS* explain the abortion laws in detail (BWHBC 1970, 1973, 1976). See also Reagan (1997).

The impact of *OBOS* was immediate and soon it became highly influential given the American society's treatment of women's bodies and sexuality at the time: "There was virtually no open discussion of sex and reproduction in schools or the popular media, and physicians condescended to women and regularly withheld medical information from their female patients" (Gordon and Thorne 1998, 182). Growing interest in the course led to large sales of the text. It became a great "underground success" and sold more than 200,000 copies in the first few months, mostly through newly established women's studies centres and by word-of mouth (Sanford 1979, 85). When the popular demand for *OBOS* became too large for the movement publisher, the New England Free Press, to manage, the Boston collective members struck a contract with a commercial publisher, Simon and Schuster in 1972.[4] This somewhat controversial move from a leftist movement publisher to a capitalist, commercial publishing house was debated among the collective, but in the end, the need to reach as many women across the United States as possible prevailed.[5]

Despite attempts[6] to censor *OBOS*, it remained widely available and became what Byllye Avery calls "the bible for women's health" (1996, 8). As a powerful feminist manifesto, *OBOS* contributed to the transformation of doctor-patient relationships as increasing numbers of women educated themselves by participating in a growing women's health movement. Women not only demanded better treatment from doctors, but some doctors also started to use *OBOS* in their practice (Morgen 2002, 19). Referring to the importance of *OBOS*, Sheryl Ruzek suggests: "Historians often ponder how books change history. *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, the enormously

[4] For more details, see Hayden (1994) and archival documents at the Schlesinger Library (Boston Women's Health Book Collective Records, 1972-1997, MC503, 102.4).
[5] Judy Norsigian and Ayesha Chatterjee, interview, Boston, November 2014.
[6] Archival documents at the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University contain dozens of news articles and letters documenting the attempts by conservative and religious groups to censor the book by removing it from public libraries and schools.

popular and influential work, will long be studied for igniting and sustaining a worldwide women's health movement" (2007, 181). In her work on the women's health movement in the United States, Sandra Morgen argues that "it would be difficult to exaggerate the impact of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* […] Erupting into the void (there were few popular books about women's health before it), *Our Bodies, Ourselves* created its own niche" (2002, 19).

Nine editions of *OBOS* have been published since its debut (1971, 1973, 1976, 1979, 1984, 1992, 1998, 2005, 2011). The content and the form of the text have evolved in step with various feminist communities and feminist ideas. New concepts and perspectives have been added over time, such as reproductive justice principles and experiences of trans* individuals. The tone of the text has also been transformed, following changes to terminology and the retreat of the radical feminism so emblematic of the late 1960s and 1970s in the United States. Since 1971, *OBOS* has sold more than 4.5 million copies and has entered American popular culture through television, films, and books. Throughout its nine editions, the Boston collective remained committed to feminist activism and the burgeoning women's health movement, but also to a highly collaborative process of knowledge production. Each edition is a product of research and collaboration between dozens and even hundreds of contributors. The 2011 edition includes contributions by over 500 people.[7]

The women behind *OBOS* have in the past two decades made conscientious effort to preserve their revolutionary ideas and materials for future generations. In 1998, the collective launched its website in response to the growing demand for internet-based communication. This decision made the text widely available and accessible, especially to younger generations surfing the internet in search of answers to their sexual and reproductive health questions. In 1999, the first installment of the BWHBC/OBOS records was deposited at the Schlesinger Library of

[7] Preface in *OBOS* (2011).

Harvard University's Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study (a former women's college). After the publication of its ninth edition in 2011, OBOS organized a global symposium entitled "Our Bodies, Our Future: Advancing Health and Human Rights for Women and Girls" in Boston, in celebration of its 40th anniversary and its global partners. Different translations and adaptations of *OBOS* have over the years ensured a continuation and preservation of the original collective's aims, but have also injected new energy and dynamism into the collective (Davis 2007). Although some collective members have produced other book projects similar in philosophy and format to *OBOS*, such as *Ourselves and Our Children* (1978), *Ourselves Growing Older* (1987 and 1994), and *Sacrificing Ourselves for Love* (1996), *OBOS* remains the collective's most celebrated and translated book.

1.2 Translations, adaptations, and the OBOS Global Initiative Project

As soon as *OBOS* reached mass domestic readership, translations and adaptations began to appear. Today, there are more than thirty, which are jointly managed by OBOS and global network partners under the banner of the Our Bodies Ourselves Global Initiative (OBOGI).[8] There are about a dozen new translation and adaptation projects currently in preparation. Davis outlines three stages of dissemination of *OBOS:* stage one, from 1970 to 1982, in Western Europe and Japan; stage two, from 1982 to 1996, in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East; and stage three. from 1996 to 2006, in the so-called Third World and Eastern Europe (2007, 52-53). The ways in which the translations were executed also varied considerably. Ranging from direct

[8] The following information on the status of the different foreign translations of *OBOS* is available on the collective's website under the section Global Initiative Project. Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this section is based on the data posted on the OBOS website. Retrieved in August 2016 at http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/global-projects/

translations, cultural adaptations and then to "inspired adaptations," *OBOS* was taken up by publishers, feminist activist groups, and women's health organizations.

Davis argues that *OBOS* is an excellent illustration of how texts can travel through translation. Through global circulation, *OBOS* was "decentred," as the book "appeared (and reappeared) in new contexts, both carrying its original meanings and acquiring new ones as it was taken up and adapted" (Davis 2007, 77). However, Davis contests the claims that *OBOS* translations are indicative of Western imperialism. Rather than being an imposition of American feminism upon others, *OBOS* translations have provided a platform for activists involved in the translation to demonstrate their "creative agency" by choosing what information to include and what to omit, contingent upon the "local political and cultural climates" (Davis 2007, 78).

Over time the American *OBOS* slowly lost its transformative effect within the United States, given the large numbers of commercial publishing houses which facilitated the exponential growth of feminist and non-feminist women's health books, and the expanding role of the internet in knowledge dissemination, lumping together reliable and less reliable sources of information. As the scope of international translation projects expanded, and the American *OBOS* became submerged in countless other feminist and non-feminist publications on women's health, its global trajectory grew in importance.

OBOS translations continue to spotlight the transformative effect of the original text. Furthermore, translations also create a new life for the source text, creating a loop that sustains both projects. As *OBOS* started to lose its influence domestically, it increasingly took on a new role as the "facilitator of its *life* outside the United States" (Davis 2007, 79; my emphasis). While most translations of *OBOS* are adaptations sensitive to local and cultural contexts, the one constant that travelled to all global projects – or was always translatable – was the idea "of a

small group of laywomen talking about their embodied experiences and critically assembling useful information about their health needs" (Davis 2007, 79).

The appearance of *OBOS* translations in post-communist Eastern European countries in the early 2000s falls within the third stage of dissemination outlined by Davis (2007, 52-53). *OBOS* translations appeared in Serbia (2001), Bulgaria (2001), Moldova (2002), Poland (2004), Albania (2006), and Russia (2007).[9] These translations are a product of converging factors, such as a volatile political climate, burgeoning feminist activism, and availability of foreign funding, among others.

All six translations received funding from the Soros Foundation, in addition to other funding agents, such as the Global Fund for Women and the Network of East-West Women, or anonymous donors (see the Serbian case study, chapter two). This fact reflects the economic reality in Eastern European countries where the rapid emergence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the early 1990s also met with the challenge of fundraising and donor politics (Bagić 2006; McMahon 2001; Lang 1997). The sudden impoverishment of the general population that occurred after the fall of communist governments after 1989 had made local sources of financial support scarce. The arrival of foreign NGOs, as well as the establishment of grassroots organizations, changed the social landscape such that foreign funding, and often, the foreign donors' agenda, determined the areas of research and action (Bagić 2006; Ghodsee 2006).[10] Writing in particular on the Bulgarian context of foreign aid machinery, Kristen

[9] The first Russian translation, currently out of print, was completed in 1995 by a publishing house Progress under the title *You and Your Body* and was criticized for being an "insensitive translation" (Posadskaya-Vanderbeck 1997, 381).

[10] Kristen Ghodsee writes critically of the NGO funding in Bulgaria, but her findings can also be applied to many other Eastern European countries. Ghodsee quotes one of her interviewees, who explains the reasons why local Bulgarians will not fund NGOs: "There is no culture of charity among Bulgarians anymore. The communists took it out of us. Even if there was, people are too poor to make donations to NGOs. As far as the business sector is concerned, the new law on NGOs gives no financial incentives for corporations to donate to us, no tax breaks. The

Ghodsee (2006) invokes the term "political economy of begging" to describe the amplification of "problems" in a society for the purpose of attracting more aid. Such critical views of the NGOs' work and funding are crucial in understanding the dynamics characteristic of women's and feminist groups in Eastern Europe. The funding considerations, I suggest, have an important role to play in any analysis of translations and other publications produced by NGOs in the post-1989 context.

The *OBOS* translations also underwent significant adaptation. In each of the six translations, chapters were reorganized, photos were changed to varying extent, and content was removed, condensed, or revised. New content was researched and written by local feminist translator-activists. Their efforts to adapt the content were supported by the Boston collective.[11] Such an adaptation strategy brought a great deal of editorial freedom and produced a uniquely collaborative relationship between the collective and the local groups. However, as much as the Boston collective strove to secure editorial freedom for the local feminist NGOs, the collective still established guidelines that required certain chapters to be translated: "Mindful of its own experiences with censorship in the United States, the Boston collective was also concerned that the potentially problematic chapters on controversial subjects such as abortion, lesbian relationships, or masturbation would not be deleted by conservative, male-dominated publishing houses" (Davis 2007, 59).

The *OBOS* translations are, therefore, an illustration of a political approach to translation, where the source text authors intervene to ensure their particular feminist message is passed on in the translation. By stipulating in the contracts for foreign editions that only local feminist

---

government will not give us anything. Our only hope is the international organizations, but many of them are leaving now" (2006, para. 9).

[11] Interview with Ayesha Chatterjee.

groups could translate *OBOS* (Davis 2007, 59), the Boston collective set a model of collaboration and transnational feminist solidarity building by means of feminist translation.

2. Theoretical framework

Writings on transnational feminism have rarely focused on the specific ways feminisms have travelled globally (Ergun 2015, 35). Translation of feminist texts has been the main tool for sharing feminist theories and ideas but it has only recently been studied in greater detail.[12] *Transnational feminism* has emerged as a "new" concept intended to replace the controversial concept of *global sisterhood* (Mendoza 2002, 295-296). Shaped by postcolonial feminist critiques, transnational feminism has emerged as a new solution to feminist solidarity globally, one capable of taking into account women's differences, in practice and theory at the local and global levels. In a similar manner to Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan's influential conceptualizing of transnational feminism, Susan Stanford Friedman suggests: "Locational feminism requires a geopolitical literacy that acknowledges the interlocking dimension of global cultures, the way in which the local is always informed by the global and the global by the local" (1998, 5). In particular, transnational feminism suggests a new consciousness of the differences between the so-called First World and Third World women, following the critiques of Western ethnocentrism by postcolonial feminist scholars (Mohanty 2002 and 1986; Alexander and Mohanty 1997). The term First World is generally used in literature to refer to wealthy,

[12] Kathy Davis's 2007 work on the *OBOS* translation is a key source for my research. I explore it further throughout this chapter. See Bina Freiwald's 1991 article as well as Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva's work on translations of the so-called French Feminism in *Theories on the Move: Translation's Role in the Travels of Literary Theories* (2006). See also Emek Ergun's doctoral dissertation (2015) on feminist translation within the context of the cultural notion of virginity in the United States and Turkey. More recently, Maud Bracke at the University of Glasgow initiated a collaborative project and a workshop entitled "Translating Feminism: Transfers, Transgression, Transformation (1945-1989)" (http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/staff/maudbracke/#/researchinterests).

industrialized countries, many of which have also acted as colonizers in the past. The term Third World, however, is meant to represent poor, aid-dependent, developing countries, whose borders are often products of colonialism. But even more importantly, this ordering is closely tied to a narrative of progress and modernity, according to which First World countries (and women) are more advanced economically, socially, and culturally in comparison to Third World countries (and women) (Naples 2002).

Nevertheless, there is a gap in transnational feminist literature on women living in the former Second World, or the countries with communist governments (Grabowska 2012). Since the end of the Cold War, the term Second World has been treated in literature as obsolete, while First World and Third World have often been replaced by Global North and Global South, respectively. In this new geopolitical configuration, post-communist countries are either left out or inappropriately subsumed under one or the other category (Kašić 2004). As Magdalena Grabowska argues:

> At a time when transnational feminism is framed primarily as a dialogue between women from the global North and the global South, reconstructing specific genealogies of feminist struggles within the space of Eastern Europe requires deconstructing the homogenous representation of second-world women vis-à-vis the West (2012, 387).

The old East-West divide that characterized much of the geopolitical constellation during the Cold War is no longer seen as relevant, but no new category has clearly come to occupy its place. The phrase "countries in transition to democracy" is the closest descriptor, and the "West" is often used interchangeably with the Global North.[13]

My interest in discovering the ways in which a feminist text has travelled from West to East through the lens of the politics of translation has led me to research the elements that influenced the choice of text for translation, the women who felt compelled to translate *OBOS*,

[13] See the Terminology section in this chapter for more discussion on these terms.

and the funding and distribution of the translated text. In particular, the funding illustrated the extent to which politics gave shape and colour to the *OBOS* translation project. The financial support for the Serbian translation project was provided by the Open Society Foundation (part of the wider network of Soros Foundations) in the case of Serbia but also in the case of the other Eastern European translation projects. Hungarian-born billionaire and philanthropist George Soros's involvement in Eastern European politics and his well-financed network of NGOs have attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention and have been documented in at least three biographies (Porter 2015; Sudetic 2011; Kaufman 2002), and in his own autobiography (Soros 1995). Soros's open dislike of the communist governments and his firm beliefs in democracy, bolstered by his personal wealth – one billion dollars spent on the promotion of democracy in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union countries, and approximately another billion in Russia (Porter 2015, 56) – have garnered Soros the reputation of being "the only private citizen with his own foreign policy" (Kaufman 2002, xiii) and as a "superstar philanthropist."

Another source of financial support for the Serbian translation came from an anonymous donor from the United States who contributed some $7,500 and stipulated a number of conditions regarding distribution, such as ensuring that the translation is distributed to a number of different NGOs in Bosnia and Croatia.[14] Clearly, financial support for feminist projects constitutes another form of political engagement and investment. As Susan Gal writes, "in the postsocialist period the market and foundations have come to play crucial roles," and "foundations support books that correspond in some ways with their political, ethical or social 'mission'" (2003, 106). Recognizing the influence of funding intermediaries is an important task when tracing the decision-making process, where the choice of what to translate and how is entangled with "frankly political considerations" (Gal 2003, 106).

[14] Email correspondence with Ayesha Chatterjee, January 2015.

In order to address these political dimensions of the *OBOS* translation project in the Eastern European context, I felt compelled to engage with the theoretical framework of the *politics of translation*. I draw on the work of scholars who specifically name this framework, as well as those who theorize translation and power (Slavova and Phoenix 2011; Guo 2009; Schaffner 2007; Susam-Sarajeva 2006; Spivak 1992/2004; Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002; Robinson 1997; Alvarez and Vidal 1996; Simon 1996). Important to my research is Gentzler and Tymoczko's proposition:

> Translation thus is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication […] In these ways translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture" (2002, xxi).

Building on the work of such scholars, I engage too with those who theorize about the production of knowledge, and specifically, the production of feminist knowledge (Blagojević 2015, 2009; Cerwonka 2008; Davis 2007) and who underscore the role of translation in this production (Álvarez *et al.* 2014).[15] I formulate the politics of translation as a framework that interrogates political dimensions in translation practices, ranging from political contexts, political motivations behind decisions (choice of text, choice of translator, adaptation techniques, funding, distribution, etc.), to political messages in the text.

The notion of geopolitics highlights the crucial role played by *location* – that is, the political status of a country (and the languages spoken within its borders) is contingent on its geographic location in the "mental maps" of affluent and less affluent nations. My understanding of the notion of geopolitics is also informed by positions developed by transnational feminist

[15] While Álvarez *et al.* (2014) do underscore the importance of translation in feminist knowledge production and transnational networking, they do not always make a clear distinction between the concrete and metaphorical ways that translation, and specifically cultural translation, can be taken up in feminist and other scholarship. In my dissertation, I am specifically preoccupied with translation as the concrete exercise of interlinguistic transfer. For a debate on the role of cultural translation in translation studies, see Buden *et al.* (2009).

scholars who underscore the imbricated global and local dynamics (Davis 2007 and 2002; Slavova 2006; Mohanty 2002; Thayer 2000; Friedman 1998; Tsing 1997; Grewal and Kaplan 1994).

In feminist literature, Adrienne Rich's notion of the *politics of location* (1986) has had significant impact on feminist theorizing since it has helped to further elaborate upon differences between women, reminding us that location in space grounds us not only in geographic, but also in social, historical, racial, and economic terms. As women, our bodies are our location; that is, the different contexts that shape women's lives create gaps and differences between our lived experiences (Rich 1986, 212). Politics of location highlights the importance of acknowledging one's location – or one's multiple locations through different fragments of identity – and the conditions and possibilities offered by that particular location. The concept was originally conceived to challenge the ethnocentrism of American feminism around the world and the asymmetrical and hierarchical relations that exist among feminists as well. Such a viewpoint is relevant to my research since it challenges feminist scholars to interrogate the ways geopolitics frames not only the objects of their study but also their own locational standpoint.

Tying the politics of location to the politics of translation draws our attention to translation flows. Writing on the politics of translation and feminist solidarity, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak asserts: "The status of a language in the world is what one must consider when teasing out the politics of translation" (1992/2004, 378). Spivak's work is shaped by postcolonial feminist interrogations, which have challenged the universalization tendencies in some feminist writing. Specifically, Spivak criticizes the lack of attention paid to power differentials that characterize the relations between women in different geopolitical locations. Spivak suggests that one way in which Western feminists or so-called First World feminists may

understand the lived realities of women in the Third World is by learning their language. This undeniably difficult task teaches that transnational solidarity cannot be achieved without understanding the ways in which hegemonic languages impose foreign realities on women "out there."[16] While Spivak's text is one of the most recognizable texts on the politics of translation, it nevertheless remains a brief exploration of this important theoretical approach.

Translation flows tell us from which languages texts and ideas are translated and into which other languages. Texts produced outside North America and Western Europe rarely become pioneering or classic texts especially in the English-speaking West; but the reverse is often the case (Robinson 1997, 32-33). The direction of translation flows is not divorced from geopolitical considerations. Scholarship in both gender studies and translation studies reminds us that translation is "imbued with power relations" (Slavova and Phoenix 2011, 333) and that "far from being a horizontal exchange or a peaceful transfer it is often described to be, translation can rather only be understood as an 'unequal exchange' occurring in a strongly hierarchical environment" (Casanova 2002, 7; my translation).[17] While some transnational feminist scholars like Friedman have paid particular attention to the role of geopolitics in discursive flows, very little is known about the concrete ways feminist ideas are disseminated around the globe. This dissertation sheds light on translation as one key practice in this process of knowledge dissemination and on translator-activists or feminist translators as the operation's principal agents.

[16] Spivak bring much needed attention to language hegemony within feminism: "I am talking about the importance of language acquisition for the woman from a hegemonic monolinguist culture who makes everybody's life miserable by insisting on women's solidarity at her price" and "There are countless languages in which women all over the world have grown up and been female or feminist, and yet the languages we keep on learning by rote are the powerful European ones, sometimes the powerful Asian one, least often chief African ones" (1992/2004, 379).
[17] The original in French states: "[…] loin d'être l'échange horizontal ou le transfert pacifié souvent décrit, la traduction ne peut être comprise, au contraire, que comme un « échange inégal » se produisant dans un univers fortement hiérarchisé" (Casanova 2002, 7).

Descarries (2014) cogently argues that non-English speaking academics need to invest extra time and funding in order to translate their work into English if they wish to be heard. An increasing number of conferences in all disciplines in all corners of Europe, and elsewhere, are conducted in English, requiring English proficiency from its participants. Those who are not fluent in English face elimination from the global, English-centric conversation. But also, new knowledge, in forms of theories and studies, is created "at the core," or the traditional locus of power, and then "transmitted" to the periphery, or to Eastern Europe as a "semiperiphery," through translation (Blagojević 2009, 89-92).[18] While translations can enrich the knowledge of one society, they also run the risk of importing foreign "mental models" (Mihalache 2010) which do not resonate with the local readership.

I draw on Davis's pioneering study of the Boston collective and the *OBOS* translations to explore the Serbian translation, *Naša tela, mi* (*NTM*). Davis's study is a key source for my dissertation given the scarcity of literature that combines translation and feminist studies. Davis bases her work on the following three arguments. First, *OBOS* is a feminist epistemological project: the aim of *OBOS* is to create critical knowledge about women's bodies, which can empower women individually and collectively (2007, 142). Second, *OBOS* translations are an illustration of an ongoing transnational feminist knowledge project that eschews feminist cultural imperialism (2007, 201). And third, what made *OBOS* particularly successful was not so much the specific feminist content but an exportable formula whereby a group of laywomen could together create critical health knowledge which takes into account their own personal experiences. While Davis's work is fundamental for my understanding of *OBOS*, it does,

[18] Blagojević describes semi-periphery as "positioned between the centre and the periphery and contain[ing] the characteristic of both" and never different or same enough (2009, 33). Post-socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe are an excellent example of semiperiphery – a periphery that is constantly on the verge of becoming the centre, or "the same," in a perpetual state of transition. The prefix "semi" seems to be a common descriptor of this region. Elissa Helms critically writes of the "semi-exotic Balkans" (2013, 6).

however, offer only a broad overview of *OBOS* translations. By focusing on one specific case study, the Serbian *OBOS* translation, this dissertation aims to explore in detail the dynamics of feminist knowledge production in one particular geopolitical space, a transitioning post-socialist Eastern European country.

The global trajectory of *OBOS* has also compelled Davis (2007, 9, 120, 140) to compare this global project to Edward Said's influential concept of "travelling theory." Davis sees feminism as a kind of travelling theory "that circulates globally and is rearticulated and transformed in the course of its relocation from place to place" (2007, 9). Said explores the potential of a theory to travel across space and time through different contexts (Said 1994, 1983). Initially, he suggests that theories can lose their "insurrectionary role" and are "tamed" when moved to a new context (Said 1983, 235). However, revisiting his work in 1994, Said contends that a theory – now calling it a "transgressive theory" (Said 1994, 253) – instead of being domesticated, may reaffirm "its own inherent tensions by moving to another site" (Said 1994, 253). Such thinking on "the theory of traveling theory" (Ergun 2015, 36) informs my theoretical approach by suggesting that contexts need to be studied and compared in order to understand the shift in the position of the theory (Said 1983, 237).

While the notion of travelling theory is germane to my research, it is of limited influence since it stops short of investigating a tangible means of travel, that is, the act of translation. In this vein, Emek Ergun, quoting Lydia Liu, asks a series of pertinent questions: "Indeed, who does the traveling? Does theory travel? If so, how? Granting theory such subjectivity leads to a further question: What is the means of transportation?" (Liu 1995, 21 quoted in Ergun 2015, 39). Hence, my dissertation concerns itself with the political dimensions of translation practices – the

travelling theory's "means of transportation" – since it is precisely in this movement or displacement that we can detect the unevenness and raggedness of knowledge circulation.

While Davis acknowledges her own cautious stance regarding U.S. feminist textual exports and their imperialistic tendencies, she refutes the argument that the global spread of *OBOS* feminist ideas in the form of translations represents Western cultural imperialism. On the contrary, Davis proposes that the global translations of *OBOS* had a "decentring" effect on Western feminism (2007, 197-201). The international trajectory of *OBOS* translations was not unidirectional; Western feminist knowledge in the form of *OBOS* was not simply transported to other places: local feminists reworked and rearticulated Western feminist knowledge and therefore created new reconfigurations (Davis 2007, 201). In my dissertation, I explore this assertion further by taking into account Marina Blagojević's (2015, 2009) highly critical view of knowledge production in Eastern Europe. Specifically, I explore the ways in which the Serbian translation of *OBOS*, although contributing to production of feminist knowledge, also exposes uneven power relations shaping translation flows in post-socialist Eastern Europe.

In my dissertation, I highlight the ways in which questions about choice of text for translation, translation flows, the East-West divide stemming from the Cold War, foreign funding in transition countries, and finally, the authority of Western knowledge production, converge to underscore the political dimensions of feminist knowledge production. Translation flows are closely linked with what Blagojević calls "transmitters" of Western knowledge. She argues that rather than being creators of new knowledge, Central and Eastern European scholars often act as transmitters of the knowledge produced at the core through processes of contextualization which include a great deal of translation (Blagojević 2009, 92). Given the post-socialist European countries' very high level of dependency on foreign, mostly Western funding,

the so-called transition to democracy set a clear direction for knowledge production and dissemination:

> New conditions [transition] made it even clearer that "creators" of the knowledge come from the core, that the semiperiphery is complied to "translation" of that knowledge, or even simpler, to "transmission", and that the final users, "local societies" will be further objectified through exercise of policies based on that kind of distorted knowledge (Blagojević 2009,89).

In my exploration of the Serbian translation of *OBOS*, I remain attentive to Blagojević's critique of knowledge production in post-socialist European countries. Moreover, I borrow the terms *centre*, *the core*, *periphery*, and *semiperiphery* from Blagojević's work in order to underscore the ways in which location is closely linked with power differentials: moving from one location to another also means experiencing different systems of varying political power on a global scale.

In addition to Blagojević's terms, I incorporate Davis's concept of *oppositional discourse*, which is very useful for my study since Davis (2007) develops this notion specifically in relation to *OBOS* translations and feminist discourse.[19] The main concern of feminist translators of different *OBOS* translations was not the linguistic "faithfulness" to the original version of a text but their political empowerment and oppositionality (Davis 2007, 173). Oppositionality can be defined as the capacity to "generat[e] agency and a critical and politically engaged subjectivity among readers" (Davis 2007, 192). What provided the political empowerment for American women readers was the knowledge of women's own bodies, their own rights when dealing with medical institutions, and a window into "real" women's experiences. The *OBOS* translations were meant to "politicize readers in such a way that they could say: 'I read the book, and it changed my life'" (Davis 2007, 173). Davis makes an important distinction about oppositionality:

[19] I elaborate further on discourses in the Methodology section of this chapter.

> While translations have the capacity to generate oppositional readings, oppositionality is not an inherent property of a translation. […] Depending on the cultural and political context in which the translation is produced, its political valence will change as well (2007, 192).

I am interested in exploring how the *OBOS* oppositional discourse "speaks" in a post-communist context of changing politics of reproduction, persistent cultural taboo topics, and harsh living conditions. Set against pronatalist discourses deployed in the service of nationalism, the pro-choice, feminist message of *OBOS* has the potential to politicize its readers and function as an oppositional discourse.

3. Methodology

My dissertation is based on case-study methodology which is a research approach that allows researchers to explore thoroughly one specific phenomenon within its context, "bounded by space and time," and through multiple lenses (Hancock and Algozzine 2006, 15; Baxter and Jack 2008). The case-study design was applicable to my research given my focus on the Serbian translation of *OBOS* and the Belgrade feminists' activism in the 1990s. During my research process, I collected the data through multiple sources and thoroughly explored the context – a strategy considered to be a "hallmark of case study research" (Baxter and Jack 2008, 554; Yin 2003; Patton 1990). Data sources included: semi-structured interviews, archival documents, the 1992 edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* and its Serbian translation *Naša tela, mi*, primary sources such as online and paper-copy reports published by feminist activists, and relevant secondary literature. As Pamela Baxter and Susan Jack write: "Each data source is one piece of the "puzzle," with each piece contributing to the researcher's understanding of the whole phenomenon" (2008, 554).

In the following section, I examine my own position as feminist researcher, followed by a discussion of the methods I used, including interviews, archival research, comparative textual analysis, discourse analysis, and the study of secondary sources. I also discuss the issue of language, given that my dissertation relies on secondary sources in several different languages.

3.1 My standpoint

My choice of research topic is highly influenced by my professional experience as a translator but also by my graduate work in translation studies. I became interested in questions of translation and feminism when I studied the first English translation of French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949). This master's thesis project allowed me to explore French feminist theories, feminist philosophy, the history of both French and American feminist movements, and sociology of translation (Bogić 2009). But, it also brought to my attention the intricate and highly ideological processes inherent in the translation and publishing industries. Archival research that I conducted at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts provided excellent training in historical research and taught me the value of historical sources.

The master's thesis project inspired me to delve further into feminist writings and to engage on a more personal level in local, feminist activism in Ottawa, Canada. But, my immigrant background always imposed a dual perspective on everything I did. The experience of growing up first in socialist Yugoslavia and then in a conflict-ridden, transitioning post-Yugoslav republic of Serbia contributed to my sensitivity to political systems and their power to shape mentalities and life perspectives. The transition also revealed how shifts in political systems could transform entire modes of living beyond recognition. These shifts were accompanied by sharp ideological turns which reconfigured how people treated and related to

each other. Relocating to western Canada toward the end of the war in the former Yugoslavia in 1995 introduced me, yet again, to new modes of linguistic, material, and ideological existence.

In agreement with the feminist reflexivity principle, my standpoint, personal experiences, and location (in all its geographical, political, economic and other dimensions) are central to the production of knowledge and need to be made explicit. My lived experience as an immigrant affects my approach to research in ways that may be rendered invisible as I write in the dominant language of English at a North American university. In addition, the dual perspective produced by the relocation to Canada transformed further into a "bifurcated consciousness" (Smith 1987, 6) after I gave birth to my daughter . Mothering demanded a constant negotiation between my academic life and the particular world of parenting a young child.

My research approach also draws heavily on the perspectives critical of contemporary transnational flows of feminist discourses and political practices. Jacqui True suggests that "contemporary feminist texts and cultural forms are generally produced in the United States, yet are globally consumed, with little reference to the local specificity of feminisms" (1999, 285). This argument is in line with Douglas Robinson's observation that a much greater number of texts from the hegemonic culture are translated into other languages than vice versa; these foreign texts are chosen specifically because they come from a culture that represents the centre and, although disseminated widely, "are written in utter ignorance of the dominated culture" (1997, 32). In my dissertation, I take into consideration these arguments while simultaneously identifying the considerable contribution of the Serbian translation of *OBOS* to Serbian feminist knowledge production.

Due to my research on transnational feminism, I remained aware of uneven power relations and the potential of Orientalist gazes: "[R]arely before in human history has there been

so massive an intervention of force and ideas from one culture to another, as there is today from America to the rest of the world" (Said 1994 quoted in True 1999, 285). Edward Said's critique of Orientalism (1979/1995) and Maria Todorova's analysis of Balkanism (1997), made me keenly aware of the ways in which the work of representation can easily slip into misrepresentation. Said exposes the ways in which Orientalism, as a colonial discourse and practice, was based on biased representations of the "Orient," identified as the lands east of Europe, constructing in the Western imagination these lands and its peoples as backward, mysterious, and deviant. Building on Said's work, Todorova shows that "Balkanism" is a rhetorical tool that produces derogatory perceptions of the Balkan region whose inhabitants are also backward because they used to be under the rule of the Ottoman Turks ("Oriental") and are, therefore, not truly European. Through these critiques, it became clear that the consequences of the work of representation are never the same for the "outsider" and "insider" authors since the Orientalist always writes for the West, ultimately representing the Orient and speaking on its behalf (Said 1979/1995, 20). Therefore, it remains important for me to explore my ambiguous outsider/insider position and confront the difficulty of finding a clear voice from the standpoint of the in-between space, as a Serbian-Canadian, fluent in Serbian, English and French, with the privileges and disadvantages that this position ensures.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Interviews

Interviewing is a frequent method utilized in feminist research, specifically because it purports to support the feminist ethic of intimacy and empathy. It allows the researcher to recognize that research is personal, both subjective and objective, as opposed to completely

impersonal and objective (Reinharz 1983, 168). By showing interest in women's experiences, interviews by feminist researchers also "*confirm* the experience of women which had hitherto been denied as real or important" and "*revalue* experience as a part of social science methodology" (Reinharz 1983, 167; my emphasis).

I interviewed four feminist activists in Belgrade in July 2014. Prior to contacting and meeting with the activists, I obtained an ethics certificate from the ethics review board at the University of Ottawa (see appendix C). This process ensured that a formal ethics protocol was followed when obtaining information from the interviewees. The activists' recollections of their activism and their involvement in the translation of the 1992 edition of *OBOS* into Serbian in the 1990s were of immense value to this study. Specifically, I met with the medical doctor and *NTM* translation coordinator, Dr. Stanislava Otašević, long-time feminist and lesbian activist, Lepa Mladjenović, feminist activist J.T.,[20] and feminist and LGBTQ activist Sunčica Vučaj. Out of the total of some ten women who had contributed to *NTM* either through translation or technical assistance, I was able to locate and contact by phone and email four activists, and most importantly Otašević, who was in charge of the translation project. These four women were still very active in the areas of women's health, LGBTQ rights, violence against women, and feminist translation. At the time of our interviews, Otašević was leading an NGO, the Centre for Promotion of Women's Health (Centar za promociju ženskog zdravlja), after branching out of the AWC in 2001. Mladjenović was involved in a number of different feminist initiatives in Belgrade, including the Autonomous Women's Centre (AWC) and Women in Black, an anti-nationalist and pacifist women's group, and was the recipient of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Anne Klein Women's Award for feminist activism in 2013.[21] J.T. was involved in a number of

[20] This interviewee remains anonymous. The initials assigned to her are a pseudonym.
[21] For more information, see http://www.feminism-boell.org/en/2015/05/08/short-portrait-lepa-mladenovic

different grassroots initiatives in Belgrade in the 1990s and has remained engaged in both academic and grassroots projects for more than 20 years. Vučaj had more than 20 years of grassroots feminist activism and was leading a feminist NGO Žene na delu (Women in action) at the time of the interview.

Interviews with Boston collective co-founder Judy Norsigian and Global OBOS Initiative coordinator Ayesha Chatterjee, in Boston in November 2014, clarified a number of important issues concerning the role of the Boston collective.[22] After more than 40 years, most of the thirteen Boston collective founders had retired or were still active in an unofficial form. Norsigian was the executive director but stepped down from this position shortly after our interview, in 2015. Over the decades, thanks to hundreds of television and radio appearances and conference presentations, Norsigian had effectively become one of the most recognizable faces of the Boston collective. Prior to joining OBOS in 2006, Chatterjee worked as a counsellor and trainer on sexuality and reproductive and sexual rights in India. She works as the program manager for the OBOS Global Initiative. In June 2013, I met with Laura Busheikin, a Canadian journalist who had travelled, lived and worked as a feminist activist in Eastern Europe in the 1990s (mostly in Czechoslovakia), in Vancouver Island, British Columbia, where she now lives. The interview with Busheikin helped me to understand the dynamics, tensions, and conversations that characterized some of the first encounters between the so-called Western (American and Western European) feminists and Eastern European scholars and activists after 1989. Finally, an interview with Nesrine Bessaih in Montreal in May 2015, the current lead on the French-Canadian *OBOS* translation project, revealed the difficulties and challenges inherent in undertaking a translation of *OBOS*. I met Bessaih after the program manager for *OBOS*

(Accessed August 2016).
[22] Chatterjee joined the organization in 2006.

translations, Chatterjee, put us in contact via email in November 2014. Meeting Bessaih, together with my interest in *OBOS* through my doctoral research, compelled me to get personally involved in the early stages of the ongoing French-Canadian *OBOS* project. Bessaih is currently working on the French-Canadian adaptation while a doctoral student at the University of Ottawa.

The interviews were semi-structured conversations that often began with my presentation of the doctoral project, followed by a question (posed to the Serbian translators) "How did you first hear of the *OBOS* translation project?"[23] The interviews were approximately two hours long and were recorded and transcribed. The interviews in Belgrade were conducted in Serbian, and the interviews that took place in Boston and Canada were conducted in English. I translated into English those parts of the interviews in Serbian that were quoted in the dissertation. I kept a personal diary before and after meeting with my interviewees, but also during my visits to the archives. The diary helped me to reflect on my impressions and feelings, and to capture some of the details of my research experience.

Writing on interviews and the role of the researcher, Laura E. Ettinger (2005) illustrates the ways in which the researcher can occupy the position of both outsider and insider. When the researcher shares a certain number of characteristics with her interviewees, she can be seen as an insider (for example, in terms of gender or ethnicity). However, she can simultaneously not conform fully to the profile of an insider or not share all the assumptions of the group, and can then become simultaneously an outsider (for example, age group, social class, religion). As an outsider, a researcher may feel freer to ask certain questions given her status as an uninitiated member of the community she is investigating. However, as an insider, she may be judged more harshly by her interviewees. If the interviewees perceive the researcher as an insider, they may be more likely to assume that the researcher will share their beliefs and values, or simply already

[23] See Annex for sample interview questions.

understand certain comments and terms (Ettinger 2005, 107). I put Ettinger's suggestions into practice when I encouraged my interviewees to explain more clearly what they meant when I believed that they assumed I already knew something simply because I too am Serbian. I also worked to create an atmosphere of collaboration although I felt that my position of the researcher could not, and perhaps should not, be obscured. My outsider position became clear given that I have spent 20 years living in Canada, a wealthy Western country, and have not faced the same socioeconomic and political turmoil endured by people living in Serbia. While not openly discussed in our interviewees, my safe distance from the violent political events of the 1990s, such as the toppling of Slobodan Milošević, the NATO bombing, and daily survival in grim economic conditions, set me apart as an outsider.

Throughout my research, interviews, and later contact via email with my respondents, I maintained a sense of indebtedness, fully aware that the interviews had consequences that lasted even after the interview was finished. Our conversations required the work of remembering, that is, revisiting the past which was often full of difficult moments. I also felt indebted to them because I am fully aware that feminist activists, like many activists fighting in opposition to the ruling elites, often face burn-out, sacrifice personal space, invest tremendous amounts of energy, time as well as money in their political and other engagements. As a researcher who demanded more of their time and engagement in already difficult situations, I often felt hesitant to insist on certain questions or points. It is my hope that my research may bring greater visibility to the valuable work of Serbian feminists and their particular struggles in return.

Despite our divergent life paths and different geographic locations, we all had very good knowledge of English. During our interviews, there were a few occasions when we referred to certain terms and phrases in English in relation to feminism. During our conversations, it became

apparent that all the activists I interviewed had learned English in their youth and this knowledge was indispensable to their feminist work in Belgrade. They had all travelled, either to a North American or Western European country for work, study and/or activism. They confirmed that knowledge of English was crucial for activism even in a non-English speaking country such as Serbia. Funding applications, conferences, and networking with transnational feminist groups all took place in English, further confirming its ongoing dominance.

Otašević's experience is as an illustration of the transnational power of the English language and its ability to travel across borders. She attended the 2001 gathering of *OBOS* translators in Utrecht, the Netherlands, organized by the Boston collective and met a dozen or so of other *OBOS* translators from other countries around the world. She also attended the 2011 celebration of the 40th anniversary of *OBOS* in Boston and spoke at the event about the Serbian translation. Similarly, Mladjenović learned English in the United States as a high school student when her family moved to the country for two years in the early 1970s. She later travelled extensively in Europe throughout several decades of her activism, and had also met Norma Swenson, one of Boston collective founders, at the fourth International Women's Health meeting in Costa Rica in 1987, already making the first connection with the Boston collective in the 1980s. Vučaj also learned English in elementary and secondary school and in university. Throughout more than 20 years of dedicated feminist activism in Serbia, she has used English to connect with numerous international activists and scholars and to travel across Europe to attend meetings and conferences. The interviews revealed the central role of English (but also Italian, in the case of Mladjenović) in these instances of travel, connecting and establishing of transnational feminist networks. For many years, my interviewees had been bridging the East-West divide and showing that sisterhood could indeed be global but mostly through one language. The interviews

with the Serbian feminists highlighted the importance of English in feminist activism and signalled to me that I needed to pay attention to this topic, as I do throughout the dissertation and in particular in the conclusion.

3.2.2 Archival research

As I wrote up my dissertation, I placed interviewing methods and archival research in dialogue with each other. What the interviewees could not remember or omitted in our conversations was often completed with information I found in archival documents. I visited the *Boston collective's* archives housed in the Schlesinger Library at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University in Boston in November 2014. The Schlesinger Library holds more than 160 boxes of documentation (letters, newspaper articles, audio and video tapes, brochures, books, meeting minutes, reports) on the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. Archival documents on women and health in Serbia were collected from the Library of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad (Biblioteka Matice srpske) in July 2014 and January 2016. The Library of Matica Srpska is the oldest Serbian literary, cultural, and scientific institution, established in 1826. It contains some of the most important and most complete collections of books, journals, magazines, and reports. Matica Srpska contains copies of Yugoslav women's magazines, in particular the magazines *Žena* and *Bazar*, which I analyze in chapter four. In addition, I obtained copies of texts published by feminist activists during the 1990s by the AWC. Between 1994 and 2000, the AWC published a yearly, double-issue publication of feminist texts, entitled *Feminističke sveske* (Feminist Notebooks), written in Serbian together with some translations from English, French, and Italian into Serbian by local activists. A number of these texts provided data for my analysis of the Belgrade feminists' position and actions concerning

reproductive rights, lesbian rights, and the plight of refugee women from Croatia and Bosnia. In particular, these texts contained sharp rebukes to anti-abortion and pro-war positions of the Serbian Orthodox church in the 1990s. In addition, these texts often contained the original public statements published by the church, followed by the feministsʼ response. *Feminističke sveske* also provided an important glimpse into the feministsʼ choice of translations, such as texts by American, French, Italian, and Albanian feminists.

One early problem I encountered was the lack of availability of the correspondence between the Boston collective and the Belgrade feminists involved in the Serbian translation. Their email correspondence is unavailable because it is still considered recent and potentially sensitive material. Therefore, the email correspondence had not yet been cleared for researchers because of time limits. This significant challenge was resolved when Ayesha Chatterjee of the Boston collective generously offered to share this information, which was still housed in the collectiveʼs own records. This issue highlights the frustrations, complexities, and hazards that can arise when dealing with a relatively recent time period.

However, the Boston collectiveʼs records at the Schlesinger Library still provided important data about the Boston collective, its work, and its transnational feminist networks. These archival documents were significant for two particular contributions: 1) they shed light on the ways in which communication took place at the time (from the 1970s to the 1990s), the patterns of transnational connections: telephone contact, trips, letters, that is, the mode of living and material conditions; and 2) they reveal practical details, such as when and where an event took place, as well as a number of struggles and disagreements that occurred in various translation projects. I was able to identify different associations of the collectiveʼs dynamic

feminist network and to consult numerous documents and sources that the collective had been using to inform its position on a variety of issues.

The Boston collective's and the AWC's documents are primary sources that constitute women's archives. As such, they carry an extra layer of responsibility. In her work on the use of archives in gender studies, Sara de Jong writes, "women's archives are historically sustained by the promise that the access they provide to women's history and feminist intellectual, political and cultural work will contribute to *emancipation*" (Koevoets and de Jong 2013, 4; my emphasis). These women's archives contribute, therefore, to knowledge production about women's experiences, which in the past tended to be omitted from official history records, often written by male historians (see Morgan 2006; Rowbotham 1977).

Data collected through both interviews and archival research served three specific objectives. The data provided factual information about events, places, people, and background information; allowed me to identify different political positions and standpoints of the Belgrade and Boston feminists; and enabled me to analyze their counterarguments, or rather, oppositional discourses to state and church discourses in addition to the feminist discourse identified in *NTM*.

The theoretical framework of the politics of translation, including its emphasis on political context, power relations, choice of text, funding, dissemination, and knowledge production, guided my analysis of the data. This framework spotlighted certain data on which I then focused further in my chapters. For example, the interview data concerning the issue of the use of English language by Serbian feminists prompted further analysis into unequal power relations among transnational feminists and uneven knowledge production. Another example includes the framework's emphasis on the political context, which encouraged me to pay

attention to government and church statements as well as demographic studies, and to juxtapose them with feminists' textual productions such as *NTM* and the AWC's *Feminist Notebooks*.

3.2.3 Comparative textual analysis: The source text and the translation

Comparative textual analysis is a method frequently used in translation studies, given that many studies in this field examine the source text and its translation side by side. In order to assess the ways in which the Belgrade feminist translators adapted *NTM*, I used comparative textual analysis and searched for changes, omissions, and additions in the translated version. In the following paragraphs, I describe the basic features of the source text and its translation.

The source text for the Serbian translation is the 1992 edition of *OBOS*, published by a commercial publisher, Simon and Schuster. This edition is largely based on the previous, 1984 edition, with some minor updates. The basic organization and the format of the book remain the same as in 1984, but a number of charts and resources are changed, and several new topics are introduced that were pertinent to the era, such as AIDS and new birth control methods (BWHBC 1992, 11). The 1992 edition is a hefty tome, in contrast to those early versions that appeared in the 1970s. It is 750 pages long and contains 27 chapters, divided into seven sections in this order: Taking Care of Ourselves; Relationships and Sexuality; Controlling Our Fertility; Childbearing; Women Growing Older; Some Common and Uncommon Health and Medical Problems; and Women and the Medical System (See Annex A for a complete table of contents).

In the third section (Controlling Our Fertility), the Boston collective includes a whole chapter on abortion, 30 pages in length, beginning with a feminist pro-choice position on abortion, and including a series of women's personal stories, followed by descriptions of

abortion procedures, possible complications, and aftercare. The chapter takes considerable space to overview the history and politics of abortion, illegal abortion, legalization of abortion, and medication-based abortion. It reflects the ferocious pro-life and pro-choice debates in the United States that worsened after the 1973 Supreme Court legalization of abortion (Roe v. Wade).[24] In addition to charts and drawings of different steps of an abortion procedure, the chapter affirms its pro-choice political message with several photographs of pro-choice rallies in the United States. Another chapter of special interest to the Belgrade feminists at the AWC is the chapter on violence against women (Taking Care of Ourselves). This chapter discusses victim blaming, violence and power, rape, sexual harassment, woman abuse, incest, and self-defence. It features a photograph of women participating in a Take Back the Night march opposing violence against women, and another of women taking a self-defence class.

Overall, the 1992 *OBOS* continues in the footsteps of the early 1970s editions with its chapter organization following different reproductive functions and life stages (menstruation, sexuality, controlling fertility, pregnancy, childbirth, menopause), and importantly, with its radical feminist analysis of power relations that shape women's experiences. The 1992 *OBOS* is still a pro-choice, feminist self-help manual for women, but its larger size and its somewhat greater focus on the individual woman, rather than on the women's movement, dilute the radical feminist focus of the 1970s. For example, the first chapter in the 1973 edition is entitled "Our Changing Sense of Self" and addresses issues such as "Changing Our Internalized Sexist Values" and "Rediscovering Anger" and "Rediscovering Our Separateness" while twenty years later, the edition begins with discussions of body image, weight, and stress. Commenting on the

[24] In the *Roe v. Wade* case, the Supreme Court of the United States "invalidated all state laws limiting women's access to abortions during the first trimester of pregnancy […] and associated the right to abortion with the privacy right named in *Griswold v. Connecticut*" (Solinger 2013, 28-29).The *Roe v. Wade* case legalized abortion in the first trimester, with increasing restrictions in the following two trimesters. Nevertheless, a series of judicial rulings and legislation altered negatively the rights created by *Roe v. Wade* (Solinger 2013, 31-33).

editions published after 1984, Susan Wells concludes: "Since the [American] political situation changed, the book was no longer a movement publication, but rather a response to the Reagan era, to backlash, and to the first manifestations of managed care" (2010, 13). However, like its first editions, the 1992 *OBOS* is a product of collaborative work, written and revised by a group of women. Close to 400 people contributed to it, whether through writing and revision, medical advice, technical assistance or other contributions. All their names are listed in the acknowledgment section in the introduction. The preface from the 1984 edition is reprinted in the 1992 *OBOS* and self-reflectively describes the history of the collective and *OBOS*, as well as the difficulties encountered rewriting and revising the new edition. The photographs of the collective in the preface show the Boston members over the years, reminding the readers that *OBOS* has always been a product of group effort and feminist collaboration.

The Serbian translation is also a hefty volume of some 675 pages in the same large format. The only exception is that its pages are slightly wider and have wide margins on the inner side of the pages. This feature was intended to provide the book's readers with blank space on which to write, take notes, or share personal experiences as they read *NTM*. The Serbian translation, with a print run of a thousand copies, was self-published by the AWC in 2001 although the actual translation and revision work was completed in 1997 and 1998. *NTM* is also divided into seven sections but has 24 chapters, three fewer than the 1992 *OBOS* (chapters on food, women in motion, and organizing for change in the United States were omitted).[25] *NTM* begins with the same first chapter on body image and weight, and also dedicates a whole chapter of 25 pages to abortion in the third section on controlling fertility. This chapter follows the order of information in the source text; however, its presentation of the political history of abortion in the United States is shortened and a new section on the legal situation of abortion in Serbia is

[25] I discuss in more details these features in chapter two.

added. The abortion chapter also includes the image of Geraldine Santoro's dead body and a photo of an American pro-choice rally. The chapter on violence against women is significantly adapted with statistics on domestic violence and rape provided by Belgrade's SOS hotline for women victims of violence and the AWC, as well as a number of personal accounts that evoke names, places, and other details, indicating a Serbian context.

There are two prefaces, one written by the translation coordinator, Stanislava Otašević, and the other by Belgrade feminist Lepa Mladjenović. In her preface, Otašević provides a justification for such a book, foregrounding the importance of women's health in women's lives and the paucity of local information on women's health. Otašević writes that *NTM* is "the book we've long been waiting for" or "je knjiga koju smo odavno čekale" (2001, v; my translation). She highlights the feminist perspective on women's health in *NTM* and briefly situates the "American authors" and their history. Importantly, Otašević cites a paragraph from the source text in which the American authors stress that feminism as a political perspective must cross national borders and help women regardless of where they are located (2001, vii). This general transnational feminist perspective poignantly sets the tone for the Serbian translation, given the history of violence and conflict fought over "national borders" ("nacionalne granice"), particularly during the ethno-nationalist wars of the 1990s, the decade in which *NTM* was translated.

In the second preface, Mladjenović recounts her personal story of her discovery of *OBOS* in the early 1980s and asserts a decidedly radical feminist dimension to *NTM*. Mladjenović's preface is a call for *NTM*'s female readers to love their body and to recognize and embrace differences between women. Mladjenović writes: "[…] there is a generation of women in the whole world who love this book because it gave them dignity and love for the female body and

for ourselves" (2001, ix).[26] Overall, *NTM* is portrayed as the first text and source of information about women, their bodies and their health for women in Serbia (Otašević 2001, v). Its feminist standpoint forms the backbone of all the chapters and is further affirmed by the book's cover: readers can see photographs of Belgrade feminists joyfully participating in the country's first ever Take Back the Night march ("Žene osvajaju noć") in December 1995.

3.2.4 Discourse analysis

Kathy Davis brings attention to oppositional discourses when she illustrates the ways in which the American *OBOS* asserted itself as an oppositional text by critically engaging with dominant forms of knowledge (ex. the male-dominated medical establishment) and by giving women the tools to gain knowledge of their own bodies (2007, 212). My working definition of discourse refers to bodies of written and spoken communication, or complex systems of written texts and utterances, which reflect and reproduce power relations, ideologies, and knowledge (Mills 1997). In order to evaluate the extent to which feminist discourse – in the form of feminist messages of empowerment, reproductive rights, and bodily autonomy – found in *NTM* is oppositional discourse, I draw comparisons between *NTM* and a number of different texts. Specifically, I analyze official government statements and policies, including laws such as the abortion law; official statement published by the Serbian Orthodox church; demographic studies; and earlier women's self-help books and magazine articles published between the 1950s and the 1980s. Given the church's close collaboration with the Serbian government and its growing political presence in the country, I paid particular attention to the church's official statements. In my analysis, I identified keywords such as abortion, fertility, reproductive rights, and

[26] The original Serbian reads: "Zato postoje generacija žena u celom svetu koje obožavaju ovu knjigu, jer je dala dostojanstvo i ljubav prema ženskom telu i nama samima" (Mladjenović 2001, ix).

motherhood, and I also highlighted sections of the text, which addressed topics such as bodily autonomy, childbirth, family, honour, shame, nation, and any specific and proscriptive discussion of women's role in society.

I place these discourses in dialogue, and through their juxtaposition, I seek to draw insights into the social and cultural values about women's bodies and reproduction. The oppositionality of a text necessarily depends on the context, meaning the forms and reach of prevalent discourses. In my study, I am particularly interested in the ways a translated feminist text opposes or challenges dominant discourses in a society. It is precisely in the feminist text's oppositionality to the dominant discourses that the forms of feminists' resistance can be more clearly seen. I also examine discourses on abortion and women's rights in earlier women's self-help books (in chapter four) in order to illustrate the ways in which this older literature published in socialist Yugoslavia (1950s to 1980s) also promoted traditional conceptions of family and women's role as mothers. Therefore, feminist discourse in *NTM* is oppositional in comparison not only to conservative state and church discourses of the 1990s, but also to earlier women's self-help texts.

3.2.5 Study of secondary literature

There are bodies of literature which inform my analysis and frame my research. In order to determine in which ways my dissertation could contribute to academic feminist knowledge production, I had to become familiar with the existing literature. In addition to literature on *OBOS* (Wells 2010; Kline 2010; Ruzek 2007; Davis 2007; Morgen 2002; Norsigian *et al.* 1999; Bell 1994; Hayden 1994), the first group of texts I studied delves into the status of women in post-communist Eastern European countries. This literature focused on the worsening living

conditions as well as women's loss of social status and reproductive rights in these transitioning societies since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It also strives to explain the social, economic, historical, and political factors behind these phenomena (LaFont 2001; Watson 2000, 1993; Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Ramet 1999; Scott, Kaplan, and Keates 1997; Renne 1997; Verdery 1996; Funk and Mueller 1993; Einhorn 1993; Corrin 1992).

I later narrowed down the focus to Serbia and the topics of wars, ethno-nationalism, politics of reproduction (including demographics and population policies), and feminist activism (Drezgić 2015, 2010, 2009, 2008, 2004; Zaharijević *et al.* 2012, 1999; Žarkov 2007, 2003; Blagojević 2005, 2000, 1998, 1995; Macura and Gavrilović 2005; Iveković and Mostov 2002; Nikolić-Ristanović 2002, 1997; Korać 1998; Mršević 1994; Milić 1993; Mladjenović and Litričin 1993; Rašević 1993; Avramov 1992; David and McIntyre 1981; Besemeres 1980). There is a small number of studies on the Yugoslav feminist movement of the 1970s and the 1980s, and some date to the 1980s, while several, more detailed studies have been published more recently (Lóránd 2014; Zaharijević *et al.* 2012; Milić 2011; Stojčić 2009; Bonfiglioli 2008; Benderly 1997a, 1997b, 1994; Božinović 1996; Papić 1995; Sklevicky 1989, 1987; Jancar 1988; Woodward 1985; Iveković and Drakulić-Ilić 1984; Iveković 1981). Ethnographic literature from the 1960s, 1970s, and the 1980s was immensely helpful in exploring more deeply cultural taboos in Yugoslav and Serbian society and understanding the roots of the so-called traditional patriarchal gender relations, including notions of shame and control (discussed in chapter three). Such literature is not abundant; however, there are a number of key scholars whose studies are recognized as pioneering work in this area (Simić 1999, 1969; Morokvašić 1981; St. Erlich 1971; Denich 1974).

In addition, I consulted works on translation and gender, feminist translation, translation and power, and the politics of translation in order to develop my theoretical framework (Ergun 2015; Slavova and Phoenix 2011; Guo 2009; Schaffner 2007; Susam-Sarajeva 2006; Spivak 1992/2004; Gentzler and Tymoczko 2002; Flotow 1997; Robinson 1997; Alvarez and Vidal 1996; Simon 1996). Lastly, literature on transnational feminism and uneven knowledge production provided the important critical lens to my argument, in particular concerning the world dominance of the English language (Álvarez *et al.* 2014; Palmary 2014; Blagojević 2015, 2009; Thayer 2000; Cerwonka 2008; Davis 2007, 2002; Blagojević, Kolozova, and Slapšak 2006; Mohanty 2002; True 1999; Friedman 1998; Tsing 1997; Grewal and Kaplan 1994).

3.3 Language

Language is a dimension of research that is not often discussed in English-language research projects. Early on in my doctoral program, I realized that a dissertation based on a multi-method case study of a country in Europe and in a language other than English would require a thorough and perhaps lengthy search for local sources given the fact that I live in Ottawa, Canada. My initial search while in Ottawa focused on locating a number of works by Serbian (and Yugoslav) feminist scholars and familiarizing myself with the key texts and figures in the "local" Serbian academic milieu. Given that a number of feminist activists in Belgrade are also academics or participate in the production of academic texts, I needed to understand the feminist academic circle in Belgrade in order to situate the work and position of my interviewees.[27]

[27] See Blagojević (1998) for description of the main activities of Belgrade feminist activists and academics in the 1990s. I also discuss this aspect in chapter two.

Since Serbian is my mother tongue, I was able to consult a large number of monographs, edited collections, journals, websites written by Serbian scholars and activists as well as by those from other post-Yugoslav states. The ability to read these secondary sources in the original Serbian was crucial in understanding what was at stake for local feminists and situating the *OBOS* translation project and the Belgrade feminists' activism within the wider political and social context. In my dissertation, I refer to the Serbian language although I am aware that many of the texts written by feminists in the 1970s and the 1980s were officially written in "Serbo-Croatian." In socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991), the official language was called Serbo-Croatian and spoken by a large majority of Yugoslav citizens living in the six Yugoslav republics. Following the break-up of the Yugoslav federation in the early 1990s, the term "Serbo-Croatian" became highly politicized and controversial, and subsequently "Croatian" became the official language of Croatia and "Serbian" of Serbia. Since my dissertation is centred on the period after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, I refer to the Serbian language. The issue remains sensitive and political. Declaring that one's mother tongue is Serbo-Croatian, Serbian, Croatian or Bosnian can at once be a declaration of one's ethnicity and/or political position. Therefore, many citizens from former Yugoslavia today, including my interviewees, refer to the language they speak as "our language" or "naš jezik" leaving the naming of the language itself purposefully vague in order to avoid any specific discussions of ethnic identity. "Naš jezik" can be Croatian or Serbian, etc. depending on who is speaking and the political position of the speaker; however, this neutral phrase eliminates the need to evoke a specific ethnicity.

One of the challenges of working on this dissertation involved finding copies of books and journals by local scholars. Acquiring these sources through inter-library loans or through family and friends in Serbia caused several delays in my research. A large number of my sources

by Serbian scholars, or Yugoslav scholars, were in fact written in English and published by Western scholars. For example, there are a good number of edited collections which were published soon after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and in which scholars from the former Yugoslavia contributed essays written in English (Gal and Kligman 2000a; Renne 1997; Funk and Mueller 1993, among many others). The growing number of sources by presumably local scholars, but published in English, points to the importance of English as the global *lingua franca* and the main language of academic communication.[28] It is becoming increasingly evident that writing in English is the surest way to be heard in academic circles (see Blagojević 2015, 2009; Blagojević, Kolozova, and Slapšak 2006). Given this linguistic power dynamic, I did my best to acquire sources in Serbian in order to get a fuller perspective on the issues at stake.[29] Paying attention to such politics of language in academic knowledge production also reveals that non-English texts encounter additional obstacles with regard to limited readership.

In addition to sources in Serbian and English, I also consulted works published in French. French-language feminist literature offered perspectives that were often omitted in English-language journals (see Cîrstocea 2011 and Kašić 2004). Consulting sources in three different languages helped me realize that the academic literature in each language contained different (but also overlapping) sets of perspectives. It confirmed the value of speaking different languages but also the need to recognize that the works by scholars writing in languages other than English do not attain the same level of visibility.

[28] For a discussion on the domination of English in academia, see Descarries (2014), and on Western feminists' publications on Eastern Europe, see Jung (1994).

[29] It is important to note that in my dissertation I quote both from texts written in English by Yugoslav/Serbian scholars and from texts written in Serbo-Croatian/Serbian. When quoting from the latter, I provide my English translation in the body of the text and the original in Serbo-Croatian/Serbian in the footnote. I also provide my translations of quotations originally written in French.

4. Terminology

I use a number of different terms that often carry complex meanings or have a long intellectual history. For the sake of clarity, I take this space to discuss some of the key terms that underpin my theoretical approach. Through this discussion of concepts, I position my research within the wider academic literature on the topic, and I reflect on some of the nuances of my approach.

4.1 Feminism, Western feminism, and socialist feminism

Feminism has many different definitions, at times causing confusion, criticism, and some co-optation by anti-feminists (hooks 2000a, 1-2). Most definitions of feminism invoke equality between women and men, recognition of women's full social, economic, political, and bodily autonomy, as well as the notion that women's rights are human rights (Bunch 2003; Mršević 1994). Feminism is also defined as an ideology and a movement to end gender-based social injustice (Calixte *et al.* 2010, 12). While I acknowledge that all these different approaches to defining feminism are valid, I have found most useful bell hooks's definition: feminism is a body of ideas and a movement "to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression," where sexism is understood as discrimination against the female sex (hooks 2000a, 1). I particularly find hooks's emphasis on *ending* current systems of oppression salient in defining feminism and feminist goals.

I understand Western feminist literature as texts produced in largely industrialized, capitalist countries. In my interviews with the Belgrade feminist activists and in reading the literature from the Yugoslav feminists from the 1970s and the 1980s, the term "Zapad" or the "West" is understood in this sense. Even after 1989 and the fall of communism, "Zapad" is still

associated with wealthy, industrialized countries and most certainly outside the former Soviet Union's influence. The influence of Western feminist literature is evident in translation trends from the 1970s and onwards.

Although my definition, above, of Western feminism emphasizes capitalist dimensions of society, my analysis of American feminism takes into consideration the major influence of Marxism and socialist intellectual forces on American feminism. It is understood that Western feminism is a large body of ideas with a long history and different currents of thought such as radical, liberal, Marxist, socialist, cultural, critical race, and materialist feminisms, in addition to womanism and Indigenous feminism, among others. In my research, I pay special attention to socialist feminism as formulated in Eastern Europe, given that the Yugoslav feminists belong to a group of women who were "born into socialism" (Bonfiglioli 2008, 44). While socialist feminists[30] in the United States, France, Italy, and the U.K. produced a significant body of feminist work critiquing both patriarchy and capitalism, their geopolitical location separated them from those Eastern European socialist feminists who lived regionally, ideologically, and politically *in* socialism.

4.2 Yugoslav feminists and Serbian feminists

The early Yugoslav feminists of the 1970s and the 1980s, who were born and raised in socialist Yugoslavia, nurtured a perspective on women's experiences that was deeply influenced by the all-encompassing political structure in which they found themselves. Their critique of the socialist Yugoslav system was a unique combination of feminist consciousness and a pro-socialist position (Lóránd 2014; Zaharijević 2013; Benderly 1997). What constitutes a crucial

[30] I use the term "socialist feminists" in a more general sense that includes both Marxist feminists and socialist feminists, in the narrower sense. For a detailed analysis of the differences between different strands of socialist feminism, see Nancy Holmstrom (2002).

difference between socialist feminists living in capitalist countries of the geopolitical West and socialist feminists in Yugoslavia is their *location*: the early Yugoslav feminists considered the "woman question" from *within* rather than from *outside* socialism, and in so doing, they were bound to change radically the terms of the debate (Bassnett 1986, 2; Jancar 1988). The Yugoslav feminists were in a unique position to apply feminism "to official Marxism to evaluate gains accorded women by a Marxist state" (Jancar 1988, 25). As Rada Iveković, a well-known early Yugoslav feminist scholar and philosopher, explained as early as 1981, women in socialist countries including Yugoslavia had already formally obtained those basic rights for which women in Western Europe had to fight for years, such as the right to abortion, divorce, maternity leave, property rights, employment. The "only" thing left for women in socialist countries to do was to ensure the actual realization of these rights – a much more delicate and less visible problem which had not served as an effective catalyst for sparking a feminist movement (Iveković 1981, 46-47). Yugoslav women did not need to fight to change the laws, but rather, to change the attitudes in their society (Jancar 1988, 8-9).

Yugoslav feminism is a product of both Western feminist influences and Eastern European New Social Movements (Benderly 1994, 26).[31] The early Yugoslav feminists are those women who openly considered themselves feminists and were active from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s (Lóránd 2014; Božinović 1996). Feminists in this period of intense activism were a diverse group active across different Yugoslav republics and whose feminist viewpoints touched upon radical, liberal, Marxist, socialist as well as cultural feminism. They were socialist women

[31] New Social Movements in communist countries of Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, among others, developed in the 1980s in response to growing dissatisfaction with the communist governments' economic, social, and political management. See the last entry on civil society in the terminology section in chapter one.

or socialist feminists in the sense that they lived in a socialist system that had proclaimed that the socialist revolution had already solved the "woman question" (Benderly 1994; Delphy 1979).

After the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, Yugoslav feminists of different nationalities working in capital cities of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia split along the new borders. Even if most of the feminists declared themselves to be anti-nationalists, they could no longer call themselves "Yugoslav" since socialist Yugoslavia no longer existed. Therefore, feminists working in Belgrade became "Serbian" feminists despite their considerable unease with this label. Under strengthening nationalism and militarization, feminists in Belgrade had to confront the imposition of a new identity. As Belgrade feminists Lepa Mladjenović and Vera Litričin write in 1992:

> Before we were "Yugoslavs" and therefore never really identified with Serbs at all. At this point, when we are forced to take a Serbian nationality as our own, we see that there is nothing, nothing at all that can attract feminists to accept it as their own national identity (118).

Feminist activists in Serbia unwillingly became "Serbian feminists" but adopted a very strong anti-nationalist and anti-militarist position: "there was no feminist flirting with nationalism" given Serbia's controversial role in the wars of the 1990s (Žarkov 2003, 66). Throughout my dissertation I distinguish between Yugoslav feminists of the 1970s and 1980s, who were of diverse nationalities, lived across Yugoslavia and worked together, and Serbian feminists of the 1990s, specifically located in Belgrade, who are characterized by a very strong anti-nationalist, anti-militarist feminist position in their politics and actions. This distinction does not, however, imply that they were groups of different women. On the contrary, many of the Yugoslav feminists were also active in the 1990s, but under a "new" national identity; notably, Mladjenović who was first a "Yugoslav" and then later a "Serbian" feminist. My choice of terms

is specifically intended to distinguish between different time periods and political eras and not between women.

It is also important to note that my use of the phrase "the Belgrade feminists" is intended to describe not only those women activists whom I had interviewed. It also designates the small, core group of very active women who were not only members of the AWC but were also members of the Centre for girls, Centre for Women's Studies, Women in Black, Women's Lobby, among others. Their membership overlapped, and activists flowed from one group to another, participating in a variety of different events and projects. As my interviewees commented with a smile, "When you're part of one group, you're part of them all!" The phrase "the Belgrade feminists," however, is not meant to represent the activists as a homogenous group. There were diverging interests and approaches, and this aspect has been discussed (Blagojević 1998). Although the activists were mostly ethnic Serb women, there were certainly women of different ethnicities and religions, such as Roma, Montenegrin, and ethnic Croat women. Moreover, "the Belgrade feminists" describes those women activists who were located in Belgrade at the time but were not necessarily from Belgrade. Indeed, some women refugees actually joined different women's groups once they arrived in Belgrade.

4.3 Eastern Europe, Central Europe, and the West

I have given much thought to naming such vast, dynamic, multi-layered and complex entities as the "West" and "Eastern Europe." I had difficulty finding any definitions of the West in the literature although I found countless references to it in much of the literature I consulted. Chandra Talpade Mohanty's article (2002) was one of the rare sources that offers a definition

and acknowledges the need for such a discussion.[32] Mohanty proposes that the division between Western and non-Western, as well as their ideological equivalents North and South, is a division between "affluent, privileged nations and communities and economically and politically marginalized nations and communities" (Mohanty 2002, 505). Importantly, she reminds us that this division is "a metaphorical rather than geographical distinction, where *North* [or Western] refers to the pathways of transnational capital and *South* [or non-Western] to the marginalized poor of the world regardless of geographical distinction" (2002, 505; emphasis in the original).[33] I take from Mohanty's definition the emphasis on the material, economic wealth in this mapping out of the world where the role of capitalism cannot be underestimated.

"Eastern Europe" remains a vague, ill-defined label.[34] Today, it is most often associated with Cold War (1945-1989) geopolitics; however, a number of scholars have convincingly argued that Eastern Europe is an artificial, constructed notion, in existence since the 18th century (Todorova 1997; Wolff 1994). In the literature on "Eastern Europe," it appears that the authors are referring to those European countries that had communist governments during the Cold War, including countries that were not under direct Soviet influence, such as Yugoslavia and Albania. Sometimes this literature includes the Soviet Union and sometimes it excludes it. During this period, its ideological counterpart was "Western Europe." However, I would insist that definitions are also highly unstable and shift according to perceptions. As Vida Penezic explains, in the American discursive space, socialist Yugoslavia was often wrongly perceived as an "Eastern Bloc country," while "the Eastern bloc frequently saw the country as Western;" and

[32] Timothy Garton Ash (1999) suggests that the West comprises the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and other members of NATO and the EU. I question, however, whether newly admitted members to the EU would still count as the West.
[33] Mohanty is referring here to the work of Arif Dirlik.
[34] Although there are some overlaps, Eastern Europe is not to be confused with the Eastern Bloc which was an officially defined group of countries under direct Soviet influence: East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania. Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito was a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

because of Yugoslavia's nonaligned politics, the rest of the world sometimes saw it as a third world nation (Penezic 1995, para. 2).

In my research, I have encountered many different phrases that refer to the countries of the former Eastern Europe. In the early and mid-1990s, scholars still wrote about Eastern Europe. Later scholarship, however, seems to have moved away from this term, as if confirming the negative and sometimes even derogatory connotations that follow it. Namely, some scholars have stopped referring to this loosely defined "region" as "Eastern Europe," arguing that with the end of the Cold War, the term has become obsolete. However, changing geographic names is also said to be associated with the efforts to erase the past, and reveals the political stakes involved in the naming of places and regions (Petrović 2012, 16). A number of other scholars continue to use the term Eastern Europe given the long-lasting legacy of this Cold War division (Grabowska 2012). Most frequently, I found references to "Central and Eastern Europe," "East Central Europe," "Western Balkans," or "Southeastern Europe," using seemingly more neutral, geographical terminology.[35] Yet even these choices seem to perpetuate a hierarchical ordering of nations, with Eastern Europe being the least desirable and economically developed region of Europe. Orientalist representations, the notion of Balkanism, and the "othering" of Eastern Europe have been criticized by scholars who rely on Edward Said's 1978 *Orientalism* (see Todorova 1997 and Bakic-Hayden 1996). Central Europe is also a shifting and unclear concept, and some researchers have made a strong case arguing that it too, is an invention (Ash 1999, 1986; Todorova 1997; Wolff 1994).

[35] A number of scholars pay particular attention to the meanings attached to the name and to the ways in which the name for this region shifts over time. Dimitar Kamburov writes: "The Balkan countries are also in a quandary. Most of them cast aside their Balkan belonging, assigning it to their neighbours instead, and particularly to those lying south of them. Good political manners already require adherence to the coinage Southeast Europe" (2006, 345). See also Robert Hayden (2013).

What remains certain is that borders defining different parts of Europe have shifted over time due to the disintegration of empires, wars and ethno-nationalistic surges, and have been put to political and ideological use on numerous occasions (Wolff 1994, 15). Since the 1990s, borders have not just been eliminated between member countries of the European Union (EU) but have also been transformed into buffer zones (Gržinić 2009). Post-communist countries which are now members of the EU serve as buffer zones while the bureaucratic apparatuses of the EU have moved into the cities within the aspiring future members of the EU (Gržinić 2009).

As I developed my research, I found that the terms European "post-communist" and "post-socialist" countries quite useful since they underscore the economic system, whether capitalist or socialist. Although the terms "post-communist" and "post-socialist" are often interchangeably used in the literature, in my dissertation "communism" and "communist" refer to the political system (single-party rule) that was in place in Yugoslavia and other Eastern Bloc countries, while (state) socialism refers to the economic model of distribution of wealth. At the same time, I found it difficult not to use the term Eastern Europe, since so much of my secondary source academic literature – and especially given my focus on the early post-1989 period –still applied this category. Therefore, in my attempt for consistency, and given the fact that I focus on the 1990s as my main period of investigation, I chose to continue using the term Eastern Europe while sometimes writing "former Eastern Europe" to acknowledge the temporal, historical, and geopolitical significance of the Cold War divisions. In addition to Mohanty's emphasis on the importance of "transnational capital" flows (2002), I agree with Nora Jung's argument that the presence or absence of capitalism is the dividing line between East and West (1994, 195-196),

4.4 Reproductive rights and abortion

I use the phrase "women's reproductive rights" to address legal issues around reproduction, and I consider these rights to be "on the border between the public and the private" spheres of women's lives (Einhorn 1993, 82). Reproductive rights provide the framework within which reproductive health and well-being can be achieved (Yee *et al.* 2011, 633). I pay particular attention to women's access to abortion in Serbia in the 1990s, given the history of population politics and the political weight assigned to abortion in Serbia in the 1990s. The threat of the loss of or serious restriction to legal abortion access as a reproductive right is one of the key contributing factors to the changing politics of reproduction, which I discuss at length in chapter three. Already in 1974, the Yugoslav Constitution, article 191, proclaimed that "deciding freely about child birth is a human right" (Drezgić 2009, 13), thus articulating reproductive rights through a human rights framework.[36] It is this framework that has served as the basis for Serbian feminists' understanding of women's reproductive rights and subsequent activism.[37]

In socialist Yugoslavia, due to a very high number of illegal abortions, the government legalized the procedure in 1951 for the first time in cases of medical, legal (rape, incest), and socio-medical indications up to the third month of pregnancy (Rašević 1993, 48-49). In 1960, 1969, and 1974, the government liberalized the procedure further, clarified the somewhat vague "socio-medical indications" clause, and developed a position on the concept of "family

[36] The same wording from the 1974 Yugoslav Constitution was repeated in the 1977 law adopted by the Republic of Serbia (still part of Yugoslavia at the time) and was in effect until 1995. This 1977 law stated in Serbian: "Pravo je čoveka da slobodno odlučuje o radjanju dece" (Belgrade Women's Lobby 1995, 44). In English, the statement is as follows: "It is the right of person [čovek] to decide freely about childbirth" (my translation). As noted by Mirjana Rašević, the neutral word "čovek" (an imperfect equivalent in English is "person" or "human") had left the legislation somewhat vague (1993, 51). The subject of this law can be both a woman and a man (and even a double subject woman/man); therefore, the neutrality of the wording suggests that this piece of legislation should not necessarily be interpreted as a move to protect *women's* reproductive rights.

[37] See *Feminist Notebooks* (*Feminističke sveske*) volume 3/4, 1995, which contains numerous texts of protest by feminist groups in Belgrade against the Serbian government's changes to populations policies in the early 1990s. These texts illustrate the type of language used by Belgrade feminists, namely "reproduktivna prava" (reproductive rights). See also chapter three.

planning." Abortion was to be the last (and most undesirable) means of fertility regulation, while contraception was to be promoted, even if contraception remained difficult to obtain (Drezgić 2010). Throughout the decades, abortion remained relatively easily available in hospitals up to the tenth of week after fertilization. The new, more restrictive law was introduced in 1995 in Serbia, under the government of Slobodan Milošević, who led the country from the late 1980s to 2000 and was a significant figure in the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s.[38]

While legal access to abortion has been a key reproductive right and one that women's groups in the United States, Canada, Poland, Chile, or Ireland, to name just a few, have rallied around historically, it is important to recognize that it is not the only such right. Reproductive rights also include the right to control birthing options, the right to a maternal leave, the right to contraception, the right to choose how many children one can have, the right to child care, the right to receive information and education about reproduction, among others (Einhorn 1993, 82-83). However, abortion "provides the most visible, contested and controversial focus of reproductive rights policies" (Einhorn 1993, 89). Importantly, I also pay attention to Yugoslav and Serbian fertility discourses and discuss them at length. Fertility discourses also put pressure on women to have children; therefore, reproductive rights are not simply about contraception and abortion, but encompass the larger issue of who is allowed or supposed to have children and what constitutes both a desirable and undesirable size and type of population.

The reproductive justice movement in the United States has been a powerful critic in recent years of the reproductive rights and choice advocates, and has contributed to a shift in advocacy focus from the right to choose to access (SisterSong 2008). This shift is also visible in the different *OBOS* editions throughout the years. Reproductive rights lose meaning if women cannot access reproductive services for reasons such as poverty, lack of transportation, and

[38] I discuss abortion in greater detail in chapter three. See also Drezgić (2009).

administrative hurdles (SisterSong 2008; Ross, Roberts, and Kuumba 2005; Correa and Petchesky 1994). Likewise, reproductive technologies, such as sterilization, can also be forced on certain women due to racial, ableist, or economic discrimination. In the United States, the coalition of women of colour and their allies are advocating for an approach that uses a human rights and social justice framework to build the so-called reproductive justice movement (Price 2010, 42). More specifically, the coalition is incorporating a human rights approach to reproductive rights since this approach calls on the governments to provide "enabling conditions" and necessary supports and resources (Center for Reproductive Rights 2016; Correa and Petchesky 1994).

In the Serbian case, the fact that the 1974 constitution had already adopted the human rights approach to reproductive rights, has a bearing on the ways in which the Belgrade feminists conceptualize their "reproductive rights" in the 1990s. Although they do not use the phrase "reproductive justice," their arguments oftentimes go above and beyond the women's right to choose legally available abortion services. In my dissertation, I employ the term reproductive rights as I follow the lead of the Belgrade feminists who most often refer to these rights as "reproduktivna prava" (literally, reproductive rights). Given their theoretical and practical engagement, I felt compelled to use the same terms that the Serbian feminists employed even if at times their use of the term reproductive rights overlaps with the notion of reproductive justice. Throughout the dissertation, I illustrate the ways in which their use of reproductive rights is shaped by their specific context of ethnic politics, the Yugoslav wars, and the discourses around ethnically desirable and undesirable populations.

4.5 Civil society and NGOs

The professionalization of activism, including feminist activism in Belgrade, through NGOs or the so-called "NGOization" of grassroots movements, has been identified as an obstacle to genuine development of social and women's movements (Álvarez 2009, 1999; Ghodsee 2004; Lang 1997).[39] In Serbia and other post-communist societies, where poverty has drastically increased in the last two decades, NGOs are largely viewed as sources of potential employment and income, given that many NGOs receive funding from foreign donors such as governments and international foundations. However, in recent years, there have been efforts to "indigenize" (or, to secure domestic sources of funding) and thereby legitimize the civil society in Serbia (Mikuš 2015).

In the 1980s, in communist Eastern Europe, civil society had a particular meaning, one which articulated not only a separation from the state but also an *opposition* to the state (Benderly 1997a, 191). In socialist Yugoslavia, the New Social Movements[40] of the 1980s contributed to the flourishing of a limited, alternative culture ("from below" and "anti-political"), which in the 1990s served as the basis for the development of the new civil society (Benderly 1997a, 191-192). In 1996, Serbia had 700 NGOs, which were slowly working toward building a coherent network of advocacy groups. But a number of scholars caution that large numbers of NGOs in a country do not translate into a strong civil society and that Western European and North American private foundations and governments have been applying a formulaic approach to civil society development in post-communist Eastern European countries (Sloat 2005;

[39] See Elissa Helms's work on Bosnian NGOs and the phenomenon and dynamics of NGO-ization in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (2013, 115-119).

[40] New Social Movements in communist countries of Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, among others, developed in the 1980s in response to growing dissatisfaction with the communist governments' economic, social, and political management. For a more comprehensive analysis of the New Social Movements (Novi društveni pokreti) in Yugoslavia, see *Društvo u pokretu: Novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968. do danas*, edited by Djordje Tomić and Petar Atanacković (2009).

McMahon 2001; Gal and Kligman 2000b). While I use the term civil society in the case of Serbia, I am aware that the civil society in this region has had a specific history and has been considerably influenced by its dependence on foreign donors. These specific features of civil society in Serbia have hindered the work of the NGOs, including the feminist NGOs, and have also contributed to the view that the NGOs act in the interest of the foreign donors, and therefore, *not* in the interest of the local population.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided the contours for my research and outlined my theoretical framework and methodology. The section on terminology positions my research within the wider scope of primary and secondary literature, and argues that the choice of vocabulary is far from neutral. Rather, the choice of vocabulary is telling of the researcher's standpoint and relation to the literature. In the next chapter, I sharpen the focus on the Serbian political context, the Belgrade feminist group AWC and its translation of *OBOS*.

Chapter 2:

The Belgrade Feminists and *Naša tela, mi* in Serbia of the 1990s

"[First,] […] the philosophy of the Autonomous Women's Centre was feminist, so to speak, its approach to women and its help and support for women was[informed by] feminist theory, so I think that we searched in all those things to fill the gap, for something that would be very useful for our women and that would open a window, so to speak, so that they could be more aware of themselves given the situation we were in, that is, the start and then the middle of the conflicts on these territories.
Second, we worked with a large number of refugees, and women's health became a focus, not because we thought that it should be so, but because the practical part of our work imposed it on us"[1]
Stanislava Otašević (Interview)

Introduction

Feminist activists more often than not work on the margins of society. Belgrade feminists in the early 1990s joined anti-war and anti-nationalist campaigns and remained committed to this cause throughout the decade despite lack of support and occasional hostility from the wider public and the state. They formed groups and initiatives to criticize and openly oppose "a patriarchal and a militant regime" (Sekulić 1994, 18). Feminist groups were also among the first to organize in response to the large influx of refugees escaping the conflict zones in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. When most citizens in Serbia were struggling to maintain their livelihood in the midst of unprecedented hyperinflation, privatization, state militarization, and

[1] The original in Serbian is as follows: "[…] Autonomnog ženskog centra čija je, mislim da kažem, pod znacima navoda, filozofija feministička bila i pristup ženi, pristup pomoći i podršci, bolje rečeno, ženama, je bila feministička teorija, tako da mislim smo gledale u svim tim stvarima šta je ono što nama fali a što bi našim ženama jako dobro došlo i što bi im otvorilo nekakv prozor da posmatraju sebe s obzirom na situaciju u kojoj smo se nalazili, to je negde početak pa sredina, moze se reći, sukoba koji su bili na ovim teritorijama. Drugo, što smo radile sa velikim brojem izbeglica, što je zdravlje žena bilo nekako u fokusu jer je moralo da bude, mislim, ne samo zato što smo tako mislile, nego zato što to praktično, praktičan deo našeg rada nam je i nametnuo da se time 'pozabavimo.'"

infiltration of nationalist ideologies, refugees had few places to which they could turn for support.[2] Writing in 1994, Isidora Sekulić paints a clear picture of the politically depressed situation in Serbia at the time: "It is almost impossible to achieve a broader based resistance – to both women's oppression and militarism – in a country where the inflation rate rises hourly, where children are dying of simple infections, where old people kill themselves because they cannot buy bread, where the average monthly salary is less than $5, where electrical power systems do not function, where trains go nowhere, and factories produce nothing" (1994, 19).

For some activists, the arrival of thousands of refugees in Belgrade was a turning point. In our interview, Sunčica Vučaj recounted that she was in her early twenties at the beginning of the war when she joined the newly established Centre for Women's Studies, Research, and Communication[3] in an attempt to make sense of the confused and chaotic situation created by the waves of fleeing refugees. Her yearning to understand the political situation and to assist those in need led her to become a life-long feminist activist. In the opening quotation by Stanislava Otašević, the arrival of women refugees, who brought with them stories of rape, torture, and violence, redirected the focus of feminist activists onto women's health.

The upheaval of the 1990s threw the feminist activists into the hotbed of anti-war and anti-nationalist activism, and in many ways, provided a philosophical and political foundation for their future actions. Confronted with the wars of the 1990s, Belgrade feminists developed a unique insight into the ways nationalism, revival of patriarchal traditions, and militarization

[2] For analysis of Serbia's hyperinflation, second highest and second longest in economic history, see Petrović *et al*., "The Yugoslav Hyperinflation of 1992-1994: Causes, Dynamics, and Money Supply Process" (1999).
[3] The Centre for Women's Studies, Research, and Communication or Centar za ženske studije, istraživanje i komunikaciju is an independent, non-profit organization. It is independent of the University of Belgrade although over the years it has succeeded in gaining accreditation and recognition for some of its programs from the University. The name of the Centre has been shortened to the Centre for Women's Studies or Centar za ženske studije. More information on their website, available in both Serbian and English: http://www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/

target women's bodies and devastate their health, colluding to create an oppressive politics of reproduction (Papić 1999). Through their practice, a tight-knit group of Belgrade feminist activists at the Autonomous Women's Centre (AWC) and several other women's groups identified a gap in their feminist literature and tools for resistance. As they developed their own grassroots feminist resources in Serbian and stocked their libraries, often with books gifted by transnational feminist visitors, they also engaged in the production of new feminist knowledge through translation.

In this chapter, I argue that the AWC's translation work behind *Naša tela, mi* (*NTM*) calls for an examination of the context of the politics of reproduction and violence against women. I give a brief overview of the changes in the wider region of Eastern Europe, the changing citizenship and gender regimes, and trace the history of the AWC in Belgrade. My analysis of *NTM* and the AWC provides a window into the wider, social dynamics such as a rise in patriarchal ethnic nationalism and re-traditionalization, which stifle women's reproductive rights and their general status in society. Moreover, I highlight the unique position of the Belgrade feminists who, through their practical work and writing, made clear connections between domestic violence and war violence, demonstrating that both peacetime and wartime violence are products of the same patriarchal demand for women's subordination and control over women's bodies. By the same logic, the Belgrade feminists' communication and collaboration with women in other Yugoslav successor states were viewed as disloyalty to the Serbian nation and as a failure to fulfill women's traditional roles. The activists engaged in disloyal acts by building feminist solidarity across ethnic lines and by adopting a radical feminist approach to women's bodily autonomy and women-centred knowledge. Lastly, in this chapter, I am also interested in going beyond the influence of war and ethnic nationalism in order to situate the Belgrade

feminists within transnational feminism. Therefore, I pay special attention to the part played by foreign feminists' support, foreign funding, and transnational feminist networking as important factors in solidarity building, knowledge production, and the politics of translation.

The work of the AWC is even today influenced directly by the feminist activists' daily engagement with victims of male violence, but also by collaborative work with other feminist groups which emerged in the 1990s, practices that serve as backdrop to their translation of *OBOS*. With this in view, I provide an analysis of the social and political contexts which give meaning to the Serbian translation of *OBOS*.

1. Women in the context of transition in post-communist Eastern Europe

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the subsequent unification of West Germany and East Germany, came the disintegration of almost everything else: the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the breakdown of structures that held communist societies together during the Cold War (1945-1989), as well as common cultural points of reference and value systems (see Bunce 1999).[4] The year 1989 symbolizes, therefore, the end of the communist and socialist organization of life for millions of people in Eastern Europe and the beginning of a post-communist period characterized by a so-called transition to democracy and the establishment of a market capitalist economy.[5]

[4] See timeline of selected historical events in Yugoslavia and Serbia. Rather than a single event, the fall of communism in this large geopolitical region was a multilayered and multi-step process that began in the 1980s and continued with a series of democratic elections and reforms that extended into the 1990s.

[5]A number of scholars challenge the use of the phrase "transition to democracy" and suggest that "transformation" or "transition from communism" are more suitable terms. Peggy Watson suggests that the term transition implies "an unproblematic trajectory" which leads to a known and certain destination – democracy (2000, 186). Barbara Einhorn has also challenged this term: "It seems to me that this is a term [transition to democracy] coined by Western analysts which contains undertones of a triumphant discourse, implying as it does that these processes are going from somewhere (bad, the state socialist past) to somewhere (good, the Western market democracy model)

The literature on women in the transition to democracy and neoliberal economic policies argues that significant changes in gender relations took place in sync with major economic and political reforms (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Renne 1997; Einhorn 1993; Funk and Muller 1993; Watson 1993a). Gender is defined as "the socially and culturally produced ideas about male-female difference, power, and inequality that structure the reproduction of these differences in the institutionalized practices of society" (Gal and Kligman 2000a, 5). Based on this conceptualization of gender, gender relations then constitute the "routine ways in which men and women interact with each other in social institutions" (Gal and Kligman 2000a, 11).

Although the quality of life for both men and women plunged due to harsh economic conditions and privatization of most services previously provided by the government, women's rights experienced a significant retrenchment. Women became the majority of the unemployed; their numbers rose rapidly in the first years after regime change (Funk and Mueller 1993). Women's primary role in reproduction as mothers and family caregivers started to work against them. Maternity benefits introduced and guaranteed under the socialist system served as basis for discrimination against women since the private sector hesitated to finance such provisions (Kotzeva 1999, 88; Einhorn 1993, 9).

Scholars studying the effects of the transition on women's social status have come to a consensus that the transition has significantly eroded women's rights in all areas of women's lives including reproductive rights (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Renne 1997; Moghadam 1993; Einhorn 1993; Funk and Mueller 1993). Abortion was targeted early on. Writing in 2000, Susan Gal and Gail Kligman were compelled to ask: "Why was abortion among the first issues raised, after 1989, by virtually all the newly constituted governments of East Central Europe?"

(2000, 108). In my dissertation, I find this more cautious approach useful, and I use quotation marks around the term to mark my questioning of it, as well as the phrase "transition away from communism/socialism" to refer to the ongoing political, economic and social processes.

(2000a, 3). Simultaneously, the number of women in newly elected democratic governments dwindled, and almost all post-communist countries saw a significant drop in female representation (LaFont 2001, 207; Einhorn 1993, 148). As Katherine Verdery suggests: "[A] new form of 'patriarchy' has accompanied democratization, making the basic citizen of democracy *male*" (1996, 13; emphasis in original).

The overwhelming presence of men in formal governmental institutions, which exercise concrete power, and the many women in more informal non-governmental organizations have led scholars to name this phenomenon the "feminization" of the civil society sector (Sloat 2005; LaFont 2001; Lang 1997). This phenomenon has had a negative impact on women's reproductive rights since restrictive abortion laws and policies were either adopted or debated immediately upon the election of mostly male-dominated governments (Johnson and Robinson 2007; Watson 2000; Renne 1997; Funk and Mueller 1993; Einhorn 1993). For example, Poland introduced one of the strictest abortion laws in Europe in 1993, and East German women lost a more liberal abortion law with the unification with West Germany (Kramer 2009; Nowicka 1994; Einhorn 1993; Funk 1993). In many other countries such as Bulgaria, Serbia, and Croatia, abortion was no longer an insured service and women had to pay out of pocket, while in Hungary, Slovenia, and Croatia the Catholic Church and right-wing political parties became more vocal about their opposition to abortion (Jalušič 1999; Salecl 1997; Gal 1994).

Another important theme in the literature on women in post-communist Eastern European countries is the re-traditionalization of gender roles (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Renne 1997; Einhorn 1993). While sexism persisted in socialism and dictated that the ideal woman had to be "a diligent and responsible worker, a thrifty housewife, a rational consumer and a devoted mother" (Jambrešić-Kirin and Blagaić 2013, 62), the transition brought forth an ideal of

womanhood that was strongly rooted in motherhood. There has been a revival of traditional masculinity, with emphasis on virility and power, and traditional femininity, based on the notions of passivity, caregiving, and sexual attractiveness (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002; Marody and Giza-Poleszczuk 2000; Gal and Kligman 2000b; Renne 1997). In prior decades, however, socialist visions depicted women as "superwomen," "doers," "functionaries," "labourers," and "fighters" (Gal and Kligman 2000b, 53; Kotzeva 1999, 85). But, in the 1990s with the arrival of capitalist ideologies and practices, these images were replaced with the traditional forms of femininity: "The image of the female tractor driver is out, as is Superwoman wearing a hard-hat on a building site. Cinderella of fairy-tale fantasy and dreams is back – whether to stay is not yet clear" (Einhorn 1993, 216). Women's triple duty of worker-mother-comrade was reduced to the feminine, home-bound, maternal woman.

2. The political context and the wars of the 1990s in Yugoslavia and Serbia

While 1989 is considered a landmark year signalling the end of communism in Eastern Europe, the year 1991 carries more significance for Yugoslavia. From 1945 to 1991, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY or SFR Yugoslavia) consisted of six republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia (with Vojvodina in the north and Kosovo and Metohija in the south as two autonomous regions in Serbia after 1974), Montenegro, and Macedonia. Ever since the split between Yugoslavia's iconic leader Josip Broz Tito and the Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia took a different path from the Soviet version of socialism.[6] Given the

[6] For a more detailed analysis of the Yugoslav self-management system, see Liotta (2001) and Saul (1991). David and McIntyre describe the Yugoslav system of self-management as "organized around the workers' councils and decentralized local governments" and observe: "A decentralized mixed market and planned economy evolved in which the enterprise is largely autonomous and the State plays a limited economic role" (1981, 147).

considerable ethnic diversity (five official nationalities and twelve ethnic minorities)[7] as well as significant regional (urban and rural) differences in terms of economic and social development, religion, history and customs, the country adopted a decentralized economic self-management model (David and McIntyre 1981).

The 1946 constitution guaranteed Yugoslav women for the first time political, economic, and social equality with men by giving them the right to vote, to hold public office, and to access education and employment (including paid maternity leave) without discrimination, as well as liberal abortion and divorce policies (Ramet 1999, 94-95; Woodward 1985, 240).[8] This new socialist policy required the modification of the traditional pattern of male-female relations which was based on "a sharply differentiated division of labor along gender lines, women's subordination both to all adult males in the family and to older women" and on the "ritual separation of male and female spheres" (Woodward 1985, 237).[9] As Susan Woodward concludes, women "accepted the necessity of both work and family" but in order to resolve the conflict between the old and new ways, they "deemphasized their participation in the public sphere" (1985, 256).

Importantly, socialist Yugoslavia underwent one of the most rapid processes of urbanization in history. Before WWII, 80 percent of the Yugoslav population lived in rural settings, while by 1978, 70 percent of the population lived in cities and towns (Jancar 1985, 204).

[7] The five recognized *constitutive nations* (*narodi*) included: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Muslims, Montenegrins,and Macedonians. The twelve *nonconstitutive nationalities* (*narodnosti*) included Hungarians and Albanians, among others. For a discussion on the differences between nationalities and ethnic minorities in socialist Yugoslavia, see introduction in Jović (2009). For example, Vojvodina in the north of the republic of Serbia had 22 ethnic minorities and the Hungarian nationality, in addition to the Serb population which constituted 50% of the total population (Jović 2009, 215; see footnote 1).

[8] The major role played by Yugoslav women in WWII combat as partisans of the Antifašistički front žena (AFŽ) or the Antifascist Women's Front served as an important argument in support of radically expanding women's rights in the 1946 constitution. For more on AFŽ, see Batinić (2015), Bonfiglioli (2012), and Jancar-Webster (1990).

[9] For other detailed descriptions of the traditional patriarchal family in Yugoslavia, see Simić (1999), Denich (1974), St. Erlich (1971).

This rapid process of urbanization, coupled with industrialization, was not, however, accompanied by the equally rapid adjustment in social and family relations, leaving many people with a sense of rootlessness (Korać 1998, 87-89; Jancar 1985). This sense of rootlessness was later exploited by the political elites in the six federal republics. As Maja Korać explains: "Through an ethno-nationalist discourse of 'common blood' and 'common destiny' political elites generated the notion of essentialist difference among ethnic-nations. In so doing, they successfully manipulated millions of rural-urban migrants who felt socially insecure and rootless" (1998, 89-90).

A series of armed, violent conflicts in the SFR Yugoslavia erupted between 1991 and 1995, triggered by declarations of independence by the republics of Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and by Bosnia in 1992. With the exception of the conflict in Slovenia, these declarations of independence were followed by massacres of civilians, mass rapes, torture, and the large-scale forcible displacements of populations accompanying "ethnic cleansing" (Woodward 1995; Human Rights Watch 1993).[10] This period saw expressions of intensifying ethno-nationalist discourses in the media, in public institutions, and also in interpersonal relations across the republics (Žarkov 2007).[11]

The war in Bosnia (1992-1995) was significantly marked by the use of rape camps and sexual torture (Skjelsbaek 2006).[12] Rape victims, mostly women and girls but also some men and boys, were found among all ethnic groups involved in the conflict (Skjelsbaek 2006, 374;

[10] The term "ethnic cleansing" was first used by some of the leaders in the conflicts and was subsequently reproduced in official documents by international bodies such as the UN Human Rights Rapporteur's report (Mazowiecki 1993). Dubravka Žarkov writes that the wars created "one of the most abhorred practices – and as some would say, one of the most accurate metaphors – of our time: 'ethnic cleansing'" (2007, 6).

[11] For comprehensive reviews and analyses, based on both empirical research and theory, of the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia and the wars, see Jović (2009, 2001), Dragovic-Soso (2008), Gagnon (2004), Allcock (2000), Woodward (1995).

[12] The war in Rwanda, which took place around the same time, in 1994, together with the war in Bosnia, brought unprecedented attention to the use of sexual violence as a wartime weapon (Skjelsbaek 2001, 211-212).

Erjavec and Volcic 2010, 361). However, as Inger Skjelsbaek explains, most reports "are careful to point out that the majority of these crimes were committed by Serb (ir)regular forces against the Muslim population in Bosnia" (2006, 375). It is estimated that anywhere between 20,000 and 50,000 Bosniak girls and women were raped and forcibly impregnated and "released only when abortion was impossible" (Erjavec and Volcic 2010, 361). Western feminist involvement in the discovery, documentation, and analysis of the wartime rapes was also significant and not without controversy. Well-known American feminist Catharine MacKinnon's writing on wartime rape, her very public engagement in the matter, and her legal assistance to Croatian and Bosnian "patriotic" or so-called nationalist women's groups, were criticized by Croatian and Serbian feminists for spreading even more hatred along ethnic lines (Miškovska Kajevska 2014; Batinić 2001; Benderly 1997; Kesić 1994; MacKinnon 1993).[13] Moreover, Elissa Helms asserts that "[the] dominant Western (Euro-American) feminist response to reports of mass rapes in Bosnia was to reinforce the image of women as victims – or at least *those* women as victims" (2013, 6; emphasis in the original). This dominant viewpoint promoted the notion that the rapes were a result of "ancient ethnic hatred" and were happening in "the semi-exotic Balkans," reinforcing Orientalist assumptions about culture, tradition, patriarchy, and gender oppression (Helms 2013, 6).

In Serbia, Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović reports that women in ethnically mixed marriages began to experience new violence or increased violence with the start of the war (2002, 96-97).[14]

[13] MacKinnon's article entitled "Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide" which appeared in *Ms. Magazine* in the July/August issue in 1993 blamed pornography for the grotesque sexual violence in the Bosnian war. Her analysis was criticized by Croatian feminist Vesna Kesić (1994) for factual inaccuracies, lack of evidence, ignorance of local political and historical context, and faulty analysis. *Ms. Magazine* published a number of other articles such as the one by Laura Pitter and Alexandra Stiglmayer (March/April 1993) about rape survivors and their treatment in Croatia.

[14] A woman's ethnicity became a potential cause for violence if different from her husband's. Both the AWC and the SOS hotline reported a sharp increase in calls from women who were of non-Serbian ethnicity and were

The SOS hotline for victims of violence reported a jump in calls from women experiencing domestic violence but also threats with the use of weapons, now easily proliferating due to the war (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002, 96-97). In Bosnia, women who were forcefully impregnated by Serb (para)military forces sought abortions at the newly established clinic Medica (located in the town of Zenica), established with the collaboration of German feminists (Helms 2013).[15] In Serbia, women refugees of different ethnicities as well as local women sought abortions in Belgrade for a variety of reasons, while the Serbian government and a number of Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC)[16] officials called for restrictions on abortion in order to strengthen the "dying nation" (Drezgić 2009; Litričin 1999, 4). The SPC targeted primarily women with its anti-abortion discourses, citing demographic problems, the defence of the nation, and its biological survival (Drezgić 2015, 2009).

As a result of the wars, at least 2.5 million people were forced to leave their homes, leading to successive waves of refugees escaping the zones of combat (Gagnon 2004, 1; Woodward 1995, 1). These mass displacements subsequently produced more ethnically "pure" border-defined territories as the former Yugoslav republics engaged in the process of nation-state formation based on ethnic lines (Duhaček 2002). The bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (by this time consisting only of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro) from March to June 1999 by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),was followed by a large-scale international intervention in the southern Serbian region of Kosovo, which in 2008 declared its independence from Serbia. In response to mass demonstrations disputing presidential elections of

---

subjected to violence: their ethnicity became "an insult" to the husband or an "instrument for violence against women" (Protić 1999b, 9).

[15] The German feminist group is called Medica Mondiale and is located in Cologne, Germany. For more details, see Helms (2013, 98) and their website:
http://www.medicamondiale.org/en/who-we-are/our-history.html

[16] SPC refers to the Serbian Orthodox Church, or Srpska pravoslavna crkva.

September 24, 2000, Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević was initially arrested on the charges of corruption, in Serbia, but was later extradited to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the Hague, Netherlands and charged with war crimes. These events marked the end of the 1990s, a decade of brutal violence and socio-economic despair.

3. Women in a new nation-state, citizenship regime, and gender regime

3.1 New nation-states and ethnic nationalism

While many journalists and scholars reporting on the wars in Yugoslavia argued in the early years of the conflict that the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia was a result of ancient ethnic hatreds, a number of other scholars disputed this claim. Ana Dević calls these approaches to explaining the wars "primordialist" or "psycho-cultural," and V. P. Gagnon proposes that the wars were "the result of reconceptualization of space along European lines" or the "Europeanization of the Balkans" (Gagnon 2004; Dević 1998). Gagnon suggests that conceiving space in ethnically or linguistically homogeneous terms for the purpose of political homogeneity became a western European nation-state project between the 16th and 19th centuries and later spread to other parts of the world, including the Balkans (2004, 15). Similarly, Gale Stokes argues that the redrawing of the state borders along ethnic lines in Yugoslavia was "not an aberrant Balkan phenomenon or the striking out of backward peoples involved in tribal warfare" but "the final working out of a long European tradition of violent ethnic homogenization" (Stokes quoted in Dragovic-Soso 2008, 5).[17] Moreover, these scholars pay particular attention to the economic, political and social crises, which preceded the Yugoslav wars, and stress the need

[17] See also Žarkov who writes: "But the term "ethnic war" was to a great extent part and parcel of Eurocentric, Orientalist, and Balkanist perceptions of the Balkans – both within and outside of it – that slowly but surely became the main frame of reference for Yugoslav disintegration" (2007, 5).

to examine the role of political elites as well as structural and institutional decay as important factors in the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Archer *et al.* 2016; Gagnon 2004, 1994; Duhaček 2002; Bunce 1999; Dević 1998, 1997).

Ethnic nationalism, however, was a distinct feature of the wars. Gagnon aims to study ethnic nationalism not necessarily as the cause of the wars but as the "rhetoric by which political actors describe, justify, and explain policies with reference to the interest of the 'nation' defined in ethnic terms" (1994, 131). Maja Korać describes ethnic nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe as "a politics of exclusion [because] its claims to power are based on a concept of citizenship in which ethnicity is defined as the primary source of identity and belonging" (1998, 82). In contrast to "political nationalism" which is unifying and centralizing, ethnic nationalism is fragmentary, primarily about identity, and contingent on clearly defined borders between "us" and "them" (Korać 1998, 85). The Belgrade feminists viewed ethnic nationalism as the goal of the political elites: "While the world's media tended to represent ethnicity as the *cause* of the Balkan wars, Yugoslavs such as the Belgrade feminists on the contrary saw renewed ethnic identities as a *goal* of the war-makers, a desired outcome of the wars" (Cockburn 2007, 88; emphasis in the original).

Nations are symbolically figured as families (McClintock 1993). In conceptualizations of nations and nationalism, the family trope evokes the notions of "common blood" and "common origin" and thus, nations, or "narodi" in Serbian (denoting both English terms ethnicity and nation) are conceived as groups that share a common language, religion, culture, and history (Korać 1998, 74; Anderson 2006). Families upon which nations are modelled are patriarchal families where women and children are subordinated to men: "No nation in the world gives women and men the same access to the rights and resources of the nation-state" (McClintock

1993, 61). In the Yugoslav case, the traditional patriarchal family has been the dominant family model and has been marked by women's subordination to male family members and considerable violence towards women (Gudac-Dodić 2014b, 2012; St. Erlich 1971). Importantly, a person's ethnic origin is determined according to her or his father's ethnic origin, that is, through the father's "blood" or paternal lineage (Drezgić 2010, 95).

Women in ethnic nationalism founded on the patriarchal family have primarily served as biological reproducers of the nation, reproducers of the boundaries of national groups, producers and transmitters of national culture, symbolic signifiers of national difference, as well as active but unequal participants in national struggle (McClintock 1993, 62-63; Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1989, 7). Women's primary role is to produce ethnically appropriate, homogenous children whose ethnic identity is determined patrilineally, that is, by the father's ethnicity (Helms 2013, 69-71; Shiffman *et al.* 2002, 635-636). Given this crucial role of women in the reproduction of the family and, therefore, the nation, "[control] of women and restrictions of their rights and freedoms is central for the establishment of ethnic-national projects" (Korać 1998, 157). The Belgrade feminists refused these gendered prescriptions, and relied on their knowledge of feminist theory as well as "their own bitter experience" to see through the government's nationalist and militarist moves as patriarchal politics (Cockburn 2007, 88).

3.2 Women in the new gender regimes

Writing on gender inequalities and the withdrawal of public provision of services in the transitioning countries of Eastern Europe, Barbara Einhorn suggests that women in their role as mothers have now been handed from "public patriarchy" to "private patriarchy" (1993, 42-44). Patriarchy can be defined as "structural domination of (at least some) men over women, children,

and some men," and it also includes "individualized propensity for men's gender domination" (Hearn 2015, 77-78). Patriarchal thinking is also evident in the ways labour and family responsibilities are divided along strict lines between men and women. Deep-seated traditional conceptions of men's and women's roles in society survived the decades-long state socialism, or in the words of Duhaček: "a thin layer of ideologically based egalitarianism was superimposed on a stable patriarchy" (1993, 135). After the 1989 and 1990 multi-party elections across communist Eastern European countries, this longstanding patriarchal slant reappeared in what scholars were critically calling "masculine democracies" or male-dominated parliaments (Watson 1993b).[18]

In the case of Serbia, a distinction can be made between *the socialist period* (1945-1991), *the conflict period* (1991-1999), and the post-conflict, *transition period* (2000-present). Zaharijević suggests that each of these three periods was accompanied by its own gender regime. Gender regimes are defined as "institutionalized practices and forms of gendered systems of domination that are constituted as social ordering principles in all societies" (Young 2002, 56; Bonfiglioli 2015, 58).[19] Each time period shaped the specific terms of feminist engagement. During the socialist period, feminists in the 1970s and the 1980s were considered "benevolent dissidents" since they did not seek to overthrow socialism, but rather, the patriarchal elements that remained (Zaharijević 2013, 9; Bonfiglioli 2008, 56-57). During the 1990s, feminist groups denounced the state for its militaristic, sexist, and ethno-nationalist violence. Since the early 2000s, feminist groups have had the task of rigorously criticizing the socio-economic and gender

[18] For example, Serbian women formed a mere 1.6% of members of parliament in the period 1990-1993 during a part of Slobodan Milošević's rule (Papić 1999, 164). In the early 1990s, when the abortion law was reformed, the presence of women in the parliament was at its all time low – that is, since 1945. Barbara Einhorn suggests that Serbian sociologist Sonja Licht was the first one to coin the term "male democracy" in response to these newly elected parliaments dominated by male deputies. (1993, 148).

[19] For more on gender regimes, see Walby (2004) and Johnson and Saarinen (2013).

relations brought on by neoliberal capitalism in the post-conflict period (Zaharijević 2013, 20). Changes to gender regimes produced a unique set of circumstances that provide the backdrop to Serbian feminist activism in the 1990s. I treat this decade as a very specific political and social moment in history. With the removal of president Milošević from power, the year 2000 constituted a major turning point for Serbia and consequently for the feminists' approach to activism.

An overview of the literature produced by Serbian feminists in the 1990s together with the views expressed by Serbian feminists during our interviews seem to confirm this point of view. Feminist activism of the 1990s appears to have been highly influenced by war and violence, the highly divisive and repressive politics of president Milošević, and by fast-emerging NGOs for women. There were also frequent visits by foreign feminist groups and individuals as well as an increased presence of foreign funders, all of which combined to counterbalance Serbia's isolation, particularly during the international community's economic, military, and other sanctions against Serbia in the attempt to stop the war in Bosnia.[20] Ironically, the removal of Milošević from the presidency, and the arrival of democratic governance, however shaky, together with Serbia's general return and integration into the international community, saw a departure of foreign donors and their significant financial support for feminist projects (Mikuš 2015; Interviews 2014 Belgrade; Živanov 2000). Writing for Central Europe Review, Slavko Živanov observed in 2000 following the removal of Milošević from power: "Overnight, Yugoslavia went from bad guy to good guy; no longer a savage and primitive people, the Serbs now belong in Europe and find the doors of the democratic world open to them" (2000).[21] The so-called "donor exit" (Mikuš 2015) occurred as a result of political and economic stabilization

[20] For more on the reasoning behind and the effects of the sanctions, see Woodward (1995).
[21] Accessed January 2017:
http://www.ce-review.org/00/43/roundup43serbia.html

and normalization of relations with the European Union and other countries, processes which produced the perception that Serbia was no longer in gross violation of human rights. This shift also meant that feminist groups such as the AWC could no longer rely on funding for larger projects, such as the translation of *OBOS,* but instead could embark only on very short-term, narrow projects lasting at the most for a few months.[22]

4. The Autonomous Women's Centre in Belgrade

Set against this background, feminist activists began to organize increasingly in response to the major shifts in all spheres of society. Economic hardship, rapid privatization due to the transition to market economy, and militarized conflicts on the territory of Yugoslavia created negative effects on women's everyday experiences, including increased violence, both domestic and sexual. Paradoxically, these same conditions – poverty, unemployment, and war – offered favourable conditions for feminist organizing and the formation of women's groups (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002, 140). In a similar vein, Jill Benderly observes,"[the] year 1991 saw the mushrooming of women's initiatives, which were affected by two simultaneous but contradictory conditions" (1997a, 196). These were increasing opportunities for autonomous organizing, and rollbacks of women's rights and status under new governments and increasing privatization.

Building on the foundation established by the largely urban and academic feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia, women mobilized across the territory of Yugoslavia in order to respond to the emerging crises.[23] Yugoslav feminist groups in

[22] Interview with Otašević.

[23] The Yugoslav feminism of the 1970s and the 1980s was influenced by the so-called second-wave feminist movements in the United States and other western European countries. I discuss the Yugoslav feminist movement in greater detail in chapter four.

the 1990s grew from anti-war and anti-nationalist activism, but importantly, these groups were also the descendants of a 1980s Yugoslav feminist group *Žena i društvo* (Woman and Society). While the roots of this group lay in urban academic circles, its grassroots activism boomed in the second half of the 1980s (Lóránd 2014; Benderly 1997a). Among a number of initiatives, the most notable is perhaps the first SOS hotlines for women and children victims of domestic violence, which were established in the republics' capital cities: 1988 in Zagreb, 1989 in Ljubljana, and 1990 in Belgrade. This initiative by Yugoslav feminists placed the much-needed spotlight on domestic violence, which remained largely hidden during the socialist period. The socialist government did not regulate domestic violence as a separate criminal offence, and domestic violence was not recognized until 2002. Vera Gudac-Dodić explains the invisibility of domestic violence during the socialist period as follows:

> Domestic violence evaded social control, while aggressive behaviour by some family members remained within the boundaries of privacy, behind the locked doors and hidden from the public. It would be revealed only in extreme cases or before courts when spousal abuse would lead to divorce. The fact that there were not many records of domestic violence in the period of socialism likewise shows that violence was treated as a private family matter (2014b, 147).

Marijana Stojčić similarly writes that in socialist Yugoslavia, violence against women did not exist as a topic in the public sphere (2009, 113).

Between 1990 and 1996, despite unfavourable conditions for civil society formation under Milošević's regime, there were 700 NGOs in what was then Yugoslavia: Serbia and Montenegro (Duhaček 2002, 285). While political conditions remained unfavourable, foreign financial support was significant.[24] Serbia's isolation from the international community, due to

[24] The AWC lists all its domestic and foreign funders since 1993 on its website: http://www.womenngo.org.rs/o-nama/donatori.
Included in the list are some of the major foreign funding agencies such as CARE International NW (Balkans), CIDA (Canada), Global Fund for Women, Kvinna Till Kvinna (Stockholm), Joan Nestle (New York), Oxfam (Belgrade), Network of East-West Women (New York), Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USAID (Belgrade

the government's increasingly controversial and criticized involvement in Croatia and Bosnia, made it more difficult for women's groups to operate, but by the same token, this situation offered greater Western presence in the form of funding. Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović explains:

> Opening toward the West was very important as a precondition for East European women's access to feminist ideas and Western women's experiences of self-organizing, but the emergence of Western financially [sic] and other support was also crucial for East European women's initiatives. Even in Serbia, which in the 1990's was more isolated than before, foreign financial support for women's NGO-s was present, more or less, all the time. […] at the moment when Serbia was cut off from the rest of the world, perhaps the only thing that worked smoothly and was a "normal" connection with the world were women's organizations (2002, 141).

New institutions and associations considerably changed the feminist landscape in Serbia, particularly in the capital city of Belgrade. The presence of Western financial and other supports, together with increased visits and exchanges, meant that transnational feminist networking was emerging in the 1990s despite the government's nationalist projects and the marginalized status of feminist groups.

The Yugoslav wars encouraged and accelerated the formation of autonomous women's groups and their transnational feminist connections.[25] Today, there are hundreds of women's organizations in the post-Yugoslav region; however, as Aida Bagić writes, perhaps some "80 to 90 percent of them would have never appeared without foreign financial support, or if they had appeared, their subsequent development would have been very different" (2006, 161). Similarly, Susan Gal acknowledges the considerable influence of NGOs working in the region such as "the fabulously wealthy Soros Foundation," as well as "religious groups that missionize with conservative agendas," but also other foundations with progressive feminist agendas (2003, 113).

---

office), UN agencies (UNFEM, UNWOMEN, UNDP, UNFPA), WHO, Violence Against Women in War Network (Tokyo), and Urgent Action Fund (USA), among many others. The STAR Project, based out of the United States, provided funding to many women's groups in Yugoslav successor states and was coordinated by Jill Benderly, an American activist and journalist, who had built personal, professional, and academic ties in the former Yugoslavia.

[25] See my timeline of the feminist movement in Yugoslavia and Serbia. See also Blagojević (2010).

The George Soros Foundation and its Open Society Institutes (OSI) have over the years made significant contributions to a variety of NGOs, including women's groups. In the period between 1993 and 2013, OSI spent more than $1 billion on the promotion of democracy in Eastern Europe and in the former Soviet Union countries, and approximately another $1 billion in Russia (Porter 2015, 56). Such vast amounts of money channelled through the societies of impoverished Eastern Europe via OSI's projects and grants attracted a great deal of attention but also notoriety for Soros. His deep involvement through his foundations in Eastern Europe in the 1980s against the communist governments and in the 1990s against nationalist, socially conservative and traditionalist governments, has made him and those who work for him appear suspicious to the local populations, akin to foreign agents or infiltrators (Porter 2015; Kaufman 2002). The local Open Society Institutes, are, however, usually run by locally engaged people intimately familiar with the local politics, history and social issues (Porter 2015). Generous grants offered by the OSI in Belgrade allowed emerging groups such as the AWC to design multi-year projects and envision larger, long-term projects such as the Serbian translation of *OBOS*.[26]

In addition to the OSI, there have been a number of Western European feminist foundations, such as the Swedish Kvinna till Kvinna, and individuals who have made significant contributions. Mladjenović credits "the international solidarity of other women's groups and funding" for helping Belgrade women form feminist projects and organizations (1995, 97). Starting in 1990, Serbian feminists branched out into a number of different initiatives, such as the Belgrade Women's Lobby (Beogradski ženski lobi), which responded to growing pronatalist

[26] Today, the Open Society Institute is called the Open Society Foundation and it no longer has a section of grants for the so-called women's projects, the funding money having been drastically reduced. This closure, which occurred in the early 2000s, has resulted in fewer projects overall, including fewer feminist projects (Otašević, interview).

and nationalist draft laws in the parliament, most notably the new abortion law adopted in 1995 (Ćetković 1998, 65).

There were other organizations like the Women's Party (Ženska stranka), the Women's Parliament (Ženski parlament) (Imširović 1998), the Centre for Women's Studies, Research and Communication, which opened in 1991 and offered the first women's studies courses independently from the universities in Belgrade (Dojčinović-Nešić 1998), a Centre for Girls (Centar za devojke), the first women's shelter with beds for women and their children, a feminist publishing house called Ninety-four (Devedesetčetvrta '94), the first gay and lesbian groups (Arkadija and Labris), a centre for victims of incest (Incest trauma centar), an organization for the protection of individuals with disabilities (Iz kruga), as well as Women in Black (Žene u crnom), a Serbian chapter of an international, feminist, and pacifist movement. Women in Black is perhaps the most well-known feminist, anti-nationalist, anti-militarist group, which was treated with much contempt and suspicion by the Milošević government throughout the 1990s. Their protest banners with feminist slogans of sisterhood (for example, "The Croat women are our sisters" or "The Albanian women are our sisters") have proven highly controversial and even divisive within their own group, demonstrating just how volatile nationalism and feminism can be when brought together (Miškovska Kajevska 2014, 74).[27]

The AWC arose out of the complex background of this growing feminist activism, nationalism, re-traditionalization of gender roles, violent wars, and the influx of refugees. In 1993, seven feminist activists who had previously worked with the first SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence in Belgrade, founded the AWC. The AWC grew out of a previous Belgrade initiative, Grupa za žene silovane u ratu (the Group for Women Raped in

[27] For more information on the group, see http://zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogcategory&id=2&Itemid=4

War), which was formed in December 1992 (Hughes and Mladjenović 1995, 96). The AWC was established as the first rape crisis centre in Serbia. Many of the activists at the AWC were also active in other organizations, and in the early years, the membership remained fluid. In particular, the AWC had an overlapping membership and continual interaction with the Centre for Girls, Women in Black, and the Centre for Women's Studies (Cockburn 2007, 89; interviews). In 1992 and 1993, there were about twenty activists, mostly volunteers, working for the SOS hotline. When the time came to formally establish the AWC, the activists had to make hard decisions as to who would now officially become the founders. The activists at the time included a large and diverse group of women: there were the SOS hotline volunteers, academics, artists, and younger and older women of different backgrounds who felt the need to do "something" (AWC 2003, 6). In the end, a decision was made that the official founders would be: Divna Matijašević, Lepa Mladjenović, Ljiljana Gaković, Marija Vidić, Nadežda Ćetković, Slavica Stojanović, and Stanislava Otašević.

The centre was first named the Autonomous Women's Centre Against Sexual Violence ("Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja"). Initially, the name of AWC included the words "sexual violence" since the founders wanted to highlight the existence of men's violence against women in peacetime and wartime to empower women (Miškovska Kajevska 2014, 158; AWC 2003). Later, the name was shortened to the AWC, partly because the volunteers there were also dealing with women survivors of all kinds of violence committed by men. Subsequently, the decision was made to expand the organization's outreach. In the early to mid-1990s, the AWC worked mostly with women refugees who had escaped the war zone. In August 1995, 200,000 Serbs from Croatia (the region of Krajina) were forced to flee in one day, and shortly afterward, the AWC was full of women refugees from Krajina (AWC 2003, 13-14).

Activists at AWC struggled to meet the needs of these women, who not only required counselling due to the sexual violence they experienced, but also suffered acutely from hunger (AWC 2003, 13). The AWC also supported those women from Serbia whose husbands and partners were returning from combat and were battering their wives and girlfriends (Hughes and Mladjenović 1995, 96).

Given the AWC's focus on men's violence against women, members were able to make the connection between domestic violence and wartime rape. It became clear to them that both followed the same patriarchal logic (Cockburn 2007; Papić 1999). This connection was apparent to feminist activists and scholars alike: "Just as the Yugoslav war is the continuation of politics by other means, so rape is the continuation of the control of women's reproduction – by more violent means" (Benderly 1994, 85). Lepa Mladjenović acknowledged male structural violence: "All these years we have lived and worked between war and violence against women […] It became clear to us that states legitimate violence, starting from rape in marriage to ethnic cleansing […]" (Mladjenović 1999a, 11; my translation).[28] The horrific accounts of women survivors of male partner abuse joined horrific accounts of women survivors of wartime sexual violence.[29] The AWC activists' commitment to feminist principles and their critical analysis of the violence they were hearing about from women survivors, contributed to making the AWC "a place of feminist consciousness-raising and skilled individual counselling and care" (Cockburn 2007, 90).

[28] The original is as follows: "Sve ove godine živele smo i radile između rata i nasilja nad ženama […] Postajalo je sve jasnije da države legitimišu nasilje, od silovanja u braku do etničkog čišćenja […]" (Mladjenović 1999a, 11).
[29] The AWC and SOS hotline publications and websites all contain many examples of testimonies and personal stories of women describing the acts of violence they survived. Writing about the rapes in the Bosnian war zones, Inger Skjelsbaek observes: "The ways in which these acts were carried out were limited only by the imagination of the perpetrators" (2006, 374).

One of the main challenges was finding ways to reach out to women victims of sexual violence. Activists as well as doctors who volunteered at the AWC approached clinics and hospitals asking them to contact the AWC in case they treated a woman who had experienced violence. They would often strike a deal with the hospital. The AWC would arrange to find whatever medication was needed by the patient in exchange for the opportunity to speak with her. The fact that medication was prohibitively expensive (with inflation rising at 90% per day), and difficult to find (AWC report 2003, 7), allowed for such arrangements with hospital staff who often faced serious shortages of medical supplies. Thanks to the transnational feminist networks of solidarity, the activists in Belgrade managed to find the needed medication for a variety of different medical conditions, and were then able to speak to the patient. Their work was organized around a number of different approaches: individual feminist counselling and support, the SOS hotline for survivors of sexual violence, group work with women survivors, and legal counselling (AWC 2003, 7).

They published an annual double edition of their own journal *Feminist Notebooks* (*Feminističke sveske*) from 1994 to 1999 in which they expressed feminist opposition to the militarization of the government, in addition to publishing original texts on women's actions and organizing in support of survivors of violence, and translations of excerpts from foreign feminist classics.[30] *Feminist Notebooks* carried articles on the topics of violence against women, wartime rape, international human trafficking, sexual slavery, women's reproductive health, abortion, and feminist activism. The journal also included texts on the history of the women's movements in other countries and reports on the activists' visits to conferences, meetings, and exchange visits. They translated Western feminists like bell hooks, Charlotte Bunch, and Virginia Woolf, among

[30] An overview of the twelve additions as well as some texts are available online at http://www.womenngo.org.rs/zenski-pokret/feministicka-literatura/feministicke-sveske

others, but also published texts by feminists from Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo, and other former Yugoslav territories, such as Nadežda Ćetković, Lepa Mladjenović, Dubravka Ugrešić, Neda Božinović, Dušica Petrović, Zorica Mršević, Jasmina Tešanović, and Biljana Kašić. This feminist journal served the purpose of documenting the feminists' actions but it also illustrated the sources of their feminist theory and inspiration. The journal further leaves an important legacy for future feminists.

In her study of violence in post-socialist and war-affected societies, Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović notes: "In Serbia, feminist activism also had an additional psychotherapeutic dimension since many women tried to heal themselves from the feeling of powerlessness, i.e. to escape from their own desperate reality, by helping other women" (2002, 141). In the words of Mladjenović, "pain should be transformed into political action" (ŽuC 1997, 107 quoted in Cockburn 2007, 89). The activists' continued contact and cooperation with "enemy" women often garnered them the label of "traitors." The cooperative relationship amongst the women from the now divided region seemed to draw strength from pre-war collaboration founded on the understanding that "nationalism […] manipulates women to become "mothers of the nation," and to relinquish any other form of agency" (Benderly 1997a, 204). In their work with hospitals, the feminist activists were "seen as anti-state elements, which was partly true, but it shouldn't have hindered or influenced our and their [doctors'] therapeutic work with women" (AWC 2003, 7; my translation).[31]

The beginnings of the AWC are described in the organization's tenth anniversary report from 2003, which includes an overview of its activities from 1993 to 2003. The report begins by affirming the women's commitment to the philosophy of "reaching out to the Other/Different

[31] The original text in Serbian is as follows: "U bolnicama su nas neki smatrali antidržavnim elementima, što je s jedne strane bilo tačno, ali nije smelo da ometa i utiče na naš i njihov terapijski rad sa ženama."

[woman]" ("približavanju Drugoj/Različitoj") (AWC 2003, 1). In the context of intensifying nationalism and hate speech, this commitment represents a strong oppositional stand to ethno-nationalism, and an anti-state position, because "unruly" feminists refuse to abide by the state's rigid, ethnically based categories. From the transnational feminist perspective, this commitment is an illustration of how feminists make the recognition of difference the foundation of their activism. They write: "We worked against every kind of hatred, against nationalism, racism, homophobia and sexism" (AWC 2003, 1, my translation).[32] With this commitment, the AWC feminists also exposed the concept of the nation as constructed and fictitious or as an imagined national community (Anderson 2006), and therefore, neither natural nor essential, as claimed. Defiant against the nationalist state, they struggled to maintain women's solidarity across newly imposed national borders.

Under the pressure to choose a national identity and a political allegiance, the women in Belgrade and elsewhere in Serbia (but also in other Yugoslav republics) were driven to see each other as "Other and Different." As Julie Mostov observes, "the redrawing of territorial boundaries to realize the congruence of nation and state […] corrals people into newly constructed and constricting boundaries, inevitably stripping them of attachments and identities and imposing new ones" (1995, 515-516). The splitting of the Yugoslav feminist groups along ethno-national lines, or the so-called patriotic or nationalist and anti-nationalist groups,[33] is also a case in point as to how the categories of Other and Different are created for the purpose of dividing women in a patriarchal society, thereby undermining their efforts to combat widespread violence against women (see Batinić 2001; Benderly 1997a, 201-203, 1997b).

[32] The statement was written in Serbian: "Radile smo protiv svake vrste mrznje, protiv nacionalizma, rasizma, homofobije i seksizma."
[33] For a discussion of these labels of feminist groups, see the doctoral thesis by Miškovska Kajevska (2014) and specifically pages 353-357.

Yet despite the hardline nationalist projects, feminists strove to be "disloyal," "disobedient" and anti-nationalist, and continued stubbornly to maintain contact, meet, and collaborate in solidarity with feminists in other republics, now nation-states, particularly Croatia and Bosnia, but also with Albanian women in Kosovo (Zaharijević 2013). Mladjenović writes how, despite the ongoing war, Serbian and Bosnian feminists managed to collaborate on workshops designed to train women for the SOS hotlines in Bosnia. While working together, they contributed to a greater awareness of the ways in which male violence is able to disperse and isolate women (Mladjenović 1999b). She stresses that this awareness is valuable when women live in fear of male violence and where women's solidarity across national borders and ethnicities is viewed as suspect or is even forbidden by ethno-nationalist regimes (Mladjenović 1999b). Mladjenović cites this notion as one of the three key theses elaborated by Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*. The other two key theses by Beauvoir are: woman is the Other, and women are not born but rather become women. Mladjenović used these three ideas in her workshops as a way to introduce feminism to women and to serve as a form of an eye-opener.

The interviews with some of the Belgrade feminists as well as their essays on the history of the AWC reveal an active transnational component to their work. In the early 1990s, and more specifically around 1992, there were a growing number of foreign feminists, in formal or *ad hoc* groups, who visited and made connections with feminists from the former Yugoslav republics. This was a very common practice across Eastern European countries in the early 1990s when the fall of communism seemed to open the floodgates, and Western observers including feminist scholars and activists rushed to witness the changes in this part of the world (Busheikin 1997).[34] While most of the aid and international visits were being directed to Croatia and Bosnia for the better part of the 1990s, Serbia, too, saw a good albeit lower number of foreign visits and

[34] Interview with Laura Busheikin.

received financial aid.[35] One reason for fewer visits to Serbia was Serbia's highly criticized role in the conflicts, as well as the international community's sanctions. Another reason was the fact that the actual fighting was not taking place in Serbia but rather in Croatia and Bosnia. Despite the war and the difficulty of maintaining communication because of poor telephone connections, blocked roads, and closed borders, a number of Belgrade feminists were able to link up with feminist groups in Croatia and Bosnia who "shared their politics" (Cockburn 2007, 90-91; Dević 1997, 139). In particular, the AWC was able to connect with the Centre for Women Victims of War in Zagreb (Centar za žene žrtve rata) and Medica Women's Therapy Centre in Zenica in Bosnia.[36]

Although Belgrade received significantly fewer visits by foreign feminist groups and individuals, considerable support was provided by an *ad hoc* group of feminists from Switzerland, whose involvement was crucial to the establishment of the AWC in 1993.[37] This group of Swiss feminists and activists of diverse backgrounds visited Belgrade in December 1992 for the purpose of evaluating the needs of feminists in this region (AWC 2003). Led by Theres Blöchlinger, a feminist gynaecologist, and Margaret Oehl, the initiator of the visit, a group of 16 Swiss feminists went to Belgrade, established contact with local feminists whom they met for the first time, and then a few months later, organized a trip to Switzerland for 22 volunteers of the SOS hotline. This trip allowed the women to share their expertise and learn from each other, in many ways reminiscent of the collaboration and solidarity Serbian feminists had earlier with other Yugoslav feminists in different republics. Acting on their feminist

[35] Interview with Otašević.
[36] In her now classic feminist work *The Vagina Monologues*, Eve Ensler bases one of her stories on the horrific testimony of a Bosnian woman whom she met at the Zagreb Centre for Women Victims of War. Ensler spent some time at the Zagreb Centre immediately after the reports of the brutal rapes surfaced in the media, reflecting the interest of Western feminists in the events and women's experiences in the Bosnian war. For a discussion of the work of the Medica centre in Zenica, Bosnia, see Elissa Helms (2013).
[37] Interview with Otašević and Mladjenović.

principles, the Swiss feminists collected funds through their personal networks and donated them to the Belgrade feminists for the purchasing of an apartment in order to secure a stable location for the AWC.[38] It officially opened on December 10, 1993, symbolically on international Human Rights Day and in honour of the first anniversary of the visit by the Swiss group. It was only with a physical space of their own that the feminist activists could develop their programs and initiatives on a larger scale and begin to reach out to women and refugees. The large apartment in a residential building gave the activists a crucial advantage. It could act as an important gathering place and symbolically figure as a feminist safe space. In fact, the AWC's location in a residential building provides visitors with anonymity and comfort. Given that women's groups in Serbia and elsewhere continually struggle to secure and finance safe space for their activities, the AWC's own space contributes to its continued existence and commitment to feminist work.[39]

This act of transnational feminist solidarity is seen in a very positive light by the Belgrade feminists and illustrates the ways in which Western feminists, although sometimes marginalized in their own societies, can use their relatively advantageous economic and social positions, as well as the uneven financial markets to provide assistance across borders at crucial times. Such acts of solidarity, however, can also easily fall prey to the criticism that white, middle-class Western feminists take up paternalistic positions as foreign donors who, despite their good intentions, have very little understanding of local women's lives (Bagić 2006; Busheikin 1997; Jung 1994). In this light, critiques of a global sisterhood have centred on the dangers of stereotyping and homogenizing women from developing countries (Mohanty 1992 and 2003), while transnational feminist studies have highlighted the importance of

[38] Interview with Sunčica Vučaj and Stanislava Otašević. The visit by the Swiss feminists first encouraged the formation of the Group for Women Raped in War (Grupa za žene silovane u ratu) in early 1993. The Autonomous Women's Centre grew out of this first initiative.
[39] Interview with Vučaj.

deconstructing asymmetries between women and their varied needs (Grewal and Kaplan 1994). The case of the AWC highlights the ways in which solidarity between international feminists, in this instance Swiss and Serbian feminists, can have long-lasting positive outcomes. Financial, moral, and technical support that the Swiss feminists offered during the Yugoslav war enabled the Belgrade activists to set in motion more than two decades of feminist activism as of today.

The Belgrade feminists see the visit and the assistance by the Swiss group as a pivotal moment in their own history, particularly because prior to this point, they felt paralyzed by the war: "What could we do for women raped in war? But we still didn't even have a room of our own or three pennies. Besides, it seemed to us that we still didn't really know what was happening to us" (AWC 2003, 2; my translation).[40] Interestingly, by making a reference to British author Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and *Three Guineas* (1938), this text illustrates the impact of foreign feminist literature and ideas on the Belgrade feminists' theorizing and self-reflection.

The AWC was not the only centre that received funding from international feminists. Other groups such as Women in Black received support from Italian pacifist activists. The establishment of new centres in Serbia, but also in Croatia and Bosnia, was in part a result of the increased interest of international feminists in a disintegrating Yugoslavia. But, it also came about because the flurry of feminist activism and transnational feminist networking encouraged a reconnecting between feminists from different post-Yugoslav states. As the activists from the SOS hotline for women and children victims of violence explain:

> That year in 1993, many women's organizations from Western countries began to organize financing of women's groups working with women victims of war and women's pacifist groups. In Zagreb, the Centre for Women Victims of War was established, and our SOS centre began to collaborate again with the Zagreb

[40] In the original, they write: "Šta učiniti za žene silovane u ratu? A mi još nismo imale ni vlastitu sobu, ni tri pare. Pored toga, činilo nam se da još ni same nismo znale šta nam se dogadja" (AWC 2003, 2).

> feminists. Women in Black rented a small apartment with the help of women pacifists from Italy" (Mladjenović 1999a, 9).[41]

Indeed, while the war certainly created a rift between Yugoslav feminists, it also paradoxically created a moment of intense feminist collaboration between international feminists coming from Western countries such as Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, U.K., and the United States and local feminists. Importantly, the transnational feminist networking also encouraged a re-connecting of activists separated into different post-Yugoslav states.

In addition to financial support, foreign feminists brought with them many books on feminist theory, women's health, women's rights and democracy, among others, published mostly in English, French, Italian, and German, as gifts during their visits to Belgrade. The AWC, as well as the newly established Centre for Women's Studies in Belgrade, were able to build significant feminist libraries. As noted above, the AWC combined practical engagement with theory by publishing *Feminist Notebooks* and translating texts by foreign feminist authors. They also collected some 500 books for their library on the topic of women and violence (AWC 2003, 24). Their daily work, however, consisted of providing assistance to refugee women who had survived sexual and other forms of violence, their children, as well as women who were experiencing abuse by their intimate partners. The reality of their emotionally intense feminist work informed their philosophy, and in turn, the books they read influenced their practical work.[42] This process of "recontextualization" (Gal 2003) illustrated the ways in which the text and the practice can be paired.

---

[41] At the time, many of the activists who worked for the SOS hotline were involved or later became involved with the AWC. Membership in feminist groups in Belgrade in the early years was very fluid. The quotation in the original: "Te '93. mnoge ženske organizacije iz Zapadnih zemalja počele su da organizuju finansiranje ženskih grupa koje rade sa ženama žrtvama rata i ženske mirovne grupe. U Zagrebu je osnovan Centar za žene žrtve rata, i saradnja našeg SOS-a sa zagrebačkim feministkinjama je počela da se obnavlja. Žene u crnom su iznajmile mali stan uz pomoć pacifistkinja iz Italije" (Mladjenović 1999a, 9).

[42] Some of the books included American literature such as Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas*, Linda Gordon's *Woman's Body, Woman's Right. A Social History of*

The SOS hotline, set up in the 1990s in Belgrade, represented the first steps toward more pragmatic feminist activism on the ground and direct engagement with women suffering domestic abuse, a subject that was for many years considered too taboo to be discussed openly.[43] *NTM* was the first textual project that addresses similar taboo topics such as women's sexuality, reproduction, and violence against women through an avowedly feminist lens. It did so in defiance of the traditional patriarchal customs according to which women are discouraged from knowing their bodies and health and from sharing the knowledge with other women and girls, while the state continues to regulate such vital issues as abortion access and population policies, and to act ineffectively against domestic violence. *NTM*, in contrast, offered women a tool for knowing their bodies and their rights and for breaking the silence around the misleadingly labelled "private" issues.

5. Another "good story:" *Naša tela, mi*

The activists at the AWC, the "place of feminist consciousness-raising" (Cockburn 2007, 90), were best positioned to produce feminist knowledge that would help women see more clearly the patterns of patriarchal norms, and give them access to knowledge about their bodies that was often hidden from them. The notion that women's bodies belong to women alone and that women should love their bodies regardless of size, shape, or age is the thread that connects all the chapters in *NTM* (Mladjenović 2001, viii). In their preface to the first editions of *OBOS*,

---

Birth Control in America (1976), *OBOS*, and Laura Lederer's *Take Back the Night*, but also French, Italian, and Yugoslav feminist literature (by Yugoslav feminists such as Žarana Papić, Zorica Mršević, Rada Iveković, and Lydia Sklevicky, among others).

[43] In her study of the 1978 feminist conference in Belgrade, Bonfiglioli quotes a participant at the conference who observes that Yugoslav intellectuals did finally start to speak of sexuality although they were less at ease than their Western counterparts: "[…] the Yugoslav intellectuals started to speak of sexuality. But it was a bit taboo… it was a bit taboo" (2008, 80). I explore this aspect of *NTM* in chapter 3.

entitled “A Good Story,” the Boston collective members referred to their “origin story” as “a good story.” Here, I wish to make the link between the two “origin stories.” In her preface in *NTM*, Mladjenović tells the story of her chance encounter with *OBOS* in the early 1980s. In our interview, she provided further details.

In the early 1980s, during one of her visits to her grandmother in Sarajevo, Bosnia, Mladjenović found *OBOS* in the original English in a bookstore in the city centre – one of the rare places where one could find foreign-language books at the time. Knjižara Mladost (Youth Bookstore), was a well-known publisher with bookstores across Yugoslavia. It carried foreign books and had a great variety of literature, including fiction and non-fiction. Mladost bookstores were a symbolic window into the world with a rich selection of books in translation and in their original language.[44] Mesmerized by the information she found in *OBOS*, Mladjenović read the book from cover to cover. Although she was already a self-identified feminist, having organized and participated in a number of feminist events including the iconic international feminist conference “Drug-ca žena” (Comrade Woman) held in Belgrade in 1978, Mladjenović remembers the thrill of reading *OBOS* and learning about the female body.

While some Serbian feminists first encountered *OBOS* via Mladjenović in the 1980s, they also received a few copies of the 1992 edition in the mid-1990s when foreign feminist activists visited Serbia. Books, and in particular feminist books on theory and activism, were, and still are, greatly valued by women’s groups in Belgrade and elsewhere, because of the difficulty of obtaining copies. The books brought by visiting foreign feminist activists as gifts served as the

[44] Knjižara Mladost and other bookstores all crumbled during the 1990s war period, when due to corruption, they were bought very cheaply and managed poorly. Many of the bookstores are today being turned into shops and other commercial spaces, much to the chagrin of the local residents who see these events as the end of culture and of a significant historical era. See articles at http://www.jutarnji.hr/zara--zagreb--u-kuglijevoj-knjizari-uskoro-cete-kupovati-odjecu/898334/ and http://www.novossti.com/2011/05/zagreb-ostaje-bez-knjizara/ (accessed January 2017).

basis for local groups' libraries and documentation centres, including the library at the AWC and the Centre for Women's Studies in Belgrade. Furthermore, over 2000 books and articles collected by the late feminist scholar Žarana Papić, a long-time feminist activist and key figure in feminist movements in Serbia and Yugoslavia, were bequeathed in 2003 to the Centre for Women's Studies and some 100 books, including *NTM*, were donated to the Women's Studies program in Sarajevo, Bosnia in 2012 (Žene ženama Sarajevo 2014, 15). This distribution of feminist texts is an example of the ways in which feminist writing physically arrives and then circulates in Serbia and later in Bosnia. These small libraries of feminist organizations are not just sources of knowledge but are also legacies of feminist thought and engagement.[45]

The Belgrade feminists' interest in *OBOS* fits within the context of sexual violence against women in the 1990s. It was also part of a larger shift in translation trends that occurred in that same decade. While the Yugoslav feminism of the 1980s inspired translations of feminist theory on Marxism, psychoanalysis, and lesbianism, this trend was interrupted in the 1990s when translations of texts on violence against women became more urgent (Jovanović 2010, 52-53). Feminist activists working at the AWC were motivated to translate *OBOS* into Serbian as they hoped to contribute to women's consciousness-raising and a sense of empowerment. In the Serbian context, this meant resisting dominant patriarchal discourses of nation-building and those discourses justifying and legitimating violence against women. A group of about 16 women was formed around the topic of women's health with the objective of raising women's awareness about their bodies and reproductive rights.[46] The group sought to organize discussion groups in which women could share their personal experiences, learn to care about their health,

[45] This effort is also evident in the collection of articles on the various feminist activities of the women's movement of the 1990s in Belgrade, prepared by Serbian sociologist and activist Marina Blagojević (1998) *Toward a Visible Women's History: Women's Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s* (*Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih*).
[46] Interview with Otašević.

and take control of their bodies. With this aim in mind, they chose to translate *OBOS* as a strong example of feminist consciousness-raising.

In charge of the translation project was Stanislava Otašević, a medical doctor, who had extensive medical experience in working with women in rural and urban areas.[47] The translation work was distributed among different feminist activists who in the mid-1990s worked and/or volunteered for the AWC but also for the Center for Girls, SOS hotline, Incest trauma centar, and Iz kruga. Initially in 1996, there were 16 women who formed part of the translating group; however, this number fluctuated over the months of the translation work. The preface in the printed version cites 11 individuals who contributed to the final version. In her preface to *NTM*, Otašević acknowledges the following women as having contributed to the translation, editing, and technical arrangement of the text: Sunčica Vučaj, Tanja Drobnjak, Milica Minić, Dušanka Vučinić, Isidora Jarić, Slavica Stojanović, Lepa Mlađenović, Stanislava Otašević, Tanja Labus, Bobana Macanović and Violeta Krasnić (2001, vii). These activists differed in age and professional background, and many were young women in their early twenties, students at the University of Belgrade who were also familiar with the Centre for Women's Studies. One of the activists, Sunčica Vučaj, a student of philosophy at the time, cites the large influx of refugees, mostly ethnic Serbs but others too, arriving from the conflict zones of Croatia and Bosnia into Belgrade, as one of the main events that propelled her to join the SOS hotline.[48] Vučaj observes that in contrast to what she saw as the general population's reluctance to acknowledge the plight of the refugees, the SOS hotline and the AWC, as well as the Centre for Women's Studies, were places where the disturbing events of the times were considered central. The Belgrade feminists

[47] Dr. Otašević was a member of the AWC at the time but formed a separate group in 2002, Women's Health Promotion Centre or Centar za promociju zdravlja žena. This group focuses exclusively on women's health.
[48] Interview with Vučaj.

felt the urgency to engage with questions of violence against women and women's reproductive health and rights, both of which were embedded within the larger framework of violence.

NTM was completed in 1998 after approximately one year. The feminist activists worked either individually or in pairs, using photocopied pages of the original *OBOS*. They often translated in the evenings after a full day of counselling and activism. Otašević explains that at that time, 1997 through 1998, activists at the AWC met daily with some 20 to 30 women who sought help and support as they dealt with domestic abusive relationships. Politically, it was a very difficult time with the increasingly repressive regime of Slobodan Milošević and his supporters. NGO groups were viewed with suspicion by the regime, and employees as potential traitors paid by foreign governments (AWC 2003). Otašević cites the 2000 raid on the Women in Black group's centre as an example of the clampdown on the NGOs by authorities.[49]

Feminist activists continued their work at the AWC, guided by the philosophy of simultaneously taking care of oneself and others. While the translators worked individually or in pairs, they consulted Serbian-English dictionaries and also sought advice from friends, family, and colleagues. Exceptionally, at times, English-speaking visitors and allies answered vocabulary questions. After one year of work, Otašević received all the translations but realized that there was a dissonance in the narrative voices that emerged from the translated sections. It was not surprising, given the number of women involved who worked mostly on their own. As the translation coordinator, Otašević took on the task of revising all the translations and combining them into one coherent unit. At the same time, the AWC sought financial help to complete the project, eventually receiving some funding from the Soros Foundation's Open Society Institute.

[49] Interview with Otašević. The Serbian government under Milošević became increasingly intolerant of what it perceived as anti-state elements towards the end of the 1990s.

At the end of the 1990s, the Soros Foundation was a major international donor promoting "gender issues" in the post-communist region of Europe with close to 10 million dollars dedicated to the cause (Cîrstosea 2015, 79). Following the 1995 UN Beijing conference on women, the Foundation established its own program entitled Network Women's Program in 1997, while in 1998 it officially launched a funding initiative called Women's Issues Translation Program. This funding initiative offered grants to publishers and women's groups interested in translating and adapting feminist classics by authors such as Simone de Beauvoir, Andrea Dworkin, Catherine McKinnon, Susan Brownmiller, Virginia Woolf, Judith Butler, Gloria Steinem, and bell hooks, in addition to a series of Eastern European translations of *OBOS*. While this funding initiative remained heavily focused on Anglo-American feminist authors, the Foundation also made an effort to fund translations of a smaller number of Eastern European women authors and to support financially a number of events aiming to bring together activists and scholars from the region. This program was entitled the "East East Program." Among these initiatives was the grant for the Serbian translation of *OBOS*.[50] The Eastern European translations of *OBOS* were seen from the start of the Women's Issues Translation Program as capable of inspiring consciousness-raising and even of mobilizing women (Cîrstocea 2011, 395). For the purpose of promoting gender studies in the region, a week-long Gender Studies Minischool was organized by the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary October 1999 – a private university also founded by George Soros in 1991 (Cîrstocea 2011, 390). The Minischool included a workshop for translators of "gender related texts" and a lecture on the ways *OBOS* could best be adapted in Eastern Europe (Cîrstocea 2011, 390, 395). The lecture was

[50] Another grant included funding for a three-day event celebrating twenty years of the women's movement in Yugoslavia from March 5 to 8, 1998. The event served as a reminder that Yugoslav women in the 1990s were in fact building on activism and a movement begun in 1978 with the famous Belgrade conference (discussed in chapter four).

delivered by Esther Shapiro, a Cuban American scholar who spearheaded the Spanish-language cultural adaptation of *OBOS* (2000) for Latina women across North America, the Caribbean, and South America (Cîrstocea 2011, 395).[51]

Another funding contributor was an anonymous woman donor from the United States who donated $7,500 to the translation project.[52] The donor requested that some 200 copies be distributed to three different NGOs based in Croatia and Bosnia. This request reveals that while the translation is in "Serbian," it is still accessible to women in at least two former Yugoslav republics. In this light, the Belgrade feminists' anti-nationalist position, a guiding principle from the outset, is crucial because the translation needed to be accessible to local women, regardless of ethnicity. The Belgrade feminists' commitment to a feminist perspective of the female body and autonomy appears to have been key in the book's ability to speak to women across ethnic divides. It is also important to note that *NTM* makes no reference to "Serbian language," but rather in her preface, Otašević uses the phrase "in our language" ("na našem jeziku") instead. By stating pointedly "in our language," which is a common and purposefully vague way of referring to the languages used among former Yugoslavs, Otašević avoids touching upon the controversies surrounding ethnicity and nationalism.[53]

Adding "Serbian" to language is my intervention consistent with others' descriptions of *NTM* as the "Serbian translation," for example on the OBOS Global Initiative website. The choice of vocabulary carries political implications. It illustrates how political and military processes forced women to declare their "new" nationality, even while simultaneously rejecting the overwhelming nationalist connotations. The AWC's daily work with refugees and women

[51] For more on the complex adaptation process involved in this cultural adaptation, see Shapiro (2005).
[52] Interview with Otašević; email correspondence with Ayesha Chatterjee. The anonymous donor is also acknowledged on the first page of the translation.
[53] See my discussion on languages in chapter one.

survivors of rapes as well as "its emphasis on individual relationship and care" allowed it to "implement in very practical ways the principle driving all these [Belgrade feminist] organizations – the refusal to differentiate between people on the basis of ethno-national 'name'" (Cockburn 2007, 89).

On the cover of *NTM*, there are two photographs of women with posters participating in the first ever Take Back the Night event. Inspired directly by similar events initiated during the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States (and also described in *OBOS*), a group of about thirty women marched on the streets and through the notoriously unsafe parks of Belgrade in December 1995. Their translation of the name of the march was "Žene osvajaju noć" literally, "Women conquer the night." While braving the winter cold, the women marched together with signs such as "Silovanje je zločin" and "Sramota je nasilnikova" ("Rape is a crime" and "Shame on the Rapist"). The second message raised the issue of shame usually heaped on women who have experienced sexual violence, which is known to contribute to their silencing (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002).[54] In a patriarchal society, a woman is seen as responsible for her own rape. Debunking myths around rape has been one of the main goals of second-wave feminism (see Brownmiller 1975).

Based on the 1992 edition of *OBOS*, the Serbian translation followed for the most part the order of chapters in the source text, starting with the section "Taking Care of Ourselves" (which included a chapter on violence against women), then "Relationships and Sexuality," "Controlling Our Fertility" (including a chapter on abortion), "Childbearing," "Women Growing Older," "Some Common and Uncommon Health and Medical Problems," and "Women and the Medical System." The Serbian translation omitted, however, a chapter in the original 1992 text on nutrition. It was viewed as inappropriate at the time due to the shortage of food. A chapter on

[54] Interview with Otašević.

exercise, and a chapter detailing the growth of the US women's health movement were also eliminated. Vučaj explains that the idea behind the project was to introduce women to a book on women's health that was not based on diagnoses of illness. *NTM* was not going to be a medical encyclopedia to which women turned to find information about their "disease." The text was to encourage women readers to become more engaged with their bodies by simply learning about them and not shying away from them in shame. The ability to resist patriarchal traditions and myths about women were to come from knowledge not based on medicine per se, but on women's own experiences. However, as I show in chapter four, the vocabulary used in the translation posed a problem, because many terms for women's body parts were rooted in misogynist perspectives.[55]

As in the American *OBOS*, the Serbian translation speaks to its readers in the first-person plural "we." The implied reader is a woman. Occasionally, the text assumes a more instructive tone with the second-person pronoun "you" ("vi" or also evident in conjugated verbs, second-person plural, for example, "odlučićete" or "you will decide"). It also refers to women in the third person plural, "they," although its more striking and more critical passages, usually the introduction to each chapter, set the tone with the all-encompassing "we." The use of the word "we" in the American *OBOS* has been one of its more distinguishing features, giving *OBOS* an accessible and caring tone as well as a more inviting and embracing voice of unity (Bonilla 2005, 176).[56] An inclusive "we" places women at the center of knowledge about their own health and

[55] For example, the book still uses the term "stidnica" for vulva. "Stidnica" comes from the word "stid," meaning "shame." I discuss this term and other translation challenges in chapter four. As Kathy Davis shows in her 2007 work, translators from other countries also struggled with this notoriously difficult word to translate.
[56] However, over the years and after some criticism, the Boston collective has been making a conscious effort to include the voices of women of color, women with disabilities, and older women, for example, throughout the various editions of *OBOS* (Bonilla 2005).

bodies. The Serbian translators acknowledged these important features during their translation and revisions.

In response to the domestic and wartime violence experienced by women in Belgrade and elsewhere, the AWC activists had developed workshops and SOS telephone guidelines. In *NTM,* they write about the effort to raise women's consciousness about men's violence against women: "Women are not guilty for the violence that men exerted on their bodies, their thoughts and their spirit. […] Men use violence against women in order to display and affirm their power and control over us" (AWC 2001, 73).[57] The use of the first-person plural pronoun creates once again a sense of solidarity, indicating to the reader that she belongs to a large group of women and that she is not alone in being targeted. Feminist writing about men's violence against women that offers women survivors emotional and psychological support has been rare in Yugoslavia in the past.[58] As noted above, domestic violence against women during the communist period was usually hidden from the public, so the main challenge for the feminists was to raise awareness through different activities (Nikolić-Ristanović 2002, 150). *NTM* offered the foundation for further work on violence against women; using the knowledge gained from the translation, Otašević developed a screening protocol and a questionnaire on domestic violence that is now used as part of routine medical evaluations in doctors' offices and hospitals.[59] *NTM*'s exposure of the widespread use of violence is significant given that 1 in 4 women in an intimate relationship experiences violence in Serbia today (Djikanović *et al.* 2010). Moreover, in a separate analysis of the data collected by the AWC, Otašević, together with a group of authors,

[57] In Serbian, the text is as follows: "Žene nisu krive za nasilje koje su muškarci učinili njihovom telu, mislima i duhu. […] Muškarci koriste nasilje nad ženama da istaknu i utvrde svoju moć i kontrolu nad nama" (AWC 2001, 73).
[58] Interview with Otašević.
[59] Otašević has also authored a number of studies on domestic violence, see Otašević (2005); Djikanović *et al.* (2010). Since the early 2000s, Otašević has been working on women's health and consequences of gender-based violence through a separate NGO, Women's Health Promotion Centre.

shows that none of the women interviewed sought help at a women's shelter (Djikanović *et al.* 2012, 191).[60] This finding is significant as it illustrates that considerable work remains to be done in regard to consciousness-raising about violence against women.

Once *NTM* was officially published in 2001, with a total of 1000 copies, Otašević and her colleagues arranged for a distribution of 100 copies to women's health centres and other NGOs in Serbia and Montenegro.[61] In 2003, several copies of the translation were sent to a physician working with clinics in Croatia.[62] Some 45 copies were mailed to libraries across Serbia, while 459 copies were sold via bookstores, the AWC, and other women's groups. Moreover, Otašević and her colleagues distributed over a hundred copies during seminars and training sessions on health care. Lastly, AWC published an online version of the translation on its website in 2002, making the information available to those with access to the Internet. Otašević observes that a revised and updated version would certainly be of value; however, given the onset of donor exit, where many foreign donors active in the 1990s have left the region, including the shutting down of the women's section of the Soros Foundation, and the move to more vulnerable regions (Mikuš 2015), it remains highly unlikely that a new edition will appear in the near future.

Throughout the 1990s, Otašević maintained contact with the Boston collective via letters and emails. The women in Boston provided technical support and transferred the translation rights to the AWC in Belgrade in 1997. In 2001, the same year of *NTM*'s publication, some 20 women engaged in different *OBOS* translation projects around the world, met at a conference in Utrecht, Netherlands organized by the Boston collective. Some women had already completed

[60] The 2003 study was based on interviews of 1196 women in intimate relationships.
[61] A former Yugoslav republic, Montenegro remained in a federation with Serbia until 2006, at which time it sought dissolution of the federation. It was the last Yugoslav republic, out of a total of six, to seek independence.
[62] Email correspondence with Ayesha Chatterjee who also notes that at this time OBOS in Boston received some inquiries about a potential Croatian adaptation. However, this translation project never materialized.

the project and others were still in the process. Davis describes the meeting as an opportunity to "engage in a global face-to-face" (2007, 169). Participating countries included Bulgaria, Japan, Tibet, Mexico, Poland, Armenia, and Senegal in addition to the United States. Otašević was also there representing the Serbian translation project.

In 2011, the OBOS symposium held in Boston to celebrate the Boston collective's 40 years of work and activism, was an important illustration of transnational feminist alliance building and networking. This sold-out event brought together the Boston collective's founding members and staff, members of the global translation projects, and well-known American feminist activists such as Loretta Ross, Adrienne Germain, and Byllye Avery. After more than four decades of activism, the collective found itself in a new social and political context greatly transformed by the wide use of the Internet. The global translation projects provided an expanding avenue of feminist knowledge production and transnational networking.

The meetings in Utrecht and Boston allowed for greater discussion and exchange of experiences and challenges, such as translations of difficult words and publishing struggles (Davis 2007, 170). Otašević attended both gatherings and established friendships and working relationships with other translation coordinators. In particular, she was able to connect with her Bulgarian and Polish counterparts who were facing, in some ways, similar post-socialist realities.[63]

In this sense, *OBOS* is a unique transnational feminist network where translation is the main means of connection. As Davis argues, studying *OBOS* translation projects is an opportunity to study how feminist knowledge travels "across lines of difference" (2007, 10). As I show in chapters three and four, *NTM* is a rich example of the ways in which feminist knowledge produced elsewhere can be read and adapted to local realities.

[63] Interview with Otašević.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced the beginnings of the AWC and the origin story of *NTM*. The changing gender regimes were significantly influenced by the intensifying processes of nation-building and re-traditionalization. While feminist activism thrived and transnational feminist connections strengthened, women's status in the Serbian society declined. This paradoxical phenomenon was all the more evident in the increasing violence against women recorded by the AWC. In this context, the Belgrade feminists translated and adapted *NTM* in an effort to create a consciousness-raising tool with a strong feminist perspective on women's bodies and health.

Chapter 3:

The Politics of Reproduction and *Naša tela, mi* as an Oppositional Discourse

"We are our bodies [and] when we begin to love our bodies, it is the beginning of the end of patriarchy."
(Mladjenović 2001, x)

"When the nation can no longer rely upon the hierarchy of gender, its identity principle and claim for continuity is shattered and with it a powerful form of domination."
(Iveković and Mostov 2002, 23)

Introduction

When writing about different translation approaches, Kathy Davis states that the main concern of the global translators of *OBOS* was not so much the "faithfulness" of the translated versions to the original text, but their accessibility and political empowerment or "oppositionality" (2007, 173). What provided the political empowerment in the early English-language editions of *OBOS*, was the knowledge of women's own bodies, their rights when dealing with medical institutions, and a window into the "real" women's experiences. In the Serbian context of deteriorating living and health conditions, re-traditionalization of gender roles, and persistence of cultural taboo topics related to women's bodies and sexuality, the *OBOS* translation was meant to "politicize readers in such a way that they could say: 'I read the book, and it changed my life'" (Davis 2007, 173). In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the pro-choice, feminist discourse of *OBOS* was capable of politicizing its readers and functioning as an oppositional discourse in the Serbian language. I evaluate the capacity of *NTM* to challenge the

dominant discourses on demographics, fertility, abortion, and ethnic nationalism in Serbia of the 1990s.

Statements such as “we are our bodies” and “when we begin to love our bodies, it is the beginning of the end of patriarchy” (Mladjenović 2001, x), directly promote women’s bodily autonomy and identify the system of discrimination (patriarchy) that needs to be challenged. The notion of women controlling their bodies is in direct opposition to the Serbian Orthodox Church’s stance. The Church asserts that it is Serbian women’s duty to have as many children as possible for the survival of the Serbian nation (Drezgić 2009). In the 1990s, the Church reiterated this view on numerous occasions, particularly during the official Christmas addresses to the nation.

The message that women’s bodies belong to women alone and that women should love their bodies regardless of size, shape or age is the thread that connects all the chapters in *NTM* (Mladjenović 2001, viii). This message, Mladjenović writes, makes *NTM* a political book that is determined to loosen the patriarchal stranglehold on women. The potency and the oppositionality of such a message can only be grasped once the social context is examined in further detail. The nation-building processes and ethnic nationalism of the 1990s produced pronatalist and demographic discourses that directly targeted women and their reproductive behaviour.

In the first part of this chapter, I analyze the shifts in the politics of reproduction in Serbia, focusing on three factors that contributed to its changing dynamics: 1) the legacy of the abortion and population policies in socialism; 2) demographic concerns of the late 1980s and the early 1990s evident in demographic studies and church and government statements; 3) the abortion law adopted in 1995. But first, I explore feminist theoretical texts which study nation and nationalism and expose the ways in which they are founded upon traditional patriarchal

conceptualizations of women, violence, and reproduction in society. These conceptualizations are significant because they further bolster demographic discourses that articulate concerns about low fertility and high abortion rates of certain ethnic groups and high fertility rates of others.

In the second part of the chapter, I assess to what extent the feminist, pro-choice discourse in the Serbian translation of *OBOS* opposes the dominant discourses shaping the politics of reproduction in Serbia in the 1990s. I also discuss the ways in which abortion is treated as a cultural taboo in Serbian society, making *NTM*'s consciousness-raising around these topics a more difficult task for the feminist activists.

1. The rise of the politics of reproduction

Reproduction enters the domain of politics through public discussions of reproductive issues (Gal and Kligman 2000b). Such debates redefine the relationship between the society and the individual or between the state and its citizens; the boundaries between those who belong to a particular nation and those who do not; the meaning of political legitimacy and the morality of the state; and the role that women as specific social actors can play (Gal and Kligman 2000b, 21-22). Susan Gal and Gail Kligman propose that the politics of reproduction is a field that studies "the intersection of politics and the life cycle" as well as the ability of "distant power relations [to] shape local reproductive experiences" (Gal and Kligman 2000b, 10). In the case of former Yugoslavia, the change in the politics of reproduction can be observed in the shift from the socialist paradigm where women acted as citizens in their triple role of worker-mother-comrade,

to the nationalist paradigm where women are reduced to the role of mother.[1] I use the concept of the politics of reproduction to study the demographic, government, and church discourses on population and fertility rates, as well as feminist responses to these discourses in the specific Serbian context of the 1990s.

Feminist scholars and activists in Serbia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia were quick to notice a change in the way the government and the media interpreted the role of women in society in the last years of the socialist Yugoslavia. In her 2007 study of the media and its role in the Yugoslav wars, Dubravka Žarkov makes a poignant observation about the ways the media began to operate:

> It was apparent that in mid-1980s the media in former Yugoslavia started covering stories that they had not covered before. The concern with which the media suddenly started addressing the so-called women's issues, especially issues regarding reproduction and sexual violence against women, was striking. Given that previously only feminist groups or official women's organizations would engage in discussing such issues, their sudden media prominence was a novelty, as was the framing of the discussions. References to childcare, maternity leave, abortion rights, legislation on rape, sexual morality, and so on, were now discussed […] in light of the *population growth, traditional values, and historic dreams of, or historic injustices against, a particular ethnic group* (2007, 3-4; my emphasis).

Demographic anxieties and concerns about an ethnic group's fertility became explicitly formulated in terms of the group's future survival.[2] Minority and majority statuses of ethnic groups in different Yugoslav republics became crucial, and the term "the white plague" ("bela kuga"), describing low fertility rates and negative population growth in the northern part of

[1] The same processes can be seen not only in former Eastern Bloc countries but also in other former Yugoslav republics, for example in Bosnia (work by Hakalović and Kovo 2013; Helms 2013) and in Croatia (Pavlović 1999). See also Tania Renne (1997) and Gal and Kligman (2000a), among many other examples.

[2] Such demographic anxieties are by no means unique to Serbia or Yugoslav successor states. The governments and other institutions in countries such as Denmark, Italy, Germany, Greece, among many others, are expressing concern and anxiety about low birthrates and the "dying country." For a short example of such concerns, see a report by the New York Times:
https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/09/business/international/sex-education-in-europe-turns-to-urging-more-births.html?WT.mc_id=D-NYT-MKTG-MOD-13360-0418-HD&WT.mc_ev=click&WT.mc_c=

Serbia, Vojvodina, and elsewhere – became a popular expression in newspapers, academic studies, speeches, and daily conversations in Serbia (Drezgić 2010; Žarkov 2007, 4).[3] The term became a metaphor for low fertility rates among the Serbs, which was blamed upon women's refusal to have children, specifically by terminating pregnancies through abortion (Drezgić 2004a, 124, 132; Papić 1999, 160-161). Women's reproductive behaviour was interpreted as infanticide, and was viewed as similar to the way an epidemic or a disease, such as tuberculosis (also called the white plague in the 19th century and early 20th century), would primarily affect the children or the weakest members of society (Drezgić 2004a, 132, 234). The term could potentially also have racial undertones because it was used particularly within the context of very high fertility rates among another ethnic group, the Albanians in Kosovo (Papić 1999, 160-161). The stark contrast between the fertility rates of the Serbs and the Albanians in Kosovo was viewed as a political threat by Serbian politicians and demographers, particularly in the late 1980s and onwards (see Drezgić 2010).

Marina Blagojević calls this period of the 1990s "the new wave of misogyny" and argues that in Serbia it "began precisely in that moment when women began to be accused of low fertility rates" (2000b, 43; my translation).[4] In addition to a number of other feminist scholars, Blagojević also warns that women's bodies had been turned into "ethnic territories" and women into "birthing machines" (2000b, 43). In particular, abortion became a widely debated issue and identified as the main culprit in Serbia's demographic decline:

> Women were rather explicitly assigned the responsibility for the "size of the nation," and abortions were in public discussions referred to as "lost Serbian

[3] The expression "the white plague" however can be found in Yugoslav newspapers dating back to the 1950s. John F. Besemeres (1980, 205) cites an article in *Oslobodjenje* in 1959.

[4] Blagojević writes in the original in Serbian: "U Srbiji je novi val mizoginije započeo upravo onda kada su žene počele da bivaju okrivljavane za niske stope nataliteta. Žensko telo dobilo je status 'etničke teritorije,' žene su pretvorene u 'mašine za radjanje' i na njih je svaljeno breme odgovornosti za nizak natalitet, moralno propadanje, maloletničku delinkvenciju" (2000b, 43).

> soldiers." Abortion was labelled "child murder" by the Serbian Orthodox Church, and women who had aborted in the past became in this way "child murderers" […] (Blagojević 2000b, 44; my translation).[5]

This position of the Church and the wider public is also paradoxical particularly in view of the fact that during the socialist period, women widely used abortion, which was legal and accessible, as a means of fertility control, and in so doing, indirectly confirmed their male partner's fertility and sexual potency (Blagojević 2000b, 47; Drezgić 2010).

Abortion rates varied across different Yugoslav republics, but generally remained very high, causing the authorities concern (Gudac-Dodić 2006, 144-146). For example, in 1987, in Serbia proper there were 187 abortions for 100 births (Drezgić 2010, 43).[6] Despite the availability of some contraceptives, *coitus interruptus* remained a very popular method, with more than 50% of women reporting they use it as a form of birth control[7] (Drezgić 2010, 42). This traditional method symbolized "male sexual power and gave the man a feeling of control in the relationship and/or marriage" (Drezgić 2010, 44; my translation; see also Fisher 2006). Abortion represented a corrective to the failure of *coitus interruptus*, but simultaneously, confirmed the existence of both male and female fertility, a trait much valued in society. In her important work on reproductive practices in Serbia, Rada Drezgić reports that those women who aborted pregnancies that occurred after *coitus interruptus* failed, were reluctant to try another birth control method, stating "their husbands would not approve of trying another, more reliable method of birth control" (2010, 46; my translation). As Drezgić suggests, the popularity of *coitus interruptus*, and the high rates of abortion, can be largely attributed to male control over female

[5] Blagojević writes in Serbian: "Žene su sasvim eksplicitno prozivane na odgovornost zbog "veličine nacije," a abortusi su se u javnim raspravama nazivali "izgubljenim srpskim vojnicima." Abortus je dobio od strane Srpske pravoslavne crkve status "čedomorstva," a žene koje su ga imale, samim tim su postale "decoubice" […]" (2000b, 44).

[6] Vera Gudac-Dodić also shows that in 1963 there were 53 abortions for 100 births in socialist Yugoslavia, while in 1989 there were 131 abortions per 100 births (2006, 149-150).

[7] Throughout my dissertation, I refer to "birth control" which is a commonly used and popular term; however, a more accurate description is pregnancy prevention.

fertility that includes controlling her risk of getting pregnant (2010, 48). In this way, male control over female fertility and women's acquiescence to subsequent abortions play an important part in affirming prescribed gender roles and expected reproductive behaviour for women and men. As I discuss in the section below, abortion in these circumstances indicates non-reproductive sexuality and is treated with silence as a taboo subject.

These traditional gender roles, where women are dependent on men for protection from pregnancy and are not encouraged to be autonomous and responsible for controlling their own fertility, stem from particular conceptualizations of gender, nation, and reproduction. In the specific Serbian context of the 1990s and the wars, these notions played a prominent role in ethno-nationalist discourses and the politics of reproduction.

2. Feminist theorizing on gender, nation, and reproduction

In their prominent and forceful display of nationalist ideologies, the wars served as a catalyst for greater reflection and theorizing of the notion of nation. Feminist theorists such as Žarana Papić (1999), Rada Iveković (2002), Julie Mostov (2002, 1995), and Nira Yuval-Davis (1997), make the crucial link between nation and gender.[8] They argue that gender and nation are both socially and historically constructed concepts that contribute to the formation of one another. Kathrine Verdery posits that they are both cultural constructs which are "made up" and seem "arbitrary," but through their use in social life become "socially real and seemingly

[8] See also Alarcon, Kaplan and Moallem's collection of essays *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalism, Transnational Feminism, and the State* (1999); Yuval-Davis and Anthias's book *Woman-Nation-State* (1989); a special issue of journal *Nations and Nationalism* entitled "Gender and Nationalism" (2000), including articles by Walby, "Gender, Nations, and States in a Global Era," and by Bracewell, "Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism;" Balakrishnan's edited collection *Mapping the Nation* (1996), including Walby's article "Woman and Nation;" and Verdery's article "From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe" (1994) in the journal *East European Politics and Societies*.

natural" (1994, 226). The topography of the nation is gendered, evoking the land, the soil, and landscapes as feminine, and the soldier as their masculine defender. Nation-building processes rely heavily on traditional gender roles for women and men, where reproduction of the nation is relegated to women as mothers while the protection of the nation is in the hands of men (Iveković and Mostov 2002; Yuval-Davis 1997). The construction and promotion of these roles are supported by the use of mythical figures, symbols, and stereotypes based on gendered imagery: "The feminine is passive, and the masculine is active. The Motherland provides a passive, receptive, and vulnerable image in contrast to the active image of the Fatherland, which is the force behind government and military action – invasion, conquest, and defense" (Iveković and Mostov 2002, 11). Women's bodies can be read as either the reproducers of the nation who need to be protected from external threats, or as "enemy" bodies who reproduce the enemy nation, or the *other* (Papić 1999).

Feminist writing exposes the ways in which nationalist discourses instrumentalize women's bodies. Both the protection of women by men and the violence against women are the products of the same patriarchal logic. Rapes of women during the Yugoslav wars can then be more clearly understood not only as violence against women but rather as violation of the common property belonging to the national collective and "trespassing upon the enemy's territory" (Milić 1993, 115). Similarly, Iveković and Mostov write:

> In the acts of war/nationalist/communalist rape, women are the instruments of communication between two groups of men […] In a way, communal violence against women, seen as violence against the male other is part of the group-identity building (2002, 11-12).

Nation-building is about "brotherhood," and civil wars are wars waged between "brothers," hence in some languages, "guerre fratricide" (French) or "bratoubilački rat" (Serbian/Croatian) (Iveković 1995, 10, 12), literally "brother-murdering war."[9]

As argued by Blagojević and Žarkov previously, when the media in Serbia and the former Yugoslavia began to discuss women's issues and refer to aborted fetuses as "lost Serbian soldiers," women's reproductive behaviour and their liberal access to abortion during socialist Yugoslavia were attacked and frequently described as "immoral" and "unnatural" (Blagojević 2000b, 44). In literature and newspapers, a number of male intellectuals laid the blame on the socialist women's emancipation project, and in particular on women who supposedly refused to accept and fulfill their "prescribed" gender role (Drezgić 2010, 99).[10] In their refusal to have many children, women were seen as "corrupted" paradoxically both by socialist emancipation *and* consumerist culture, the latter being a reference to Western values which posed a threat to the continuation of the Serbian nation (Drezgić 2010, 103; see Blagojević 2000c, 281-309).

3. Factors shaping the politics of reproduction

3.1 Legacy of the abortion and population policies in socialism

During the socialist period, abortion was made legal and accessible even if it was viewed by the authorities with suspicion, as "a necessary evil" (Morokvašić 1981, 130). Socialist countries were among the first countries in the world to liberalize abortion in the 1950s. The Soviet Union "pioneered in the liberalization of abortion legislation in 1920, restricted abortion in 1936, and then reliberalized it in 1955, an action eventually followed by all the socialist

[9] It is worth noting that "brotherhood and unity" ("bratstvo i jedinstvo") was a popular slogan of the Communist Party of the former Yugoslavia which was also enshrined in the 1974 Yugoslav constitution.
[10] Drezgić specifically analyzes texts by two male professors, Milan Vojnović and Marko Mladenović.

countries of Central and Eastern Europe except Albania" (David and McIntyre 1981, 91). Soon after, declining fertility rates became a major concern in Eastern Europe. Henry David and Robert McIntyre observe that due to these demographic concerns, socialist countries introduced a series of pronatalist programs starting in the mid-1960s and 1970s (1981, 16-17). The conclusions at the time led to the belief that abortion was a key factor in the uniquely low levels of fertility rates in Eastern Europe: "Most Central and Eastern European socialist governments concluded that legal abortion had played a major role in reducing fertility and launched a series of programs designed to offset unwelcome demographic effects" (David and McIntyre 1981, 17).

Within the context of economic downturns and growing nationalisms in the late 1960s and onwards, socialist governments resorted to pronatalist policies in various forms. Bulgaria, on the one hand, introduced a series of conditions and administrative modifications to its abortion laws starting in 1967, although not without public resentment (David and McIntyre 1981, 285). On the other hand, in the early 1970s, federal Yugoslavia decentralized its population policies by passing them down to the level of the six republics, given significant regional differences and conflicting policies (Besemeres 1980, 236-246).[11] This was in part due to "the country's very difficult political-demographic situation," but also to the fact that the federal authorities were confronted by "labour surpluses and a severe unemployment problem" (Besemeres 1980, 235-236). Hoping to increase fertility rates, many Eastern European socialist governments resorted to "positive incentives" such as paid maternity leave, unpaid leave with job guarantee, increased family allowances, birth payments, housing, among others (David and McIntyre 1981; Besemeres 1980).

[11] David and McIntyre write about Yugoslavia: "There are no pronatalist incentives in the sense in which that term is usually understood in the other socialist countries" (1981, 84). The authors describe Yugoslav policies to be of social policy orientations rather than pronatalist population policies. Besemeres also writes that the Yugoslav federal authorities were resistant to pronatalist arguments given a significant labour surplus in the country (1980, 236).

Generally speaking, abortion liberalization reached a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s only to see an introduction of restrictive measures in a number of countries such as Romania, with a strict ban in 1967, and Bulgaria in the late 1960s (Zielinska 1993, 54). Likewise, this period also witnessed the implementation of social welfare programs and improved conditions of female employment in order to "stimulate individual families to have more children" (David and McIntyre 1981, 73). In Croatia, in the early 1970s, during the rise of nationalist sentiment, also known as the Croatian Spring, women's right to abortion "was again challenged by political and medical authorities on the grounds that its very high rate was injurious to women's health" and "contrary to the need for population growth in Croatia" (Doboš 1983, 52). Interestingly, fluctuations in official abortion policies in the former state socialist countries suggest, according to Barbara Einhorn, that "abortion has not been treated as an aspect of reproductive rights, but rather has functioned as an extension of population policies" (1993, 91).

Yugoslavia under Tito liberalized its abortion policy in 1952, independently of the Soviet Union, given the Tito-Stalin split dating back to 1948. The liberalization occurred within the context of rapid economic growth and a pressing need for women's labour in the work force. Importantly, the government was also urged by medical doctors to legalize the procedure given the rising tide of unsafe, illegal abortions, which were causing detrimental health consequences for women (Rašević 1993, 47-48). Already in the 1920s and the 1930s, the medical association of gynaecologists was calling for the decriminalization of abortion and in particular for the removal of the prison sentence for the woman (or the "victim") (Rašević 1993, 48; Stevanović 2008, 86).

In the middle of the 19th century, abortion was criminalized in all Yugoslav regions (which at the time were still scattered under the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires and which were later united under the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes only in 1918)[12] and became legally possible only for medical reasons, to save the woman's life, in 1929 (Kapor-Stanulović 1999; Rašević 1993, 48). Under this law, both the woman and the individual performing the abortion could be prosecuted and imprisoned. In 1951, the Yugoslav government once again reiterated this position in its criminal code. However, in 1952, the government adopted a new, elaborate law in which it specified more clearly the conditions under which an abortion committee comprising three doctors, would approve the abortion request under medical, legal-ethical (rape, incest), and socio-medical conditions within the first three months of gestation (Rašević 1993, 48-49). This last condition essentially opened wide the door to abortions:

> […] owing to the broad and rather vague definition of the provision which also allowed the possibility of termination of pregnancy when childbirth could lead to deterioration of the woman's health due to her difficult financial, personal or family circumstances, the possibility was created, in practice, to perform abortions also in situations when the child was simply unwanted (Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić 1997, 23-24).[13]

Although the 1952 law introduced the socio-medical condition and specified that the procedure must be performed only in health institutions, it did not prevent women whose abortion request was rejected by the committee to seek illegal abortions elsewhere. In 1960, another resolution was adopted according to which the woman was to be clearly informed about the abortion's detrimental effects on her health and encouraged to use contraception (Rašević 1993, 49). This resolution expanded even further the socio-medical condition (Rašević 1993, 49). By the early

[12] See the timeline of events of Yugoslavia.
[13] For a detailed discussion of the 1952 abortion law, see Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić (1997).

1960s, abortion became the main method of fertility control due in part to the widespread use of the socio-medical condition (Rašević 1993, 49).

In 1969, the Yugoslav government adopted a Resolution on Family Planning ("Rezolucija o planiranju porodice") which stipulated that a couple's ability to decide on the number and the spacing of children was "one of the basic human rights and duties," and that termination of pregnancy was the least desirable form of birth control and should serve as a last resort (Rašević 1993, 49-50). The 1974 Yugoslav constitution further established family planning as a human right, and in accordance, in 1977 the local Serbian government (still part of socialist Yugoslav federation) adopted a new abortion law containing a provision which guaranteed "the right of a woman to freely decide on childbearing" (Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić 1997, 24-25).[14] There were no limitations on abortions and no abortion commissions in the first trimester, while the procedure was limited to twenty weeks of gestation except in the cases of the threat to the woman's life or severe damage to her health.

As Slobodanka Konstantinović-Vilić and Nevena Petrušić write, the "progressive trend in the Serbian abortion legislation was interrupted by the adoption of the Law on the procedure of the termination of pregnancy in medical institutions of May 12th, 1995" which the Serbian government used to remove the socio-medical condition for women seeking abortion after the first trimester (Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić 1997, 26). I discuss in greater detail the 1995 abortion law and the feminist response in a later section of this chapter.

[14] Vida Tomšič, a leading figure in the Yugoslav women's Antifascist Front of Women (AFŽ) during the Second World War and in the Yugoslav government after the war, contributed to the wording of the 1974 Yugoslav constitution, in particular with regard to women's rights to contraception and abortion as well as family planning (Bonfiglioli 2016; Bonfiglioli 2012, 92; see footnote 10). Tomšič's role in the 1974 constitution and the family planning clause is significant since it reveals that there was important involvement on the part of women who were active at the state level, as part of the government-sanctioned Conference for the Social Activity of Women. It is important to note that Yugoslav feminists were not involved in the 1974 constitution since they became active only in late 1970s and the 1980s. See thesis chapter four. See also Besemeres (1980, 237) on an interpretation of the "feminist influence" among family planners in Yugoslavia at the time.

The gradual and progressive liberalization of the abortion law in socialist Yugoslavia highlighted a particular tension in the government's approach to the politics of reproduction. While the Yugoslav government showed concern over the widespread use of abortion as a means of fertility control, it still failed to provide adequate alternative birth control methods. John Besemeres, writing on demographic policies in socialist countries, provides the following assessment:

> Despite the lengthening history and considerable political influence of the family-planning movement in Yugoslavia, fertility control services are in fact still generally on a very low level, particularly in the less-developed republics. Knowledge about contraceptive procedures is weak; apart from *coitus interruptus*, they are generally not used at all. […] There is an excessive dependence on abortion, especially in the areas of Serbian settlement. Despite the relative ease with which legal abortion is made available, illegal abortion remains widespread, and substantial numbers of deaths from abortions have been reported (Besemeres 1980, 234).

Moreover, at the normative level, Yugoslavia's population policies (at the federal level) in the 1970s were not pronatalist given rising unemployment; however, at the republic level, Serbia became increasingly concerned with the extreme regional differences within the republic and especially between different ethnic groups, such as ethnic Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo (Besemeres 1980, 199-200, 236).

Importantly, at the republic level, population policies took a more overtly pronatalist turn in the early 1980s. Specifically, in 1983 the Serbian government adopted for the first time measures for population renewal, marking an ideological and theoretical shift away from family planning and toward an active population policy (Drezgić 2010, 59). The media and demographic studies promoted reproduction as an important social issue that concerned the whole of society and was not an individual choice: consumerism, hedonism, and individualism were often cited as the underlying causes of many social issues, including low fertility rates

(Drezgić 2010, 62). As Rada Drezgić explains, pronatalist measures in the 1980s were undertaken on a voluntary basis and were primarily in the form of educational programs and propaganda. The Serbian government, the Orthodox Church, and the media were given the role of raising consciousness and educating the Serbian population about "the serious problem of population renewal" and the citizens' responsibility to contribute to the solution of this "problem" (2010, 62; my translation).[15]

Although reproduction, through the studies of fertility rates and abortion, was already an area of concern for Eastern European countries in the socialist period (1945-1989), in the 1990s, it became a highly and peculiarly political issue, imbued with new meanings which hinged on the notions of the nation, nationalism, and national survival. Peggy Watson asks: "Why, for example, had the prevention of abortion been the immediate policy concern of almost each of the newly democratized countries?" (2000, 190). While countries such as Romania and Bulgaria experienced some liberalization measures with regard to abortion access in the post-1989 period, a vast majority of post-communist governments either adopted or debated introduction of more restrictive abortion laws and policies (Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Renne 1997).

The overwhelming presence of men in formal governmental institutions, and the equally overwhelming presence of women in more informal, non-governmental bodies, have led scholars to name this phenomenon the "feminization" of the civil society sector (Sloat 2005; Lang 1997). In the post-1989 democratic systems, in which parliaments exert concrete power, women's numbers have decreased significantly (LaFont 2001; Einhorn 1993). This phenomenon has had a negative impact on women's reproductive rights since restrictive abortion laws and policies were either adopted or debated immediately upon the election of mostly male-dominated parliaments

[15] Drezgić writes citing from demographic documents written originally in Serbian: "[…] informisanja gradjana o 'ozbiljnosti problema obnavljanja stanovništva' kao i njihovim obavezama u vezi sa rešavanjem ovog 'problema'" (2010, 62).

(Johnson and Robinson 2007; Watson 2000; Renne 1997; Funk and Mueller 1993; Einhorn 1993).

In her work on reproductive rights and population policies in Eastern Europe, Barbara Einhorn writes: "It is important to evaluate how far demographic concerns, in particular the need to replace the labour force, dictated reproductive policies" (1993, 83). Such changing reproductive politics focusing on citizens' fertility, and most obviously *women's* fertility, have produced significant material and ideological consequences for women's health needs, and specifically with regard to women's ability to decide if and when to have children. The arrival of new democratic governments post-1989 took place within the context of a decades-old demographic alarm about declining fertility rates, coupled with questions about national identity and survival. It is within this context that the newly formed women's and feminist groups in the transitional countries began to mobilize for the first time around the issue of women's reproductive rights (Zajović 2003).

Given the historical instability of women's access to abortion and the political treatment of women's fertility, women's and feminist groups in the region have resorted to a number of different tactics for the purpose of raising women's awareness about this vital issue. While street protests have not been a popular method (with the exception of Slovenia; see Jalušič 1999), publications of original texts and translations seem to have served as an important outlet for activism, given the surge in new feminist literature in the early 1990s. The tremendous contribution of women's and feminist groups to the production of knowledge can be seen in the sheer volume of edited books, newspaper and magazine articles, booklets, pamphlets, statements, in addition to a staggering number of online publications, reports, and blogs. The topics have ranged from reproductive health, violence against women, women's international networking,

human trafficking, women in politics, women and employment, human rights, sexuality, including United Nations conference statements. In this manner, the considerable production of writing materials testifies to the importance women's and feminist groups assign to the ability to articulate their own voices, opinions, and positions. It is within such a context, that *NTM* stands as an important source of information on women's health that counters pronatalist discourses and that feminist activists hoped would contribute to women's consciousness-raising.

3.2 Demographic studies, and church and government statements

Demographic studies of the 1970s and 1980s pay much attention to the shift from family planning to pronatalist policies, as well as to ethnic relations and "ethnodemographic anxieties" given declining birthrates of some ethnic groups and rising birthrates of others within Yugoslavia (Gravrilović and Macura 2005; Avramov 1992; David and McIntyre 1981; Besemeres 1980; Breznik 1980). Moreover, these studies showed growing interest in the role of abortion in contributing to rapidly decreasing fertility rates in industrializing Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s.

The demographic discourse which presented women's reproductive behaviour and individual choices as problematic at the economic and social levels was increasingly being harnessed by nationalist agendas in the 1980s, feeding the conflict between Albanian and Serbian nationalisms (Drezgić 2008, 184-185). In particular, alarms were raised about low fertility rates of ethnic Serb women, on the one hand, and high fertility rates of ethnic Albanian women in Kosovo, on the other.[16] In 1983, the Serbian government, still part of socialist Yugoslavia, passed for the first time a resolution on the promotion of an active population policy, making a

[16] Similar narratives were developed in many other socialist Eastern European countries, such as Bulgaria where fertility rates of ethnic Bulgarian, Muslim, Roma, and Turkish women were seen as competing (Kotzeva 1999).

turn away from the earlier family planning approach. This resolution was in many ways similar to many other population measures undertaken by other Central and Eastern European countries, such as economic incentives, propaganda encouraging higher rates of childbirth, benefits for families with small children, and longer maternity leave (Drezgić 2008, 187). Importantly, this resolution called for citizens to treat reproductive matters not as an individual choice, but rather as a matter of concern for the whole society, shifting reproduction decisions from the individual to the collective (Drezgić 2008, 188-189).

In 1990 and 1991, the Serbian government introduced a number of laws which made contraception more expensive and transferred 100% of the cost of abortion onto the insured, that is, women. A group of feminist activists, under the banner of The Belgrade Women's Lobby, wrote a letter to the government with a list of amendments and sharp criticism. The text, dated December 1991, chastised the government for making abortion one of the only three procedures (in addition to plastic surgery and treatment for alcoholism) ineligible for medical insurance, forcing women to pay out of pocket. The letter referred to the parliament as the "male parliament" ("muški parlament") and called out the government for its ideological and ethnically discriminatory legislation, accusing the government of advocating pronatalism for Serbian women and antinatalism for Albanian women (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995, 31-32). The letter also demanded that the government stop propagating militaristic and sexist values, as well as forcing women to become birthing machines (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995, 32).

While demographic studies of the 1980s did not specifically call for any drastic measures, they, nonetheless, set the stage for official warnings about the future of the nation and introduced some key terms into the public discourse, such as the white plague, fertility, nation, biological survival, and threat, among others. One of the two well-known warnings is a document aptly

entitled "Warning," prepared by nine academics, published in October 1992 and signed by officials of the Slobodan Milosevic's ruling party (Serbian Socialist Party), representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Serbian Medical Association, among other institutions. The heart of the message is the concern about reproduction: "There is a lack of balance in terms of the growth and renewal of some nations, minorities, and ethnic groups" and " three ethnic groups – Albanians, Muslims, and Romas – with their high birthrates, are [reproducing] beyond rational [limits]" (Papić 1999, 161-162). The authors are concerned about the biological, political, and cultural survival of Serbia, which is threatened by the white plague. Such a discourse clearly shows the influence of demographic studies, which for years had indeed been warning of declining birth rates in most regions of Yugoslavia.

A second well-known warning was issued by Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Pavle and delivered during Christmas celebrations in January 1995.[17] In the 1990s, the Serbian Orthodox Church targeted primarily women with its anti-abortion discourses, citing demographic problems, the defence of the nation, and its biological survival. In 1995, the Patriarch condemned women for not having more children and affirmed that abortion is murder. In his Christmas message, he referred to the loss of life during the wars of the 1990s, stating:

> Many mothers who did not want to have more than one child are now pulling their hair out and crying their eyes out over the loss of their sons in the war. They blaspheme and they accuse others, but forget to blame themselves for not bearing more children that would have remained to comfort them (Drezgić 2009, 20).

Feminist activists and scholars reacted strongly against his message, arguing that it encouraged hatred and hostility between Serbs and Albanians, all the while feeding Milošević's war

[17] The Serbian Orthodox Christmas is on January 7 since it follows the old Julian calendar, which is approximately two weeks behind the official Gregorian calendar.

machinery (Radović 2005, 360). As was the case with other regressive legislations, resolutions, and state actions, different groups of Belgrade activists responded to this provocative message, effectively staking the ground for the feminist voice in these debates. The rebuke penned by the Belgrade Women's Lobby in a letter from January 1995 reminded the Orthodox clergy that abortion is a legitimate right in the hands of women, guaranteed by the UN convention previously ratified by Yugoslavia.[18] Furthermore, the Women's Lobby highlighted the fate of the thousands of raped women in Bosnia and accused the Orthodox clergy, together with the Catholic clergy and the leader of the Muslim religious community (and therefore, all three sides in the Bosnian conflict), of playing a role in the brutal treatment of women in the war (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995, 45-46). The letter exposed the hypocrisy of the state and the Orthodox clergy and protested against the instrumentalization of women's bodies, highlighting the intersection between gender, reproduction, ethnicity, and nation. This letter combined a feminist, pro-choice discourse with an anti-militaristic and anti-nationalist stance, which came to characterize Serbian feminism as a product of the specific political context.

Interviews conducted by Serbian demographer Mirjana Rašević reveal the extent to which fertility discourses permeated the public domain in the early 1990s. For the purpose of her study, Rašević conducted interviews with four hundred Belgrade women who had recently undergone an abortion. While her interviewees demonstrated a lack of knowledge about contraception and general demographic issues, an overwhelming majority (80%) knew that the low fertility rates of Serbian women were a serious problem for the nation (Rašević 1993, 122-125).[19] The interviewees, who were of diverse backgrounds, often cited the white plague and the

[18] The letter is referring to CEDAW, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

[19] Some examples of statements made by the interviewees: "Yes, it's the biggest problem. The nation is dying out;" or "We have the white plague while Kosovo has the highest birthrate in Europe. There's no doubt it's the biggest

differential fertility rates between ethnic Albanian and ethnic Serbian women. The sample of statements cited by Rašević reveals, I argue, that women resorted to abortion for a variety of reasons, even if they were aware of, or even supported demographic discourses that warned of the disappearing nation. This observation is supported by other works such as a study by American scholars Carol S. Lilly and Jill A. Irvine, who found through their survey of women in Serbia and Croatia in the mid-1990s, that even if women "endorsed nationalist [and pronatalist] views, they remained unwilling to sacrifice their autonomy in reproductive decisions to the nationalist cause" (2002, 135). Thus, while demographic studies exerted an influence on public discourses, they do not seem to have changed women's desired reproductive outcomes.

Nevertheless, demographic studies on differential fertility rates together with church and government statements on reproduction did produce significant consequences for women. In addition to raising the question of fertility in nationalist terms, these discourses both implicitly and at times explicitly identified women's supposed consumerism, possessive individualism, and hedonism for low birth rates (Drezgić 2008; Rašević 1993). In this way, they prepared the ground for legislative measures such as a new, restrictive abortion law introduced in the mid-1990s.

3.3 The 1995 abortion law

The 1990s saw a series of policies aimed at encouraging higher fertility rates, particularly of ethnic Serb women versus Albanian, Muslim, and Roma women, in Vojvodina and Serbia proper (Višić 2013; Shiffman *et al.* 2002, 630). Moreover, the new population policies also included measures that were meant to discourage high fertility rates in Kosovo, where ethnic

---

possible problem;" or "Of course it's a huge problem. Look at the birthrate in Kosovo" (Rašević 1993, 125; my translation).

Albanian women, but also ethnic Serb women (Drezgić 2008), had much higher fertility rates compared to the rest of the country. Tanja Višić suggests that in the 1990s the growing pressure placed on women to have more children represented a national strategy in the attempt to avoid a national catastrophe (2013, 106). In this way, it became increasingly evident that the previous socialist policy that promoted individual rights in matters of reproduction over collective rights was transformed into a pronatalist policy which explicitly instrumentalized women's bodies (Višić 2013, 107).

The most concrete instance where this change in the politics of reproduction is in full display in Serbia is the new abortion law adopted in 1995. While the Serbian government was instrumental in changing the abortion law, it did so with full and vocal support from the Serbian Orthodox Church whose anti-abortion discourse targeted women exclusively. The Serbian Orthodox Church's position on abortion and the role in dominant discourses on reproduction was not unique during the wars. In the early 1990s, when the first news of forced impregnation as a result of rape made the headlines, and women refugees sought help in Croatia, the Catholic Church made a number of public statements clearly indicating its anti-abortion position. Writing for *Ms. Magazine* in 1993, journalists Alexandra Stiglmayer and Laura Pitter quoted Cardinal Franjo Kuharić as saying: "[for] those who have become pregnant, we will try to awaken their maternal instincts and encourage them to give birth to the child" (1993, 21). Cardinal Kuharić actively lobbied the Croatian parliament in 1992, requesting in a formal letter that the parliament ban abortion and birth control (Shiffman *et al.* 2002, 635). At the same time, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman embarked on an open pronatalist policy which unambiguously linked childbirth with the survival of the nation (Shiffman *et al.* 2002, 635).

Drezgić's detailed analysis of this abortion law and the debate leading up to it illustrates how ideological shifts produce material consequences for women and their reproductive rights. Drezgić (2009) traces the beginning of the debate on abortion to a 1993 draft bill to ban abortion completely in the neighbouring Republika Srpska, a newly formed, mainly Serb-populated entity in Bosnia, politically very close to Serbia, and then to a separate, less draconian but also restrictive, abortion draft bill in Serbia in 1994. In May 1994, the government under Milošević scrapped the 1994 draft bill, deemed too restrictive, but then introduced a new abortion bill. This new bill maintained women's access to abortion services until the tenth week of gestation available upon request, but restricted access past this time period, allowing only a few medical reasons. It removed the socio-medical conditions under which abortions could be accessed in the past (Drezgić 2009, 16). Importantly, this draft of the bill did not recognize rape as a legitimate reason for abortion past the tenth week of gestation (Drezgić 2009, 16; Papić 1999, 163). The debate that ensued in the parliament revealed that abortion, together with its wide availability, was seen as the primary cause of Serbian women's low fertility rates, endangering national survival.

Feminist groups organized protests, demanded amendments, circulated a petition, and wrote in newspaper editorials (Ćetković 1998, 65). A group of activists demonstrated on March 18, 1993 in Belgrade with slogans that accused the church and the "fascist" state for curtailing women's fundamental rights. Their banners stated: "Less church, more condoms;" "Free abortion: a condition of democracy;" and "We will not be birth machines for the church, state, and the nation" (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995, 31). Moreover, they linked their battle for reproductive rights to their fight for a life free of men's violence against women: "STOP rape;"

"STOP male violence against women;" and finally, "Long live women's solidarity" (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995, 31).

Following the demonstrations, the clergy responded by describing the activists as "traitors of the Serbian people" ("izdajnice srpskog naroda") and "despicable women" ("nikakve žene"), accusing them of inciting Serbian mothers to kill their own unborn children (Kljajić-Imširović 2003, 89).[20] The activists' point of view was largely ignored, in particular their demand for amendments. One amendment that was eventually successful allowed for rape as a legitimate reason for access to abortion. Despite the opposition expressed by feminist groups, opposition parties, and some medical experts, a new version of the abortion draft bill was passed in parliament in December 1994 and officially became law in May 1995, in the midst of the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Drezgić 2009, 18). Stanislava Otašević actively contributed to the promotion of women's reproductive rights at the time and criticized the Serbian government's actions with regard to the new abortion law. Otašević characterized the question of abortion as always a question of power in which the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church was prominent (Andjelković 1995, 40).

It is interesting to note that the new abortion law was restrictive when compared to the previous socialist abortion law, but it mainly targeted abortion requests past the tenth week of gestation. Since most abortions were performed before the tenth week of gestation (98%), only a small number would be affected by the new law (2%). However, given that 95% of requests for abortion after the tenth week were based on socio-medical conditions, the new law did represent a significant abridgement of women's reproductive rights (Drezgić 2009, 18; Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić, 1997, 26; Rašević 1993). Ultimately, the parliamentary debate and the new

[20] This proposal for a total abortion ban was made by a member of the Orthodox clergy who was also a member of parliament in the neighbouring Republika Srpska – a move which had significant influence in Serbia given the two entities' close political ties. For a detailed analysis, see Drezgić (2009).

law had significant discursive consequences in addition to material consequences for women and their reproductive health. Pronatalist policies promoted by demographers were validated in a move Drezgić qualifies as "sneaky pronatalism:"

> By mildly limiting access to abortion the Serbian regime made the legal discourse an element of "sneaky pronatalism." While those limitations were not going to significantly cut down the number of abortions if at all, they kept the issue of biological survival of the nation alive for the purposes of national mobilization (2009, 19).

The new abortion law, therefore, represents the Serbian government's decision to act in response to ideological views that were long promoted in the demographic literature. Not only did the law produce real effects on women's reproductive decision-making, but it also introduced a new critical tone in the way the legislature, as well as the medical community and the wider society, were to treat women's decision to have an abortion. The adoption of the new law sent the message to women that the state was growing less tolerant of women's reproductive decisions and that their bodies were to be subjected to greater state scrutiny. After a close study of the legal changes of the abortion law, Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić conclude that the new law imposed great limitations on women's ability to decide freely about childbirth. In their final analysis, they state:

> It is obvious that by denying the right to abortion, which means denying the woman the right to control her own body, women are being sent the message that their bodies do not belong to them, but to some collective entity, which is usually identified with the nation… (1997, 38).

As documented by Konstantinović-Vilić and Petrušić, the percentage of women denied access to abortion may be small, but the consequences of this denial of abortion services and forced carrying to term of unwanted pregnancies are of tremendous significance and devastating for women's lives (1997, 34-38).

The change in the politics of reproduction produced new conditions, which the feminist activists at the AWC were obligated to navigate. The daily practical work of the activists with the survivors of sexual and other violence created a need for new literature that would support them in their practice. Women who visited the AWC faced domestic, sexual and other types of violence, including unwanted pregnancies and abortions, taboo topics which were considered private issues, and which were not to be discussed in public, other than to be condemned. The very public debates on women's access to abortion, the subsequent restrictive abortion law, as well as the criticism of women's supposed individualist, hedonistic, and consumerist lifestyles by the church, demographers, and politicians increased the sense of stigma and shame that were cast on women by society.[21]

4. Assessing *NTM* as oppositional discourse to the politics of reproduction

"We believe that feminism as a political perspective must go above and across national borders and must address all problems which have an effect on women's lives regardless of where they're located." NTM (2001, vii)[22]

Against the background of the pronatalist discourses analyzed above, the Belgrade activists sought to develop their own pro-choice feminist discourse that could act as oppositional discourse. *NTM*, a book of more than 600 pages which provides detailed information on every stage of a woman's reproductive health cycle, including non-heterosexual sexuality, is bound in many ways to act as an oppositional discourse to the dominant messages produced by official

[21] Interviews with Otašević and Vučaj. See also work by Rebecca J. Cook (2014) on the ways in which criminal abortion laws create stigma.
[22] This is my back-translation from the Serbian in *NTM* into English.

political and religious actors. In the quotation above, *NTM* declares its adherence to an anti-nationalist politics, which stood in direct opposition to the nationalist political forces in power in the 1990s. Although the above quotation is taken from *OBOS*, once translated into Serbian, it acquires a whole new meaning in the Serbian context of anti-nationalist feminist mobilizations and ethno-nationalist wars. With regard to women's reproductive rights, the original *OBOS* text on the importance of abortion to women's ability to control their fertility *speaks* to women in Serbia specifically within the politics of reproduction. The *NTM* chapter on abortion begins as follows:

> Women have always used abortion as a means of fertility control. Unless we alone can make the decision about whether we wish or do not wish to have children, it will be very difficult to control our lives and to participate equally in society. Right to a legal and safe abortion gives us that control (AWC 2001, 353; my translation).[23]

The pro-choice feminist discourse in this passage and the rest of the chapter affirms women's right to abortion, originally formulated in the early 1970s by American feminists of the Boston collective at the height of the women's battle for legalization of abortion in the United States. American women won this right on a federal level in 1973 with the *Roe v. Wade* decision by the United States Supreme Court. Women in Yugoslavia and Serbia had already earned this right as far back as 1952 under the relatively young communist regime. In fact, in the 1960s and the 1970s, some American women even travelled to Yugoslavia for the procedure.[24] Over the decades, the right to abortion has undoubtedly had a different meaning for women in Serbia, in comparison to American women. However, as discussed, the wars of the 1990s and the spread of

[23] In this section, I provide my back-translations into English of the text in Serbian, as opposed to the original English text from *OBOS*, in order to illustrate how *NTM* approaches a particular topic as well as to show the differences between *OBOS* and *NTM*.

[24] In our interview, Sunčica Vučaj notes that in the Belgrade feminist circles, certain long-time activists remember a period in the 1970s when American women used to visit Belgrade for abortion services. This type of international and domestic travel is sometimes called "abortion tourism." See Christabelle Sethna's "All Aboard: Canadian Women's Abortion Tourism, 1960-1980" (2011).

pronatalist discourses, combined with very strong nationalist elements, mobilized women in Serbia for the first time to protest against the new restrictive abortion law as well as against the public condemnation by the Orthodox Church of abortion and women who have abortions.

Given the changing politics of reproduction, the position of the Belgrade feminists drew on a number of parallels with the position of American feminists two decades earlier. *OBOS* holds that abortion access is completely essential to women's ability to control their lives. This contention appeared relevant and pertinent when considering the worsening situation of women in Serbia and their own access to legal abortion services. However, this changing politics of reproduction targeted much more directly ethnic Serbian women readers who were touted by the nationalist discourses as the desirable mothers – as opposed to other ethnic minorities such as Albanian, Roma, among others.[25]

Chapter 15 on abortion in *NTM* reproduces a photograph of an American women's protest for reproductive rights, depicting hundreds of women defiantly marching down the street and carrying a large banner stating: "A woman's right to abortion is akin to her right to be" in English (AWC 2001, 376). Such a photograph reveals to the readers that women in other parts of the world have indeed fought for this right and encourages the need for further reflection and consciousness-raising in their own specific location.

The personal stories of women throughout the abortion chapter provide first-person narratives of reproductive decision making which was often difficult but which also brought freedom to these women's lives (AWC 2001, 354-355). These personal stories become much more relevant to Serbian women's lives in the 1990s after the changes to the politics of reproduction. The stories also give women a voice to express openly their desires and needs.

[25] Here, I am referring to ethnic minorities in a general sense. See Besemeres (1980) and Jović (2009) for a nuanced discussion of the terms *ethnic minority*, *nations*, and *nationalities*.

This practice is often derided in pronatalist discourses and demographic studies which assume that a woman's decision not to have a child is "selfish" and that women's lifestyles are "nowadays" "hedonistic" (Beogradski ženski lobi 1995c; Rašević 1993). One of the stories highlights the relief that a woman felt after her abortion: "Opponents to abortion say that no woman has ever wanted an abortion, that abortion is always a traumatic experience […] As a young woman I experienced an unwanted pregnancy […] Abortion brought me great relief and end to my trauma" (AWC 2001, 354).

On many occasions, *NTM* reaffirms women's right to bodily autonomy and the right to choose or refuse motherhood, and when read against the Serbian political context, *NTM* opposes any notion of "sacrificial motherhood" for the collective good, or for the production of "Serbian soldiers" (Blagojević 2000b, 44). In this way, *NTM* is a tool for women's consciousness-raising at a very political moment in Serbia's history. By giving women the knowledge about key stages of their reproductive life, *NTM* is meant to empower its female readers. But, as opposed to the American case where *OBOS* was meant to empower women vis-à-vis their doctors, *NTM* strove to encourage Serbian women to stop neglecting their health, learn about their bodies, and seek medical help when necessary.[26] Otašević confirms this point when she writes: "Most women accept the state of ill health […] They tend to neglect the signals that their bodies are sending them until they are no longer able to get up in the morning, perform their everyday duties and look after their families and households" (2001b, 2).

The question of control, and therefore power, is raised when *NTM* writes: "Protection from unwanted pregnancy is fundamental to our efforts to understand our own bodies, to exert

[26] Interview with Otašević.

control over our health, and to achieve autonomy" (2001, 225; my translation; my emphasis).[27] The control over women's bodies, particularly of their reproductive functions, is targeted in traditional gender regimes. *NTM* offers a sharp rebuke to such attitudes by asserting that when women control their fertility, they control their bodies, their health, and their lives. Such an assertion of autonomy clashes most clearly with patriarchal traditions which insist on the primacy of women's maternal roles in society at all cost.

NTM speaks to women openly about their right to control their reproductive health. For example, in the chapter on fertility control and prevention of unwanted pregnancy, women are advised to see through the social pressures:

> **Social institutions** determine population policies and control their implementation together with **scientific communities** whose research almost never reflects the actual needs of women. The **medical profession** sees women as irresponsible and incapable of taking an active role in controlling their own fertility, while the **pharmaceutical industry** is mainly interested in profits from new and improved contraceptives. All these groups together control our reproductive health (AWC 2001, 226; my translation; my emphasis).[28]

This paragraph at the beginning of *NTM*'s chapter 11 on different types of birth control, identifies the social actors which have significant influence on women's ability to control their fertility. The four actors (social institutions, scientific communities, the medical profession, and the pharmaceutical industry) can be said to have an influence in the American as well as in the Serbian case; however, as the Belgrade feminist activists' statements and publications indicate, the principal social actors central to the attempts to limit Serbian women's reproductive rights in the 1990s were the Serbian government, the Orthodox Church, and the demographic scientific

[27] The original sentence in the 1992 American *OBOS* edition is as follows: "Birth control is fundamental to our effort to understand our bodies, control our health care and have autonomy in our lives" (259).
[28] The text in Serbian in *NTM* is as follows: "Institucije društvenog sistema odredjuju populacionu politiku i vrše kontrolu njenog sprovodjenja, u saradnji sa naučnim zajednicama čija istraživanja gotovo nikada ne odražavaju potrebe žene, zatim sa medicinskom profesijom koja žene vidi kao neodgovorne i nesposobne za preuzimanje aktivne uloge u kontroli sopstvene plodnosti i farmaceutskom industrijom koju interesuje profit od novih i usavršenih sredstava. Sve ove grupe kontrolišu naše reproduktivno zdravlje" (AWC 2001, 226).
This paragraph is a slightly adapted and shortened version of the text in the English-language *OBOS* (1992, 259).

community (Blagojević 2005, 2000; Zajović 2003; Papić 1999; Feminističke sveske 1994-1999). Women's reproductive rights are promoted in *NTM* with a language that somewhat vaguely depicts the situation in Serbia. Although it is true that readers of *NTM* may interpret "social institutions" and "scientific communities" as Serbian social and political actors, the text intentionally veers away from direct political engagement by naming the Serbian Orthodox Church, the government, and those demographers most vocal about women's duty to the nation.

Most of the translation, except the parts that openly address the situation in Serbia, hovers in a general context that may or may not be about American women and that may or may not apply to women in Serbia. For example, *OBOS* specifically names what it terms "the population control establishment," that is, the U.S. government (Agency for International Development) and a number of private groups and further states: "These organizations typically have been more interested in limiting the size of certain groups (especially poor and minority populations) than in helping individual women control their fertility" (BWHBC 1992, 259).[29] *NTM* omits this portion and includes a general statement on the role of social institutions in population politics (AWC 2001, 226), choosing not to delve into the tense political relations between the Serbian majority and other ethnic minorities in particular in the 1990s at the height of the "survival of the nation" debates.

The closest *NTM* gets to acknowledging more clearly the changing politics of reproduction is in chapter 14, immediately preceding the abortion chapter, entitled "If you think you are pregnant: Finding out and deciding what to do." In the discussion about the options for pregnant women, there is a short section on abortion and adoption. *NTM* inserts an original paragraph:

[29] This statement refers to the US forced population control policies against women of colour, African-Americans, and Indigenous Americans, which were attacked as racist (see Sethna 2006 and Roberts 1997).

> It is certain that each one of us [women] has been exposed to pressures through television, magazines, and even medical institutions. The *new population politics*, which is supported by the right-wing political forces and church institutions, will perhaps have the strongest influence precisely on young women and their future decisions about abortion (AWC 2001, 351; my emphasis).[30]

This quotation is prescient since in recent years there has been a proliferation of pro-life films and propaganda in Serbia, with the strongest influence precisely among young women and men.[31] Within the context of the 1990s, the "new population politics" is clearly linked to the Serbian Orthodox Church and the conservative, nationalist parties such as the Democratic Party of Serbia, which has been the most vocal pro-life party in the parliament (Drezgić 2009, 17). This quotation also testifies to the power of the media in Serbia in the 1990s. *NTM* engages with the political situation in the country without the need to name directly those individuals and institutions responsible for the shift in the politics of reproduction.

This approach is intriguing because in the period when *NTM* was translated and published (1997-2001), feminist activists were particularly active against the politics and actions of the Serbian government led by Milošević and others, including the tensions and conflicts in the late 1990s in the southern region of Kosovo, which were overwhelmingly articulated through the terms of differential fertility rates and survival of the nation (Drezgić 2010). However, the most important goal of the feminist activists behind the translation of *OBOS* was to create a feminist source on women's health that would help women take better care of themselves in "those difficult times."[32] The very intense political and social context in the 1990s consumed women's lives and made them increasingly vulnerable to domestic and wartime violence but also

[30] The original in Serbian in *NTM* states as follows: "Sigurno je svaka od nas bila izložena pritiscima koji se vrše preko televizije, časopisa, pa čak i medicinskih ustanova. Nova populaciona politika, koju podržavaju desno orijentisane političke snage i crkvene institucije, možda će najjači uticaj imati baš na mlade devojke i njihovu odluku o eventualnom abortusu" (AWC 2001, 351).
[31] Vučaj has observed a disturbing trend of American-style pro-life posters around Belgrade in recent years. She also recalls a screening of a pro-life film, which was presented by a respected and well-known doctor in Belgrade.
[32] Interviews with all four activists.

to neglect. *NTM* was meant to encourage women to take care of themselves and to resist these changes.

At a time when almost every aspect of life was extremely politicized, a feminist text on health and self-care did not need to be couched in terms that explicitly attacked social and political actors in Serbia. On the contrary, such a text and its translators would have run the risk of becoming a target of backlash and attacks, possibly producing a negative effect. What the AWC activists wanted the most was to offer *NTM* to women and girls because to them it was "a book that every girl should read," one which contained a critical "feminist alphabet."[33] As Vučaj explains in our interview, in a patriarchal society where heterosexuality is the norm, a book on women's health that embraces different lifestyles for women, such as living with a lesbian partner or living alone *by choice*, is deeply radical. To refuse to participate in reproduction by choice is, in this context, a radical and oppositional discourse.[34] *NTM* could act as an oppositional discourse without using the politically aggressive jargon that characterized almost all spheres of life at the time. Moreover, an overtly political approach could have turned away the translation's readership and jeopardized the funding received from Soros's Open Society Institute in Belgrade and the anonymous donor for the translation project.

Still, I would argue that in regard to abortion, the specific Serbian context highlights the limits of the pro-choice feminist discourse in *NTM*. Rather than being a necessary tool for emancipation and a guarantor of women's bodily autonomy, abortion access has served to entrench traditional gender relations among Yugoslav (and Serbian) couples. The perspective in *OBOS* on abortion reflects the American women's battle for abortion access as a symbol of

[33] Interview with Mladjenović.
[34] See the following link for a 1999 *New York Times* article reporting on women's refusal to have children in Serbia: http://www.nytimes.com/1999/07/05/world/crisis-balkans-population-stresses-milosevic-s-rule-blamed-for-decline-births.html

women's liberation. This perspective is maintained in the Serbian translation although the history of abortion and contraception practices in Yugoslavia and Serbia shows that Serbian women's attitudes toward abortion are rather different. Perhaps, these attitudes could also explain why the majority of women did not mobilize against the 1995 abortion law, with the exception of a small group of feminists.

In the following section, I explore the ways in which abortion has been construed and treated as a cultural taboo during the decades of socialist Yugoslavia, making *NTM*'s consciousness-raising around this topic a more difficult task for the feminist activists.

5. Abortion and non-reproductive sexuality as a cultural taboo

Throughout the decades of socialism in Yugoslavia, the status of women in society changed significantly, particularly in the public sphere such as employment, education, and political governance. However, in the so-called private or domestic sphere, that is, family life and intimate relations, many traditional, patriarchal forms of gender relations persisted. Mirjana Morokvašić observes that motherhood remained the most important determinant of women's social standing, and therefore, reproduction continued to occupy a central place in cultural life (1981, 134). Morokvašić writes:

> Double sexual standards, including deep concern about virginity and female adultery, testify to the emphasis placed on reproduction in such societies. This cultural pattern existed not so long ago and still persists in many parts of Yugoslavia although often in disguised form. […] Women are esteemed workers and expected to take an active part in community affairs, but within the home pre-revolutionary values surrounding the relationship between the genders within the family remain practically intact so that marked inequality between the genders has been preserved (1981, 134).

While there are important differences between urban settings and rural areas, women are still expected everywhere to be in charge of household duties and to be the main caregivers to the children and the elderly (Morokvašić 1981, 134; see also Blagojević 2005, 2000; St. Erlich 1971).

In the area of reproduction, fertility control remains an important practice even when motherhood is a highly valued social role for women. For decades, both in socialist and post-socialist times, the ideal family size has been two children per couple (Blagojević 2014, 390). A number of studies have shown, however, that the control of fertility was considered to be man's responsibility and not woman's, despite the traditional expectations that women take care of the "domestic" sphere (Drezgić 2010; Fisher 2006; Morokvašić 1981). In her survey of 258 Yugoslav female migrant workers living abroad (France, Germany, and Sweden) in the late 1970s, Morokvašić found that *coitus interruptus* and abortion were not only the main but also the most preferred methods of birth control. These Yugoslav women, who all came from different parts of Yugoslavia, often returned to their home country to terminate their unwanted pregnancies since abortion access there was relatively easy and abortion had "become a part of a woman's life and accepted as such" (Morokvašić 1981, 132). This type of fertility behaviour has been called "abortion culture" by some scholars who see it as a result of permissive abortion laws and a concomitant lack of modern contraception in Central and Eastern European countries (Stloukal 1999, 24-25).

However, as Drezgić (2004a) shows, unlike most other Eastern European countries,[35] other methods of birth control were indeed available in Yugoslavia. The so-called birth control pill, or more acurately, the oral contraceptive pill, was made available in 1964 and the intrauterine device (IUD) in 1967, and both were available in pharmacies, particularly in the

[35] For example, Hungary was an exception too. See footnote in Drezgić (2004a, 197).

cities (Drezgić 2004a, 197). Nevertheless, women did not use them widely because these medical methods were seen as disruptive to the relationship between men and women. Drezgić points out, with a certain sense of irony, that what "medicine defines as *coitus interruptus*, for my informants is exactly the opposite: a model of spontaneous, uninterrupted sex" (2004a, 207). The medical methods are also seen as unnatural and with potential side effects, whereas the rhythm method, or rather the calendar method, and *coitus interruptus* are considered natural.

Importantly, Morokvašić found that the women's male partners were openly resistant to using contraception, and particularly female-dependent contraceptives, and that the man's "ability to impregnate at will" brought him a sense of control over the relationship (1981, 135). Moreover, many of the women had internalized their male partners' reasons for resisting contraceptives and adopted them as their own: "My husband says that a woman loses sexual desire [if contraceptives are used], so if I take it he might even think that I have someone else" or "If I take the pill I shall become like a man. I might sleep with anybody" or "I shall no longer be faithful to my husband" (Morokvašić 1981, 135).

Such attitudes underlying gender relations are not unique to the Yugoslav society. They can be seen in Kate Fisher's study of contraceptive practices in British families in the first half of the 20th century. Fisher found that *coitus interruptus*, periodic abstinence from sexual intercourse, and abortion were preferred methods to contraceptives and that women were not necessarily the driving force behind the prevention of pregnancy. In fact, regular use of birth control was viewed as "masculine duty." Fisher concludes, "wives shied away from the issue, leaving responsibility for birth control in the hands of their husbands" (2006, 5). The dominant role of British men in fertility control in the first decades of the 20th century reveals in fact the extent of "men's power over a couple's sexual relationship" (Fisher 2006, 189).

While *coitus interruptus* is seen as masculine duty, abortion is a correction of the failure, a procedure that solely women undergo and manage. As Drezgić argues, in "patriarchal societies, such as the Serbian and the Greek societies, abortion is, together with menstruation and birth, a taboo topic outside exclusively female context since it publicly exposes a woman's non-reproductive sexuality" (2010, 45; my translation). Drezgić further concludes that high rates of abortion in Serbia are first and foremost a consequence of patriarchal relations in the area of reproduction and sexuality, where women rarely get to decide on their own about contraceptive use (2010, 45-46). Therefore, abortion is a taboo topic because it is a public sign of a private act, and evidence of a man's unsuccessful application of *coitus interruptus* (Drezgić 2010, 48; Rašević 1993; Morokvašić 1981). An abortion constitutes a man's lack of self-control in *coitus* and by extension, his power over the woman and the relationship. As Drezgić writes: "If abortion were approached as a consequence of the contraceptive mistake (i.e. failing *coitus interruptus*), rather than as women's premeditated choice, its high rates could seriously challenge masculinity of Serbian men" (2004b, 108).

Furthermore, in this gendered reproductive logic, a woman's decision to use more reliable contraception would in fact threaten a man's ability to impregnate his female partner and his virility. The autonomy that contraceptives offer women effectively jeopardizes her feminine identity and her male partner's masculine identity (Drezgić 2010, 47). As Morokvašić concludes: "These women resent one of the most important possible effects of contraception: the disruption of a deeply embedded authority structure and the double standard in which the man is dominant and sexually free while the woman is subjected and faithful" (1981, 135).

Abortion itself is viewed as a "cleansing" or as a "purifying" procedure but also as a punishment. Women take complete responsibility for the abortion, saying: "I did it; it is my

fault" (Drezgić 2010, 48; Morokvašić 1981, 138). Moreover, abortion is also "symbolic procreation" which confirms a woman's fecundity and reproductive potential: "When a woman has no means other than the maternal role to establish her status, then she may well turn to this [method of birth control] even if only potentially. Abortion in this case is almost a symbolic procreation: permitting the capacity to procreate to be tested while ensuring the control of fertility" (Morokvašić 1981, 139). Abortion thus becomes a deeply ambivalent experience: it corrects a failed *coitus interruptus*, but restores traditional gender power structures.

6. *NTM* as oppositional discourse to cultural taboos around abortion

The notion of shame appears to be a common feature of cultural taboos (St. Erlich 1971). Women who evade male control or breach the traditional rules are accused of "bringing shame to the family" ("sramotiš nam porodicu" or "nanositi sramotu"). Women are to endure abortion in silence in order to preserve the dominant gender relations and not to expose themselves to shame.

As Morokvašić (1981) and Drezgić (2010) demonstrate, Serbian women's practice of abortion as a method of birth control gives different meaning to abortion. The *NTM* translators make a careful selection of personal stories related to abortion. Although *OBOS* contains a number of stories where women evoke the notion of a baby's or foetal soul, prayers, or even murder – products of religious and anti-abortion rhetoric – *NTM* omits them and adapts only those stories which avoid religious discourses. As the discussions above indicate, in socialist Yugoslavia, abortion was so frequent that it had become "part of the traditional cultural inventory of the Yugoslavs" even in those regions where religious influence was stronger, such as Catholic and Muslim areas: limiting family size took precedence and every pregnancy was not seen as a "gift from God" (Morokvašić 1981, 129-130).

Rather than religious discourses of punishment, women in Serbia have more likely been exposed to harsh judgmental attitudes by medical staff and demographers, for at least as long as abortion has been legal. The tone of the study on abortion in the 1990s by Serbian demographer Mirjana Rašević illustrates some of those long-standing attitudes, as does the self-help literature from the 1970s and 1980s I discuss in chapter four. Specifically, Rašević writes:

> [T]he number of terminated pregnancies in Serbia is so high nowadays that the proportions are epidemic. […] Abortion [a method many rely on] runs counter the *civilization's achievements* [and] it is the least acceptable method for moral reasons and even more so for its potentially harmful effects at the individual and social levels (1993, 1; my emphasis).[36]

While demographic discourses in the 1990s often included a more moralizing tone (Drezgić 2004a), women who had abortions did not express the kind of guilt and fear of committing a sin often found in American literature, including *OBOS* (Drezgić 2004a; Rašević 1993; Morokvašić 1981).[37] For example, for most interviewed women in Drezgić's study, "abortion does not represent a moral dilemma or psychological trauma," and some "are even surprised when such issues are brought up to their attention" (Drezgić 2004a, 202). Rather than including personal stories that reference such notions as sin, soul, and prayer, which would likely appear strange and foreign to women readers in Serbia, *NTM* is more concerned with the emotional abuse women experience at the hands of the medical staff:

> During my last abortion, while they were putting me to sleep, I couldn't bare to be awake… just before I went under, the doctor said to me: 'This is your third abortion, right? Do you at all use some form of contraception? (AWC 2001, 363).

[36] The original in Serbian is as follows: "broj namernih prekida trudnoće je u Srbiji veliki i danas i to u toj meri da se može govoriti o epidemijskim razmerama njegove rasprostranjenosti […] Abortus nije logično rešenje dileme o vidu kontrole radjanja ne samo što je civilizacijski i moralno najmanje prihvatljiv kao grub način regulisanja plodnosti već, pre svega, zbog potencijalnih posledica koje se tiču i individue i društva (Rašević 1993, 1).

[37] While it can certainly be said that American women are not a homogenous group and that their concerns with religious values vary greatly, my main argument that I am advancing here is that when dealing with abortion, American women, regardless of their attitudes to religion, cannot escape the strong anti-abortion rhetoric that is primarily championed by religious groups in the United States. This type of backlash has been discussed by Faludi (1992) for example, among others.

Such a personal story would resonate much more with women who have become accustomed to using abortion as a birth control method and among a population where it is not infrequent to encounter women who have had 18 to 20 abortions in their reproductive lifetime (see Drezgić 2004a, 199; Kapor-Stanulović and David 1999, 301; Rašević 1993, 145). Or as one Belgrade woman explained in the 1970s: "Termination of pregnancy, as painful as it can be, is more bearable than the [bureaucratic] procedure we are put through beforehand" (Todorović 1977, 27).

However, I would argue that *NTM* misses a number of opportunities to address the persistent treatment of abortion as a cultural taboo in Serbian society. In the short section on *coitus interruptus* in chapter 11, *NTM* does not take the opportunity to highlight the links between abortion and failed *coitus interruptus*, nor does it interrogate women's hesitation to use contraceptives (AWC 2001, 291). It leaves unquestioned the particular dynamic that characterizes traditional gender relations, including male control of the couple's sexuality and fertility, and male resistance to contraception. Moreover, women's refusal to use medical methods of contraception for the sake of preserving their "femininity" is not probed, and the specific role of abortion in maintaining a fine balance in traditional gender relations is left unchallenged. Such areas of inquiry represent potential opportunities for meaningful and "contextualized" consciousness-raising for *NTM*.

Another example includes a paragraph entitled "Men and contraception." The text begins with: "In our society many women and men assume that women are responsible for pregnancy prevention" (AWC 2001, 228). While such an attitude may be more prevalent with urban couples, and specifically with younger couples who have greater access to contraception, as Morokvašić and Drezgić have shown, a significant portion of the female population in Serbia has

relied for decades on men, through the practice of *coitus interruptus*, to protect them from an unwanted pregnancy.

In her study, Morokvašić concludes that, "Yugoslav women have first to start asking themselves questions about their roles and their relationships with men. Being able to question age-old norms that regulate their own and their men's behavior is a first step toward change" (1981, 141). In this sense, the main purpose of *NTM*, within the Serbian context, is not so much to present women's battle for abortion access as crucial to their liberation, but rather to encourage them to question the *status quo* in traditional gender relations and importantly, to see the changing access to abortion as part of the larger picture of the politics of reproduction.

Conclusion

As Belgrade feminist activists became better trained and as they developed more feminist knowledge in the resistance to the changing politics of reproduction, they faced bolder government policies and church discourses which reduced women to their roles of sacrificing mothers for the benefit of the nation, further relegating them to the domestic or private sphere. In this context, the main role of *NTM* was to provide an oppositional discourse, but one that avoided direct politicization. While the effectiveness of such an approach can be questioned, for the AWC activists the most important objective was to create a feminist source on women's health that encouraged consciousness-raising without becoming overtly political.

In chapter four, I compare and contrast *NTM* with a number of different self-help books on women's health, available to women in Yugoslavia and Serbia before the 1990s, which in many ways upheld traditional gender relations.

Chapter 4:

Naša tela, mi and Women's Reproductive Health and Sexuality in Yugoslav Feminism

"[…] we wanted to make a book that would be accessible to all women, or at least to most women, and we wanted them to understand it. This meant that we needed to use so-called colloquial[1] phrases, and we know that the American literature on health is often based on Latin […] and Latin terms are taken up in English too, so we worked on that too."[1]

Stanislava Otašević (Interview)

Introduction

In this chapter, I trace the recent history of Yugoslav feminists' engagement with the questions of women's health, which largely focused on women's reproductive health, including reproductive rights. As is often the case, discussions of women's health centred on women's reproductive health since it is a complex and life-defining dimension of many women's lives whether they have children or not. In order to situate *Naša Tela, Mi* (*NTM*) within the larger picture of Yugoslav feminism, and subsequent Serbian feminism, and to assess its contribution to feminist knowledge in the country, I examine a number of texts published in the 1970s and the 1980s, which provide the background for *NTM*'s publication. This critical look back at the intellectual history sheds light on the earlier developments and transnational feminist connections, which gave shape to the Serbian feminism of the 1990s.

[1] The original in Serbian is as follows: "[…] mi smo htele da napravimo knjigu koja je pristupačna svakoj ženi ili bar većini žena i da je razumeju, znači potrebno je bilo koristiti narodne izraze, da ih tako nazovem, a znamo da je američka literatura o zdravlju uglavnom na latinskom se bazira i ima uglavnom ne prevod, preuzet latinski u engleski jezik, tako da smo mi naročitu pažnju tu posvetile."

This chapter first gives a brief overview of Yugoslav feminism of the 1970s and 1980s and identifies some of its main feminist scholars and activists. It then narrows down the focus to two women's journals (*Žena* and *Bazar*), which, thanks to their editors, created a platform for some of the first explicitly feminist writings on reproductive health and sexuality. In the third section of this chapter, I discuss literature on women's health read by Yugoslav women in the 1970s and the 1980s, a period immediately preceding the 1990s, when the AWC decided to translate and publish *NTM*.[2]

My analysis of four specific books on women's health and well-being is intended to shed light on the kind of literature available to Yugoslav women (including women in Serbia) at the time. In order to be able to assess the significance of *NTM* for the readers and its unique contribution to the production of feminist knowledge, I needed to understand what other literature existed. I chose these four self-help books based on their popularity as measured in high print runs and numerous editions, as well as references to them found in other literature, interviews, and archives. During my interviews with the *NTM* translators, they mentioned several times that *NTM* was a unique women's self-help book on health in Serbia, and previously, in Yugoslavia. This assertion led me to wonder what was available to women before *NTM*'s publication. I complete this section with a comparative analysis between the selected four books and *NTM*, paying special attention to the radical content that *NTM* brings (ie. information on taboo topics such as abortion, reproductive rights, lesbianism, and female pleasure), the content that *NTM* omits, as well as the style and tone particular to the feminist publications.

[2] Since the publication of *NTM* in 2001, there have been many more direct translations of women's health and sexuality literature (such as *Women's Bodies, Women's Wisdom* by Christiane Northrup) as well as new editions of *Knjiga za svaku ženu* (A Book for Every Woman). However, I restrict my search to literature in the 1970s and the 1980s since this is the period which would have directly shaped Yugoslav feminists' (and women's in general) knowledge of women's health.

The chapter ends with a sociolinguistic analysis of three key words that appear in *NTM*: "vulva," "hymen" and "abortion." I investigate the translators' struggles to decouple the notion of shame from the language used to name female genitals illustrating the extent to which language is shaped by patriarchal traditions, as well as the difficulty of establishing feminist translation practices when there are few, if any, alternatives to misogynist terms. I trace the etymological roots of the vulva and hymen to argue that patriarchal language and customs not only appropriate and degrade female bodies by associating them with shame; they also take away women's ability to name their own genitals, creating a barrier to women's knowledge about their bodies and pleasures. The third word is abortion, which is key to *OBOS* and women's reproductive rights. In Serbian, there are two words which can denote the procedure: "abortus," a more technical and medical term, and "pobačaj" which carries more negative connotations. Throughout this analysis, I juxtapose the use of these words in *NTM* and the four self-help books.

My interest in language issues is informed by a large body of literature on women and language, including some key authors such as Luce Irigaray, Nicole Brossard, Louky Bersianik, Adrienne Rich, and Dale Spender, among others. These authors argue that language is created by men and is meant to reflect men's realities and ideas, excluding women's particular perspectives. With regard to translation, scholars studying translation and gender show that meaning is not transparent and that a translation cannot be a simple representation or reflection of meaning in the original text; rather, feminist translators must intervene in the text either to expose or to eliminate the misogynist terms in the original text (Ergun 2015; Flotow 1997; Simon 1996; Godard 1990). Feminist translators view *conventional* language they are working in as *patriarchal* language, which either needs to be reformed or completely revamped, depending on the feminist translator's approach (Flotow 1997, 8-9). This conventional patriarchal language

names men's realities but excludes, insults and trivializes women and their experiences (Flotow 1997, 9). These feminist insights on language and translation call for further attention to the ways in which the *NTM* translators were able to grapple with misogynist terms in Serbian.

My main argument in this chapter is that *NTM* is the first major feminist text in the Serbian language to deal with women's reproductive health and sexuality. Translated exclusively by women for women, it stands apart from the previous health manuals available to women in the former Yugoslavia and Serbia. Importantly, *NTM* breaks a number of cultural taboos by addressing topics such as female pleasure, lesbian relationships, masturbation, and abortion as did *OBOS*. The taboo status confined these topics to the private sphere for decades. As I show in this chapter, the Yugoslav feminists begin to engage with the concerns around women's health but only gradually and sporadically. Taboo topics are left largely unexamined, although a review of the feminists' textual production and activism suggests that they were certainly moving in this direction. Their focus on women's health intensified in the late 1980s. Yet it was only in the next decade that feminists become completely absorbed in women's reproductive health and sexuality concerns. The wars of the 1990s, and the violence against women that they unleashed, created an urgency of unprecedented proportions and a fast-growing need to develop feminist sources of knowledge both for daily practical activism and theoretical reflection.

1. Yugoslav feminism of the 1970s and 1980s

During the Cold War, Yugoslavia had the most outspoken and the most organized feminist movement among the socialist countries (Benderly 1997a, 183). Yugoslavia had a special status as a non-aligned member and remained firmly outside direct Soviet rule. Under

these conditions, critical dissident voices began to organize into new mass social movements ("novi društveni pokreti") that revolved specifically around social issues (Tomić and Atanacković 2009, 7). Yugoslav feminism traces its roots back to these critical dissident voices, and not unlike American second wave feminism, which had strong ties to the New Left, civil rights, and anti-war protest movements of the 1960s (Hayden 1994; Gitlin 1987), it coalesced around critiques of the state, albeit a socialist one. In the mid-1970s, Yugoslav neofeminism – "neo" or "new" compared to the feminist movements of the early 20th century (see Schwartz and Thorson 2014) – began as a small, urban and mostly academic movement. It would later spread to other spheres of society and eventually spawn numerous women's groups and organizations in the 1990s (Stojčić 2009; Blagojević 1998).

As a socialist country, Yugoslavia shared some of its ideological and economic approaches with communist Eastern Bloc countries, but the Yugoslav workers' self-management socialist system kept Yugoslav communism under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito at a distance from the stranglehold of the Soviet communism (Liotta 2001; Estrin 1991). Moreover, as a member of the non-aligned movement during the Cold War with a unique foreign policy and a position apart from both First and Second Worlds, Yugoslavia provided opportunities for many of its citizens to travel abroad, most notably to Western Europe and the United States – an unimaginable privilege for the vast majority of Eastern Bloc citizens (Dević 1997, 143). Through these travels to the United States and Western Europe, young, educated women encountered feminist literature and feminist theories, and began to explore their applicability to the Yugoslav case (Stojčić 2009, 113).

Western feminist literature produced in the heady 1960s and 1970s found its way to Yugoslav bookstores and universities either through published translations or Yugoslav scholars'

own translations and interpretations, providing a growing impetus for local feminist debates and activities. Starting in the mid- to late-1970s, Yugoslav academic journals regularly published French, Italian, British, American, and other feminist articles and book excerpts (Milić 2011, 57). Translation flows from this period of time point to the growing interest of Yugoslav scholars in Western literature, continuing the same trend seen in the 19th and early 20th centuries when youth educated in the imperial capital cities[3] brought and translated literature and progressive ideas from Central and Western Europe (Schwartz and Thorson 2014; Božinović 1996).

Yugoslav feminists from the mid-1970s to early 1980s, concentrated mostly on producing critical feminist analyses and succeeded in garnering a reaction: "The feminist pen provoked a fierce backlash in the academy, the media, and the organs of the Yugoslav state, including the official communist women's conference" (Benderly 1997a, 186).[4] As Yugoslavia's self-managed socialist system experienced an economic crisis in the 1980s, the state sought to increase intellectual pluralism in order to discuss it and appease the people's growing discontent. This development translated into a multiplication of media outlets that gave feminist writers an opportunity to introduce feminist ideas to the general public. Feminists in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade resorted to the same tactics by writing regularly for mass-market magazines and introducing feminist ideas to wide readerships (Lóránd 2014; Benderly 1997a).

A number of prominent feminists began their feminist engagement precisely by publishing in mainstream magazines for women and men, in the 1970s. Their articles often reported on the contemporary American feminist movement and included information on

[3] Such as Budapest and Vienna, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
[4] Benderly is referring to "the official communist women's conference" which was the official women's organization (Conference for the Social Activity of Women or Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena) subsumed under the governing Communist Party of Yugoslavia and was tasked with addressing women's issues. It was not an independent body and was sometimes viewed as a puppet organization of the communist regime. For this reason it was criticized by Yugoslav and foreign feminists (see Bonfiglioli 2012, 2008).

feminist publications such as the 1976 *Hite Report on Female Sexuality* by Shere Hite. These Yugoslav feminists had to strike "a delicate balance between 'straight reporting' and [the] introduction of feminist themes" for fear of a backlash from government officials (Benderly 1994, 72). But more than just reporting on the events, they studied the ideas of American radical feminists and British socialist feminists. This interest led to a series of translations of some key theoretical texts (whole or in part), which were published in academic and Marxist journals in Yugoslavia. Translations of works by Sheila Rowbotham, Juliet Mitchell, and Evelyne Reed stimulated a critique of socialism and women's status in Yugoslavia, starting in the mid-1970s. Yugoslav feminists charged that basic rights, such as the legal equality ascribed to women and men by the communist government, did not guarantee real gender equality, and therefore, new ways needed to be found to deal with the woman question at the heart of Yugoslav socialist policies (Lóránd 2014, 83).

In Belgrade, the late sociologist Žarana Papić, psychologist Lepa Mladjenović, philosopher Nadežda Četković, and editor and sociologist Neda Todorović, among others, published often in *NIN*, *Politika*, and *Duga* and similar mainstream magazines. In Ljubljana, feminist publicist and academic Vlasta Jalušič and sociologist Silva Mežnarić published in *Teleks*, *Mladina*, and *Delo*, while in Zagreb, feminist journalist and novelist Slavenka Drakulić and prominent reporters and editors Vesna Kesić, Jasmina Kuzmanović, Alemka Lisinski wrote, not without controversy, and at times with difficulty, articles on feminism for mass market magazines such as *Start*, *Danas*, and *Svijet*, some of which also included heterosexual pornography for men (Benderly 1994, 71; Lóránd 2014).

In 1977, Neda Todorović wrote one of the first radical feminist articles in *NIN* entitled "The master of her own body " ("Svoga tela gospodar"). In the article, she reported on a draft

bill, which eliminated the need for medical abortion committees that granted permissions for pregnancy termination, and made the pregnant woman the sole decision-maker in the first ten weeks of pregnancy. This draft bill followed in the footsteps of the liberal and human-rights approach to abortion adopted in the 1974 federal Yugoslav constitution. Todorović applauded this new piece of legislation and traced the history of abortion criminalization and the subsequent decriminalization in Yugoslavia. She further illustrated the absurdity of the situation in which a woman was treated like a child because she had to depend on the committee's decision instead of her own will. Todorović concludes that the Yugoslav woman was on the threshold of sexual emancipation, a process which could be successful only if she alone decided whether or not to carry her pregnancy to term, instead of her husband or the law (1977, 28). This piece of journalistic writing is significant in that it informed the magazine's large female readership of the important legal changes to a practice that affected some 300,000 Yugoslav women seeking abortion services every year (1977, 28). But more than just reporting, Todorović provides a feminist reading of the events and frames the legal changes within the wider history of women's oppression. Moreover, it is significant that this new law was adopted just a few years after the liberalization of abortion laws in other European countries, such as France in 1974 but also in the United States after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision in 1973.

The growing interest in feminism among Yugoslav women, although restricted to small academic and journalistic circles, converged at a landmark international conference held in Belgrade in 1978, entitled "Comrade woman – woman's question – new approach" ("Drug-ca žena – žensko pitanje – novi pristup"). The conference brought together international feminist scholars from Italy, France, the U.K., Poland, Germany, as well as scholars interested in

feminism from across Yugoslavia.[5] This conference is largely credited for bringing together for the first time women and some men engaged in critical reading, thinking, and writing about feminism across Yugoslavia. In the words of Rada Iveković: "Before the conference we did not exist, we [feminists] *happened during that conference*" (Bonfiglioli 2008, 86; emphasis in original).[6] The conference provided a crucial backdrop for discussions about patriarchy, feminism and Marxism, psychoanalysis, sexuality, language, women's double or triple burden (wage work, housework, and reproductive work and child care), the continuation of traditional roles for women and men in society, violence against women, and the public/private split in women's lives (Stojčić 2009, 116). It was also the first time in decades that the state's treatment of the woman question was challenged and criticized; for Yugoslav feminists, the woman question was far from resolved under socialism (Papić 1989, 95). Importantly, the conference exposed sharp differences between Western European feminists and Yugoslav feminists. The latter lacked experience in activism and struggled to address issues traditionally confined to the private sphere. As one conference participant described it, they were "less at ease" because they followed a certain "discipline" according to which "we do not speak of women's sexuality;" but once they did start speaking about it, it all seemed "a bit taboo" (Bonfiglioli 2008, 80). Because these taboos were so deeply entrenched, Yugoslav feminists struggled to find their voice on these topics.

That the conference helped to give definitive form to Yugoslav feminism can be seen in the flurry of organized activity that followed. In 1979, feminist scholars in Zagreb founded a feminist group called Woman and Society (Žena i društvo). The Belgrade feminists soon

[5] For a detailed discussion of the conference, see Bonfiglioli (2008).
[6] The original text is as follows: "Pre konferencije mi nismo postojale. Mi *smo* se *dogodile tokom te konferencije*. Nismo se poznavale, Žarana nas je sve okupila na jednom mestu, i nismo bile grupa. Nismo imale svest da možemo nešto da predstavljamo. Tokom te konferencije, shvatile smo da nas ima mnogo, i da svaka od nas radi nešto za feminizam" (Bonfiglioli 2008, 86; emphasis in the original).

followed with their own organization, also called Woman and Society (Žena i društvo), in 1980. In Ljubljana, an informal feminist group called Lilith was established in 1985, and next came the first lesbian group in 1987, Lilith LL (Papić 1989, 96-97).[7] Throughout the early 1980s, these groups organized regular public forums ("tribine"), which dealt with women's sexuality, reproductive rights, sexist language, and sexual violence, among other topics (Vušković and Trivunac 1998, 47-48).

Belgrade feminist Lepa Mladjenović brought attention to women's health with her participation in international gatherings and exchange programs. Following the principle "sisterhood is global," numerous international meetings were held in the 1980s in the attempt to link feminists around the world (Morgan 1984). In 1985, Mladjenović attended an Isis International exchange program, a women's advocacy organization formed in the 1970s, on women's health in Geneva where she had the opportunity to meet with various international women's health activists. She was often the only participant from an Eastern European country. Mladjenović describes the visit to Geneva's women's health collective, the pioneering Swiss Dispensaire des femmes, co-founded by Rina Nissim (see Nissim 2014), as life-changing. Upon her return, she attempted to form casual consciousness-raising groups in which women tried to break barriers and talk amongst themselves about abortion. The international gatherings inspired her to organize public forums. In particular, in March and April of 1986, forums were held on "Women and Health" at the Student Cultural Centre (Studentski kulturni centar, SKC) in Belgrade, which was at the time, the main space for alternative culture and which remains an iconic place in Yugoslavia's history. The fact the Belgrade Woman and Society group was

[7] See also Božinović (1996), Benderly (1997a, 1994), Blagojević (1998), Stojčić (2009).
The history of feminist activism in former Yugoslavia and in Serbia can also be found on the Autonomous Women's Centre's website:
http://www.womenngo.org.rs/zenski-pokret/istorija-zenskog-pokreta

associated with SKC positioned the feminists' work as countercultural and outside the state-sanctioned Conference for the Social Activity of Women (CSAW). Adriana Zaharijević argues that because the Belgrade Woman and Society group was "un-institutional" it was treated as "apolitical" by the communist authorities; however, on the contrary, it was "political in a thoroughly new and subversive way," a form of dissidence, and a precursor of the civic activism of the 1990s (Zaharijević 2013, 10). In 1987, Mladjenović attended the fourth International Women's Health meeting in Costa Rica where she met Norma Swenson, one of the members of the Boston Women's Health Book Collective, the very organization responsible for the creation of *OBOS*.

The Yugoslav feminists continued to develop their own feminist theories but began to extend their work into more practical activism. Located in capital cities of the Yugoslav republics, they developed friendships and collaborated with each other. Their collaboration was further strengthened with the establishment of the Yugoslav Feminist Network, with annual meetings held in Ljubljana in 1987, Zagreb in 1988, Belgrade in 1990, and lastly, in Ljubljana again 1991. The disintegration of Yugoslavia and the growing ethno-nationalist tension broke up the feminist network.[8] The women would re-connect several years later but in much more difficult circumstances in the aftermath of violent wars. Before the final break-up of Yugoslavia, however, feminists established the first SOS hotlines for women and children victims of domestic and sexual violence: Zagreb in 1988, Ljubljana in 1989, and Belgrade in 1990.[9]

Between 1986 and 1988, Mladjenović and a number of other Belgrade feminists conducted three surveys. The last survey in 1988 addressed women's health and violence against

[8] For a detailed account of the political positionings of different Belgrade and Zagreb feminist groups before and after the war as well as of their now well-known split, see Miškovska Kajevska (2014).
[9] For the history of the SOS hotline in Belgrade, see the handbook prepared by the group: http://www.sostelefon.org.rs/publikacije/publikacije.htm

women. Although informal, it is one of the first such feminist inquiries. The survey paid particular attention to women's experiences, and women revealed candidly their frustrations. The opening of an SOS hotline for women victims of violence in Belgrade in 1990 proved to be a much-needed service. The SOS centre received 600 calls in the first six months and 6,000 calls in the first five years (Mladjenović 1999a, 11). Mladjenović's approach made an important connection between violence against women and women's health already before the wars of the 1990s. In addition to Mladjenović, Serbian scholar Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović made significant contributions to the study of violence against women in the late 1980s and onwards, and already in 1989 was arguing that forced abortion and the refusal of access to abortion services constituted criminal acts and examples of violence against women (1989, 24). The SOS hotlines were a culmination of a strong desire to act on feminist principles and to engage in practical feminist efforts towards societal change. This work would prove prescient given the widespread use of sexual violence against women during the wars of the 1990s. The Yugoslav feminists had unknowingly begun to prepare themselves by building a feminist activist foundation for the work that awaited them with the arrival of thousands of refugees, many of whom were survivors of wartime sexual violence.

2. Early feminist writing on reproductive health and sexuality in *Žena* and *Bazar*

It is only in 1986 that a communist party-affiliated journal *Žena* (Woman) published an issue dedicated to the topic of women and health (*Žena*, vol. 44, no. 1). From 1957 onward, the journal *Žena* was published by the Zagreb section of the socialist Conference for the Social

Activity of Women.[10] As a state organization, the Conference espoused a traditional, socialist approach, which maintained that the woman question was to be solved by the wider socialist revolution, and therefore, subsumed under the socialist fight. Nevertheless, *Žena* allowed the space for younger intellectuals to publish occasional articles on the "new" feminism. As Jill Benderly observes, *Žena* was an intellectual space where feminists were able to contribute texts critical of the state. In response, socialist anti-feminists could criticize this point of view, but importantly, there was no direct government censorship, only a kind of "repressive tolerance" (1994, 187).

A frequent contributor to *Žena* was sociologist Gordana Cerjan-Letica, who sharpened the journal's focus on reproductive health (Lóránd 2014, 331).[11] At times, however, tensions arose between the antifascist generation of women, who had fought in the Second World War, and younger feminists who were growing up in socialist Yugoslavia (Lóránd 2014). Running between 1957 and 1990, the journal served as a platform for a younger feminist generation to develop their analyses and writing skills which would prepare them for the intense feminist activism of the 1980s (Bonfiglioli 2012, 52).

Žena published a series of articles on the contemporary American feminist movement.[12] Starting in the mid-1970s, the first exploratory articles began to appear, presenting new concepts such as sexism, as well as academic programs such as women's studies (1976, vol. 5). There were also occasional visits by American feminists such as the one by feminist scholar Sheila Tobias to *Žena*'s editorial team in 1976. Tobias had previously been involved in the

[10] *Žena* is a continuation of the journal *Žena u borbi* (Woman in combat), which was founded in 1943. The Conference for the Social Activity of Women was a state organization and a descendent of the Antifascist Front of Women (Antifašistički front žena, AFŽ), which was founded during WWII and comprised women fighters, "partizanke," with close to two million women members (Jancar-Webster 1999). During the post-war years, the AFŽ lost its autonomy and was transformed into the Conference as a communist party organ (Milić 2011).
[11] For a detailed analysis of the Yugoslav feminists' writing in mass media newspapers and theoretical journals, see Lóránd (2014) and Todorović (1987).
[12] See issues in 1976, vol. 34, no. 1 and 5, among others.

establishment of the women's studies program at Cornell University in 1971. Following her visit, Cerjan-Letica published an article in *Žena* (1976) discussing American feminism and outlining the main phases of the movement. Cerjan-Letica discussed women in the workforce and education. Upon her return to the United States, Tobias also published an article, "International Notes," on Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, countries she had visited during her "international" tour. The fact that Tobias's tour was arranged by the United States Information Agency, a government body in charge of promoting American policies and culture abroad in direct competition with the Soviet influence, is troubling and sheds a different light on this way of channeling information on feminism.[13] Interestingly, in her article, Tobias is highly critical of the Yugoslav women's lack of engagement with "psychological issues" by which she means "the subject of male-female socialization" (1977, 704). Although she found women to agree with her point of view, she writes, there was no interest to analyze it further. Tobias, however, warns presciently of future struggles for women's reproductive rights in the countries she visited: "I found motherhood considered everywhere as essential for every female. There is concern for underpopulation that bodes ill for abortion rights" (1977, 705). In view of the post-socialist ethno-demographic warnings that would gain force in the 1990s, this observation proved disturbingly accurate.

Tobias's article is an excellent example of the different approaches to women's issues. While at times Tobias assumes a clearly patronizing approach to Yugoslav, Czechoslovakian, and Hungarian women (who remain nameless), calling them out for not tackling the issue of male-female socialization, she also cites Eastern European women who retorted by stressing the central role economic inequality and capitalist exploitation played in the lives of women. Such

[13] See Osgood (2006) for a highly critical analysis of the Agency's problematic role in promoting American propaganda and its relation to similar Soviet strategies.

confrontations in the mid-1970s provided a glimpse of future misunderstandings between feminists in the "East" and the "West" (see Ghodsee 2004; Busheikin 1997; Drakulić 1993; Funk 1993).

By the time the *Žena* issue on women and health came out in 1986, it was a long overdue articulation of the relationship between the two in strictly feminist terms. In the introduction to the 1986 issue, Cerjan-Letica wrote that the international women's health movement challenged the traditional conception of health as the absence of disease, which still dominated biomedical practices (1986, 23). Rather, health constituted the "preservation of psychological and physical integrity and control over one's body" (Cerjan-Letica 1986, 23; my translation).[14] Cerjan-Letica's study of the American feminist movement guided her choice of texts for translation (Lóránd 2014, 73-75). She was also influenced by *OBOS* and her own experience of consciousness-raising: "[A] friend gave me the first copy of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. I saw how a women's movement can be organised along the issue of women's health, this book was very important to me" (quoted in Lóránd 2014, 323).

It is worthwhile noting that this issue of *Žena* included a piece by Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, "The 'Sick' Women of the Upper Classes," from a collection of essays entitled *The Cultural Crisis in Modern Medicine* (1978) and edited by John Ehrenreich. Cerjan-Letica introduces Ehrenreich's piece as a widely read and cited "classic" (Cerjan-Letica 1986, 24). Articles by American scholars Constance Nathanson and Marsden G. Wagner and a West German scholar, Ilona Kickbusch, who are today renowned sociologists and health experts, were also translated and presented. All these texts delved into the topics of women, illness, family, pregnancy and childbirth. In her introduction to these texts, Cerjan-Letica observes that domestic

[14] Although Cerjan-Letica does not cite explicitly the source of this definition, it is a definition of the World Health Organization. See:
http://www.who.int/about/definition/en/print.html

Yugoslav texts on similar topics are sorely missing. This issue of *Žena* also introduced Yugoslav readers to critical Western feminist thought on women's health at a time when women's health issues such as pregnancy and childbirth were generally discussed only in medical terms in few domestic studies on the topic. During this time period, the women's health movement in the United States was experiencing a certain momentum, particularly after the crises caused by the birth-control pill, thalidomide, and Dalkon Shield scares (see Kline 2010 and Morgen 2002). These crises produced an abundance of feminist literature on women and health, some of which was widely read internationally.

This issue is a good illustration of the differences that divided the editorial board of *Žena*. The section with contemporary American texts on women's health is followed by two interviews with female doctors, former members of the Yugoslav antifascist movement, or "partisan doctors" ("partizanske liječnice") who fought in the underground resistance to the Nazis during the Second World War.[15] The interviews with the partisan doctors bring the reader back to the Second World War and the familiar communist metanarrative of war suffering at the hands of fascism. The contrast between the interviews and the American feminist perspectives on women's health are also emblematic of the diverging focus of the older and younger generations. The decidedly American-influenced feminist perspective is once again on display in a later 1986 issue in which Željka Karalić produces one of the first critical evaluations of childbirth experiences in Yugoslavia in her article, "Hospital Birth or Home Birth?" ("Porod u bolnici ili kod kuće?"). She laments the lack of interest among Yugoslav researchers in this area (1986, 39), and in her description of labour in hospitals, goes on to liken the treatment of women to a ritual worthy of repressive institutions (1986, 40). Karalić cites mandatory shaving of genitalia, colon

[15] "Kazivanja partizanskih liječnica (dr Saša Božović i dr Cila Albahari)" [Testimonies of partisan (female) doctors], interviews with Dr. Fric Špicer, *Žena* vol. 44, no. 1, 62-72.

cleansing, forced segregation and isolation. No visitors are allowed for the duration of the new mother's hospital stay, the father is not allowed to witness the birth, and the obstetric department is physically locked to control outside access to visitors.

Karalić's article makes a rare contribution to women's reproductive health. Importantly, she cites the British edition of *OBOS* (1983), edited by Angela Phillips and Jill Rakusen, which was one of the first editions available in Yugoslavia.[16] Like Cerjan-Letica, Karalić shows that in the spaces of *Žena*, despite the traditional socialist party views, a younger generation of feminists was able to explore foreign, notably American feminist texts, specifically with regard to women's health. By publishing these articles, the editors identified not simply the gaps in domestic literature on women's health but also an almost total lack of feminist critical analysis of the issues. Karalić and other young authors appropriated Western terms and frames of critical feminist analysis of women's health and applied it to the Yugoslav context (Lóránd 2014, 335). In this way, the early adoption of concepts and terms from American feminist literature played a role in the subsequent development of Yugoslav feminist thought. There could never be a pure feminism at the local level, but rather, a hybrid, intertextual weaving together of different foreign and domestic conceptualizations.

In addition to *Žena*, other theoretical journals such as *Delo*, *Argumenti*, *Pitanja*, *Student*, *Vidici*, *Polja*, *Gledišta*, *Marksistička misao*, among others, published special issues on the woman question in socialism, the social and political status of women, women's equality, and women's literature. A journal specialized in translations of foreign academic and literary texts, *Marksizam u svetu* (Marxism in the world) published in 1981 an issue on "Women's Studies and the Women's Movement." It featured translated articles by Italian, French, German, Tanzanian,

[16] Lepa Mladjenović also notes that this is the copy that she first encountered in a Sarajevo bookstore in the early 1980s.

British and American authors, including Maria-Antonietta Macciacchi, Sheila Rowbotham, Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, Ida Magli, Ulrike Prokop, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray, and Juliet Mitchell. The articles did not address women's health but presented some of the main feminist theoretical, historical, and analytical work, which was subsequently taken up and adapted by the Yugoslav feminists in various forms. In this way, translation served as an important intellectual exercise, allowing the Yugoslav feminists to incorporate elements that inspired them to reflect on their own domestic situation.

In a Serbian women's fashion magazine *Bazar*, a series of eight articles on sexuality prepared by editor Neda Todorović, also a feminist scholar and activist with the *Woman and Society* group in Belgrade, ran in 1981. The articles included translated quotations from *The Hite Report* (Hite 1976) on female sexuality, Masters and Johnson's findings on female orgasms, as well as some unidentified passages from an edition of *OBOS*. Todorović presented a number of anonymous confessions that included explicit sexual images and storylines as examples of female sexual fantasies. Interestingly, these confessions were in fact excerpts from an edition of *OBOS* (most likely a late 1970s edition). *OBOS* is not listed as a source in this article; however, as I was reading these articles and different *OBOS* editions for my dissertation at the same time, I was able to recognize the identical confessions and their storylines and identify their source.[17] The same passages were later repeated in the 1992 *OBOS* and subsequently appeared in Serbian translation (translated somewhat differently by the *NTM* translators) once again in *NTM* (2001, 154). This series of articles attempts to break the taboos on female sexual pleasure, including gay and lesbian sexuality. The articles are promoted as offering the most updated knowledge about female sexual pleasure as supported by "the most current sexology literature." Todorović describes the information contained in the articles as the "newest trend" coming from the West:

[17] *Bazar*, issue 433, August 27, 1981, 60-61.

she informs her readers that women no longer wish to whisper about private sexual matters but rather wish to speak about them publicly (Todorović 1981, 60). In an interview with feminist scholar Zsófia Lóránd, Todorović explains:

> […] When I became the editor at *Bazar* that was a great chance to give a voice to feminism. We had a [magazine] circulation of 360,000, that means a huge influence. I called Slavenka Drakulić, Vesna Pusić, Sofija Trivunac, Lepa Mladjenović to write for us. Some men were telling me how our feminist articles were outrageous, as *Bazar* is a family magazine, where these themes are inappropriate. I didn't care (2014, 213).

Interestingly, the notion that a magazine, which is a *women's* magazine, is essentially considered a *family* magazine reflects traditional discourses in which a woman's place is necessarily in the home.

Another example is a *Bazar* advice column, "U četiri oka" (or tête-à-tête) that ran in the mid-1980s and was authored by Serbian psychologist Sofija Trivunac. The advice column is an excellent illustration of the sexual repression and abusive relationships that women and girls (but also gay men and boys) endured in Yugoslavia and took for normal. In her replies to the readers seeking advice, Trivunac stressed women's autonomy and encouraged women to embrace their own sexual desires and independence. Women readers in their forties and fifties who wrote to the magazine spoke of decades of servility to their abusive husbands and parents-in-law, while young women in their late teens and early twenties complained of the fear and shame that prevented them from experiencing sexual pleasure, or of long-term relationships with insecure, possessive boyfriends. Women often acknowledged that they lived or grew up in a "patriarchal family" or a "patriarchal tradition" but lacked the means or knowledge to escape their oppressive circumstances.

In her 1987 study of the women's press in Yugoslavia, Neda Todorović is highly critical of women's magazines.[18] Todorović, with experience as editor at *Bazar*, has a deep understanding of the ways in which femininity is reproduced in their pages. Importantly, she makes the connection between women's magazines and the private sphere; magazines draw on the private sphere and remain enclosed in it. Todorović further argues in her study that the model of the advice column is the prime example of how the private sphere dominates the concerns of women readers: "Communication through advice columns, which is typical for 'women's' press, is mainly preoccupied with the private sphere – fashion, cosmetics, kitchen, children's room. This is why the very existence of specialized press for women is a consequence of the existence of two parallel universes: male (public) and female (private)" (1987, 87).[19]

Although *Žena* provided an important space for the introduction of feminist topics and theories, and translations of foreign feminist texts, it also offered a platform for oppositional voices. For example, a well-known critic of feminist ideas, Stipe Šuvar argued in the 1980 issue that the woman question is only one among many others and that it needed to be resolved under the wider socialist approach to the class question. He further contended that socialism had been successful in its treatment of the woman question and that if it had not, it was only because of remaining class divisions – which are remnants of bourgeois structures (1980, 13-15). Ultimately, what was needed, according to Šuvar, was a common struggle led by men *and* women, and not a battle that pitted women *against* men. This distinction is what "feminism

[18] Todorović published a book entitled *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti* [Women's Press and the Culture of Femininity] (1987) which is based on her doctoral dissertation.

[19] The original is as follows: "Komunikacija savetom, tipična za 'žensku' štampu, bavi se pretežno činjenicama privatne sfere – modom, kozmetikom, kuhinjom, dečjom sobom. Zato je već i postojanje izdvojene specijalizovane štampe za žene posledica postojanja dva paralelna univerzuma – muškog (javnog) i ženskog (privatnog)" (Todorović 1987, 87).

including our own local imitators of foreign feminist 'revolutionaries'" does not seem to understand (1980, 19).

The notion that "our" ("naše") feminists were importing a foreign ideology – a *bourgeois* feminism – that had no place in socialist Yugoslavia is a common argument that was often repeated in literature. Croatian journalist, novelist and feminist Slavenka Drakulić rebutted this postulate in her article "Smrtni grijesi feminizma" (Mortal Sins of Feminism) published in 1982 in the newspaper *Danas* and reprinted in Drakulić (1984). Drakulić writes that it is absurd to frame and criticize feminism as "uvozna ideologija" (an imported ideology) just because it seemed to come from developed capitalist countries. If Yugoslav women were to follow that principle, then Marxism – the official and most venerated ideology in Yugoslavia at the time – would also be unacceptable since it too came from the West, because both Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, authors of *The Communist Manifesto* (1948), were German in origin.[20] Lastly, Drakulić exposes the hypocrisy surrounding the emergence of Western New Left protest movements in the late 1960s. Whereas feminism that arose out of the New Left in capitalist countries was considered progressive and leftist, in socialist Yugoslavia, feminism was viewed as "conservative," "suspicious" and "anti-socialist" (1984, 107). Barbara Jancar draws parallels between the American feminism in the 1960s and the Yugoslav feminism in the 1980s. Jancar asserts that in both cases, feminism is a reaction against the established order and "the official response [to feminism] has been either to attempt to laugh the movement off, or to portray its partisans as anti-establishment, 'unwomanly' and 'aggressive'" (1988, 9). Significantly, what was perceived as *radical* feminism in the U.S. had negative connotations as *bourgeois* feminism in Yugoslavia (Jancar 1988, 9).

[20] Drakulić writes that she and many of her generation believed for a long time that Marx and Engels were Russian! (1984, 107).

As Yugoslav feminist activists became increasingly involved with women's reproductive health and sexuality, they also took on the issue of domestic violence against women toward the late 1980s. The establishment of the SOS hotlines was an important milestone in this regard. The hotline was founded just before the ethno-nationalist wars of the 1990s, which the activists did not anticipate. The work of Yugoslav feminists created a foundation for the feminist activists of the 1990s who, under the pressure of working with survivors of domestic violence and wartime sexual violence, were catapulted toward radical feminism.

3. Women's health and sexuality literature in the 1970s and the 1980s

In the following section, I discuss four self-help books that were widely used in many households in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and the 1980s. Two books, *Knjiga za svaku ženu* (A Book for Every Woman) and *Žena i dom* (Woman and Home) are encyclopaedia-type sources which amount to almost 500 pages each, feature many coloured illustrations, and typically combine three topics: house maintenance, woman's health and appearance, and child care. Two other books, *Higijena žene* (Woman's Hygiene) and *Ginekolog za svaku ženu* (Gynecologist for Every Woman) are shorter, soft-cover books, with a few black-and-white drawings of the female anatomy. These focused in great detail on women's health and covered women's reproductive cycles. They advised women to take vacations to improve health but also settled on the centrality of maintaining a good relationship with husbands. All four self-help books are generally prescriptive in tone and address women either in familiar second-person pronouns (you or your) or speak of women in the third person (women, they).

Knjiga za svaku ženu (1951/1986)

Knjiga za svaku ženu (A Book for Every Woman), first published in 1951, was prepared by doctor Drago Chloupek who had worked extensively in Croatian villages before and after the Second World War (1986, 1).[21] The text was primarily written for a rural readership and was set within a post-war context of impoverishment and modest living. In 1951, its first edition sold 300,000 copies and became one of the most successful books in all Yugoslavia. Since then, there have been 29 updated editions, and a total of 650,000 copies have been sold to this day.

The volume covers topics such as nutrition, dental hygiene, cosmetics, safety, agriculture, home repairs, plant-based medicine and marriage. The book is divided into sections entitled "Woman and the Home" (Žena i dom), "Woman as the Homemaker" (Žena domaćica), "Woman as Mother" (Žena majka), "Woman and Health" (Žena i zdravlje), "Woman as Caregiver" (Žena odgojitelj), and "Woman, Fashion, and Sport" (Žena, moda i sport). The chapters in these sections range from furniture organization in the home, to gardening, meal preparation, home repairs, appliances, vacations, and the care of house plants, to love and marriage, contraception, pregnancy, illness, child psychology, knitting, proper posture, and driving. The overall tone of the book is prescriptive. It is complemented by legal information on abortion in Yugoslavia as well as local statistics on abortion. For example, the authors note that the incidence of abortion was on the rise: in 1979 there were 70,000 abortions in Belgrade and 40,000 in Zagreb (1986, 310). The practical information outlining the procedure and potential health consequences for the woman, is prefaced with a discussion on the importance of family planning so as to avoid an unwanted pregnancy as the best health outcome. The book makes a point of explaining to the readers that contraception is an important part of family planning, which is guaranteed under the

[21] The 1986 edition that I studied was the 20th edition of the book and was edited and prepared by Čuča Smokvina Boranić who had taken over after Drago Chloupek's death.

Yugoslav law; however, it also admonishes the Yugoslav population for not using contraceptives such as the birth-control pill, the IUD, or the diaphragm, and for relying on the rhythm method and abortions instead (1986, 310). Therefore, while the contraception and abortion information is detailed and useful, the tone of the book is moralizing, emphasizing the importance of contraception and the dangers of abortion (1986, 312).

Higijena žene (1955/1976)

Higijena žene: kako žena da sačuva svoje zdravlje (Woman's Hygiene: How Woman Can Protect Her Health) is a small, pocket-book size health manual written by another medical doctor, Dr. Blagoje Stambolović. It was first published in 1955 in Belgrade and was a fairly popular health manual. By 1976, it had three editions and six prints for a total of some 60,000 copies. As the author notes in his preface, the book sold steadily over the years and was revised to include not just medical information about the female body and basic hygiene but also, upon the request of his readers, advice on supposedly high rates of sexual frigidity, nutrition, physical exercise, clothes, make-up, facial care, teeth, posture, mental health and sleep, among other topics. In the section entitled "Motherhood as the woman's main natural duty," Stambolović declares that becoming a wife and mother ensures a woman the love and respect of society. Employing the same nation-building imagery that would be resurrected during the ethno-nationalist wars of the 1990s, the author compares motherhood, with all its dangers and sacrifices, to the battles and wounds borne by heroic soldiers (1976, 106).

The section on abortion is very brief and discussed in vague terms. It includes miscarriage, since the term "pobačaj" can mean both miscarriage and an induced termination of

pregnancy (as opposed to spontaneous). The author warns against the dangers of clandestine abortions but also generally views the procedure as very dangerous for women even if performed by a doctor in a medical institution. The procedure is said to carry great risks for the woman, and even if done in hospitals, it can threaten a woman's life. Indeed, the possible complications are so severe that it is best to avoid abortion all together (1976, 108-109). The author paints a scary picture of the procedure and concludes by stating that the legalization of abortion has made the practice more frequent without making it safer. Stambolović refers to the Soviet example without apparent reason or identified source and does not provide any information relevant to the situation in Yugoslavia.[22] For comparison purposes, this assertion can, however, be juxtaposed with a more recent study by Serbian scholar Vera Gudac-Dodić who cites government statistics available at the time, which indicate that in the year 1966 there were 265,224 abortions in Yugoslavia and 145 reported fatalities (0.055%) (2006, 142, 144). The mortality rate of women due to complications at birth in the same year was double in size: 0.11%, that is, 420 deaths for 399,802 births. These statistics contradict Stambolović's assertion in his health manual that abortion, even when legal and performed in hospitals, carries exceptionally high risks for women's lives. Giving birth was more hazardous to women.

[22] Stambolović writes in the original: "Ona je [legalizacija], iako su kiretaže obavljene stručno u bolnici, znači pod najpovoljnijim uslovima, dala veoma nepovoljne rezultate što se tiče posledica po život i zdravlje žene. Bilo je mnogo smrtnosti, i mnogo perforacija materice, i mnogo zapaljenja jajnika, i svih ostalih nepoželjnih posledica pobačaja" (1976, 109). (It [legalization] produced very undesirable results in terms of consequences for women's lives and health, even if curettage was performed by professionals in hospitals, that is, under the best possible conditions. There were many fatalities, and many perforations of the uterus, and many ovarian infections, and all the other undesirable consequences of abortion.)

Žena i dom (1977)

Žena i dom (Woman and the Home) is in many ways similar to *A Book for Every Woman*. This hefty volume tackles the household and domestic life, including practical advice on furniture maintenance, cooking, cleaning, gardening, beauty, fashion, cosmetics, sports, vacation, child care, and children's education. It is an adapted translation from the Italian, *Il grande libro della casa*, originally published in 1973. *Il grande libro della casa* (The Big Book of Home Care) was written by Donna Letizia (pseudonym of Colette Cacciapuoti Rosselli), a well-known Italian writer and illustrator who specialized in publishing books on good manners and *savoir vivre*. This adapted translation has new chapters written by Yugoslav authors.

Interestingly, the introduction is written by Neda Todorović, before she was editor at *Bazar*, and is entitled "Taking a Shortcut Toward Emancipation" ("Prečicom u emancipaciju") Todorović adopts an openly feminist approach to the status of women in Yugoslav society with subheadings such as "women's femininity has strengthened," "obstacles called tradition," "muscles are no longer that important," "housewife: a dying profession," "the future lies outside of the home," "humiliated and insulted," "every child is planned," "parental leave for dads too," and "held back by the family." In her introduction Yugoslav women are positioned as "sisters" to other women around the world who are also fighting for their emancipation (1977, 1). This language, which was common to many American second wave feminists, also illustrates to what extent the message that "sisterhood is global" (Morgan 1984) resonated with Yugoslav feminists.

While this section covers a wide range of topics of women's issues, it makes only a brief mention of women's reproductive rights:

> The constitutional right to a determined number of wanted children assumes that family responsibilities are equally distributed among married and non-married partners. This "right," however is achieved in the worst possible way – by termination of pregnancy, which psycho-physically harms only one person in the couple – the female partner" (1977, 19; my translation).[23]

Here, the author is referring to the constitutional right, which stipulates that family planning is a human right that was introduced by the socialist government in 1974. *Woman and the Home* follows a popular formula, which was successful with Yugoslav female readers for many years, by giving advice and practical information on women's role in the home and on her appearance. In this way, the book remains within the limits of the traditional concept of women as keepers of the hearth even if the introductory section on woman in society boldly promotes women's emancipation in feminist terms.

Ginekolog za svaku ženu (1984)

Ginekolog za svaku ženu (Gynecologist for Every Woman) is also written by a medical doctor, Dr. Radoslav Ninković. The book covers specific topics on women's reproductive health such as female anatomy, sexual health, menstruation, fertility, pregnancy, menopause, and sexually transmitted diseases. The chapter on family planning is framed mostly in terms according to which the state has an important role in setting its own population policy. Contraception is encouraged, but the language used to describe induced termination of pregnancy is harsh at times. The author sees contraception as the only acceptable means of preventing pregnancy and abortion as "the necessary evil" (Ninković 1984, 121). The chapter does not, in fact, inform the reader of the legal regulations that make abortion available to

[23] The original text is as follows: "Ustavno pravo na odredjeni broj željene dece pretpostavlja ravnopravno podeljenu odgovornost bračnih ili vanbračnih partnera. Inače, to "pravo" se ostvaruje na najgore mogući način – prekidom trudnoće, koji psiho-fizički oštećuje samo jednog – ženskog partnera" (1977, 19).

women up to the tenth week from conception. Rather, the chapter is a general discussion on the necessity for family planning through contraception. The author reminds readers that while some countries are facing an explosion in population, small nations (indirectly referring to Yugoslavia) should be able to resort to their own solutions (Ninković 1984, 119). The notion of a population explosion is a veiled reference to poorer, developing countries whose population growth was interpreted as a threat to the planet for a variety of reasons particularly in the 1960s and the 1970s. However, such a population discourse was grounded in "a myth based in racism" (Sethna 2006, 100). The author stresses the Yugoslav citizen's constitutional right to family planning but admonishes the high rates of abortion in the country: "Unfortunately despite the efforts to implement planning and contraception, termination of pregnancy is in our country still the most massively used method of family planning" (Ninković 1984, 119).[24] The chapter is also critical of the role of the newspapers in frightening women away from using contraception given their reporting on negative side effects of the birth control pill, for example.[25]

All four self-help books follow a similar pattern by going into great detail about the maintenance of women's physical appearance and concern about beauty. The authors speak only of heterosexual relationships and in their choice of vocabulary, address women as married mothers. Aesthetics assume a central theme as the authors encourage women to dedicate themselves to perfectly groomed homes and bodies. Appearing well dressed and beautiful is viewed as intrinsic to a woman's health and sexuality. This approach follows a very similar

[24] The original text is as follows: "Na žalost i pored napora na planiranju i uvodjenju kontracepcije, prekid trudnoće je kod nas jos uvek najmasovniji način planiranja porodice" (Ninković 1984, 119).
[25] In Western Europe and North America, the scare over the birth control lasted between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s. Barbara Seaman's 1969 book *The Doctors' Case Against the Pill* marked the beginning of the scare due to her exposure of fatal complications and negative effects of the birth control pill (for example, blood clots, hemorrhage, stroke, heart disease, depression, weight gain, reduced sex drive) (Sethna 2006, 98). The Yugoslav press would have certainly reported on it, and Ninković seems to be referring to those reports in his text.

pattern found in women's magazines in Yugoslavia, including the Serbia of today. Neda Todorović argued in the 1980s that women's magazines were based on understanding women as essential to the private sphere, which remains "timeless" and "disconnected" from the public sphere of politics (1987, 10).[26] The magazines confine women to domesticity, and are preoccupied with announcements about upcoming summer or fall fashion collections. Todorović argues that women's magazines essentially collude to keep women "uniformed" of political events (1987, 10). Similarly to women's magazines, the four self-help books treat women's health and sexuality as apolitical. They, with some small exceptions, do not challenge the *status quo*. On the contrary, they encourage women to adopt traditional values.

While having two children was an unofficial norm in Yugoslavia (Blagojević 2014, 390), for many decades there has been relatively little discussion devoted to family planning despite the importance it is accorded in the aforementioned books. The government health authorities remained concerned about women's refusal to use contraceptives but provided little in the form of comprehensive sexual education that would have informed women and men about the different methods of birth control (Gudac-Dodić 2006, 146). Given the fact that abortion was decidedly the number one method of family planning for decades and contraceptives were not widely available or used, these books provide inadequate information about various methods of birth control. On the contrary, the authors of these books seem very concerned about the "alarming" rates of abortion in the country. Their position, however, does reflect the government health authorities' growing concerns in the 1970s and 1980s that only a greater use of contraceptives could reduce the rates of abortion and stop it from being a "necessary evil in

[26] Todorović bases some of her conclusions on the work of Marjorie Ferguson and her notion of the "Cult of Femininity" ("kultura ženstvenosti") (1987, 3).

massive proportions" (Gudac-Dodić 2006, 145).[27] Nevertheless, women continued to resist the use of contraceptives: only 20% of women in Belgrade used them in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Gudac-Dodić 2006, 145).

All four self-help books address topics believed to be confined to the private sphere and provide answers to the most intimate questions about the female body and sexuality but only within the frame of marriage and family life. Although they discuss women's professional and work obligations, the home remains the principal landscape onto which the image of the woman is superimposed. The manuals' attention to the home reaffirms the assumption that it is every woman's essential habitat. Taking care of the home is just as valuable as taking care of a woman's feminine appearance. The lines are blurred between the woman's body and her home, as both must become the foci of her meticulous care and maintenance. The female reader is thus invited to become an active and responsible agent in her own self-improvement project. Her health and sexuality are largely reduced to her reproductive health, and female sexuality is interpreted primarily through the lens of heterosexual romantic relationships. In all four self-help books, termination of pregnancy is depicted in terms that emphasize the harm and risk to a woman's health, and high rates of abortion are described as an "epidemic" that is pernicious to society, even when contraceptives are largely unavailable and/or resisted.

[27] Gudac-Dodić is quoting here a government document from 1970. The original in Serbian is as follows: "Pobačaj je zlo koje u savremenom društvu prestaje da bude nužno zlo u masovnim razmerama" (2006, 145).

4. *Naša tela, mi* (2001)

NTM stands apart radically from the other books available to Serbian women. First, *NTM* addresses a number of topics that were certainly taboo in Yugoslav culture for decades. Second, it rejects a traditional framing of women's roles. Third, it includes some personal testimonies of women about their health and sexuality together with medical information in understandable terms. Lastly, *NTM* addresses its readers using first-person plural pronouns, "we" and "our" and adopts a general feminist stance that emphasizes women's own agency. What can be immediately observed is that *NTM* does not depict women against the background of the household. Rather, a woman is viewed as functioning actively within a nexus of public and private relationships, including a most significant relationship to herself.

NTM tackles several taboo topics that were also present in the 1992 edition of *OBOS* 1992. It dedicates a whole chapter – chapter 6 – to violence against women, a topic glaringly absent from the aforementioned Yugoslav texts. This chapter is among the first chapters in the book and quotes personal testimonies, some of which are clearly from Serbian women. The inclusion of Serbian names like Jovana and Mica indicate to the reader that their accounts are relatable. Some of their details even reveal a recognizable location like Belgrade (2001, 83, 87). Sunčica Vučaj explains that they adapted a number of personal stories: "We gave ourselves the freedom to think about *ourselves* and to translate in that way, so that women from this region could understand them [personal stories]."[28] However, not all of the personal testimonies were adapted; many are direct translations from the English. The translation coordinator, Stanislava Otašević, explains that to adapt all the testimonies from the original version of *OBOS*, that is, to replace all of them with local stories would have been overwhelming and not necessarily

[28] Interview with Vučaj. My translation. The original in Serbian is as follows: "… dale smo sebi tu slobodu da mi razmišljamo o sebi i da na taj način prevedemo, stavimo tako kao da mogu da razumeju žene sa ovog podnevlja."

effective. Many of the testimonies from the *OBOS* source have much in common with the experiences of Serbian women, confirming the notion that women everywhere will always have something in common, regardless of other identity markers of difference.

Another topic that is absent from the self-help books but is openly discussed in *NTM* is the topic of lesbianism and lesbian relationships. Chapter 8, entitled "Loving a woman – lesbian life and relationships" ("Voleti ženu – lezbejski život i veze"), includes some of the original photos from *OBOS*, and much of the text is directly translated. The chapter refers to "finding one's community" and the gathering places for closeted lesbians in the 1950s, which clearly apply to the American context. *NTM* does insert a new section that outlines a brief history of gay and lesbian groups and activism in Belgrade: "In 1995, a group for the promotion of lesbian rights was formed in Belgrade – LABRIS, originating from the non-governmental organization ARKADIJA, a gay and lesbian lobby established in 1990" (2001, 135). But, the chapter is visibly about the gay and lesbian movement in the United States. One of the feminist activists who helped to translate *NTM* and who was also a member of LABRIS, Sunčica Vučaj, published one of the first comprehensive books on lesbian identities in the former Yugoslavia, *Treći glas: Coming out i lezbejke u Srbiji* (*Third Voice: Coming Out and Lesbians in Serbia*, 2009). Her involvement with the *NTM* project helped to shape her perspective on lesbian identities although the reality in Serbia has been quite different from the American one. Importantly, the *NTM* chapter on lesbian relationships and life refuses to use common terms that were derogatory such as "peder" (faggot), for example, and introduces the word "gej" for "gay," a popular English word associated with a growing gay pride movement in the United States, that was adapted into the Serbian language.

Chapter 9 on sexuality equally addresses women's sexual pleasure, fantasies, and sexual relationships, while avoiding heteronormative assumptions. The language is sexually inclusive, avoiding expectations that each couple consists solely of a man and a woman. For example, while readers are assumed to be exclusively female, sexual partners could be both male and female; partners are referred to as "partneri/ke" or lover as "ljubavnik/ca" referring to males and females equally (2001, 161).[29] As in *OBOS*, the sexuality chapter demystifies the female orgasm, explores women's sexual fantasies by citing numerous personal testimonies, and gives instructions on how to masturbate.

NTM is not concerned at all with the maintenance of the household. Advice on cleaning, gardening, and home decor would have certainly contradicted American feminist critiques of housework that emerged in the 1970s.[30] As opposed to concluding the book with a chapter on sport and exercise, as is the case with two out of the four books discussed above, *NTM* leaves the reader with a chapter on the "Global politics of the women's health movement" ("Globalna politika pokreta žene i zdravlje"). Moreover, there is no section dedicated to giving advice to the female readers about their relationship with their husbands.

As has already been analyzed by Kathy Davis (2007) and others, the use of individual testimonies breaks with traditional ways of writing health manuals and other resources for women. In contrast to authoritative encyclopaedic-type treatises on women's health, women's stories, italicized so as to appear more visible and personal, humanize the medical information contained in the text. Importantly, these personal stories are also meant to draw the reader in and

[29] From the front cover, the preface, and the introduction to the chapters, it is evident that the book is addressed to women: "a book by women, for women" or in Serbian "knjiga koju su pisale žene za žene." Therefore, I would argue that the feminized terms refer specifically to lesbian partners and not to female partners of male readers.
[30] See Pat Mainardi's classic 1970 feminist text "The Politics of Housework." Mainardi was a member of an early women's liberation group based in New York City, Redstockings.
https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings-articles/the-politics-of-housework

help her realize that her own experiences are not unique. This method is based on the consciousness-raising tactics that were a staple of the 1970s American radical feminists and women's health activists (Davis 2007; Norsigian *et al.* 1999).

NTM continues to address the readers using the first-person plural pronoun "we" and is intended to make all the readers feel included in a feminist community. The use of "we" has been challenged on a few occasions by the Boston collective members as well as by the Spanish-language version translator-activists. The debates around the use of "we" reveal the complexity of this stylistic choice. At its conception, "we" in *OBOS* spoke to young, middle-class, educated, white women in the United States, but over time, this "we" has become far more expansive (Bonilla 2005, 176). As one of the *OBOS* editors, Zobeida Bonilla writes: "The use of the word "we" in *OBOS* has been a fundamental feature of the book, which has given *OBOS* an accessible and caring tone and a more inviting and embracing voice" (2005, 176). As American feminism of the 1970s was challenged for being universalist and essentialist despite the many differences of race, class, and sexuality that divided women, *OBOS* adopted a reflexive self-critique in an attempt to be more cognizant of women who did not fit the profile of the early *OBOS* readership.

In later editions, *OBOS* became more inclusive in terms of its content as well as its contributors, and with this change, the scope of "we" also widened. A good example is the Spanish-language cultural adaptation, *Nuestros Cuerpos, Nuestras Vidas* (2000), a collaborative effort between more than 30 Latin American women's health groups. The project brought together U.S. Latinas and Latin American and Caribbean feminists in a "trialogo" (Shapiro 2005, 145). Defining "we" became a problem, and the solution lay in conceptualizing "we" as a shifting notion: "*OBOS* itself incorporated the voices of a shifting "we" which was textually interpreted in context as sometimes referring to all U.S. women, and other times to specific

women" (Shapiro 2005, 147). Esther Shapiro notes that the Spanish-language adaptation resorted to the same strategy where the "we" that spoke was defined in context (2005, 147). The "we" or "mi" in the Serbian translation shifts from the "we" used by the Boston collective to "we" women (all women, given our common physical anatomy) in general, and finally, to "we" as in "our" (Serbian, Yugoslav) women from "here" ("odavde") which was somewhat geographically vague. This last instance is most visible in the chapter on violence against women, which has been considerably adapted to include local statistics and information. However, there is also significant use of the second-person singular "you" (that can also be interpreted as the second-person plural "you") and third-person "women" (as in, "women are often told," etc.), in both the English-language *OBOS* and *NTM*. In my study, I have found a number of instances where the "we" in *OBOS* was converted to "you" in *NTM*. Such translation choices can also have the effect of sounding like the more traditional self-help books.

Strikingly, the total lack of references to or mention of Serbia and Yugoslavia can also be interpreted, I would argue, as an attempt to stay politically and ethnically neutral and anti-nationalist. *NTM* was delivered to NGOs in Bosnia and medical clinics in Croatia, where it was used by women who self-identified as Croatian, or Bosniak, or as other ethnicities. The only geographical identification that can be made is at the city level, as the authors and translators are from the AWC in Belgrade. This identification enables the reader to locate the book as a project by women from Serbia. Nevertheless, the text itself relies on readers' principal identification as "women."

Lastly, the 23-page chapter 15 on abortion is by far the most elaborate source of information on pregnancy termination. One of the most significant differences between *NTM* and the aforementioned self-help books, is that information about abortion is articulated in terms that

do not describe the procedure as an alarming risk. The chapter provides very detailed information about the abortion procedure and the different medical techniques used. It also frames abortion as an important choice for women. Women's feelings of guilt are acknowledged and social pressures, such as compulsory motherhood and the devaluation of women's lives over that of the foetus, are analyzed with an eye to opponents of abortion. In contrast to the chapters on pregnancy termination in the four self-help books, *NTM* discusses the risks associated with the procedure in a more factual matter, stating that like any medical procedure, abortion carries a small possibility of complications (2001, 359). The rate of complications is 1 percent in the first trimester, and other issues, such as infection, perforation, and bleeding, are explained in detail and contextualized.

The oft-cited introduction to the abortion chapter in the English-language *OBOS* states:

> Women have always used abortion as a means of fertility control. Unless we ourselves can decide whether and when to have children, it is difficult for us to control our lives or participate fully in society. Legal, safe and affordable abortions help to give us that control (BWHBC 1992, 353).[31]

NTM keeps the introduction intact and also presents different perspectives in women's personal stories (directly translated from the English *OBOS*). The following personal story translated in *NTM* is an excellent illustration of the ways in which women's knowledge about their bodies results in empowerment:

> My unwanted pregnancy and abortion led me to explore and gain a full understanding of my fertility cycle and my body. This knowledge has helped me feel whole. I have always been *prochoice*, but now I feel able to face *antichoice propaganda* with the power of my own personal experience. I feel good that I can use my experience to help my sisters, my women friends, and possibly someday, my daughter (BWHBC 1992, 369; my emphasis).[32]

[31] The Serbian translation is as follows: "Oduvek su žene koristile abortus kao sredstvo za kontrolu radjanja. Ukoliko ne budemo same donosile odluku o tome da li želimo ili ne želimo radjati decu, veoma teško ćemo uspostaviti kontrolu nad svojim životima i ravnopravno učestvovati u društvu" (AWC 2001, 353).

[32] Here I cite the original text in English from the 1992 edition. For an analysis of specific adaptation strategies and examples, see chapter five.

As Davis observes, referring to the personal stories as "the book's distinctive format:" "It was this politics of knowledge that enabled the readers of *OBOS* to become embodied, critical, epistemic agents" (2007, 199).

In this example, I show how an original personal story by an American woman using terms such as "prochoice" and "antichoice" – terms which are clearly couched in the specific American context – can be adapted so that they resonate with the Serbian readers. This strategy avoids explicit references to the cultural context but still provides an example of a woman who has the courage to affirm her right to bodily autonomy and to reject dominant, oppressive, patriarchal discourses:

> "I have always been prochoice" in *OBOS* becomes in Serbian:
> "I have always been for women's right to freely decide about abortion"
> ("Uvek sam bila za pravo žene da slobodno odlučuje o abortusu");
> and
> "but now I feel able to face antichoice propaganda with the power of my own personal experience" becomes in Serbian:
> "but after my experience I have more strength to face the propaganda which tries to restrict this right"
> ("ali posle svog iskustva sa više snage se suočavam sa propagandom koja to pravo pokušava da ograniči") (AWC 2001, 371)

Admittedly, women in Serbia have their own testimonies, which would be instantly recognizable to the book's readers. While Stanislava Otašević explains that adapting extensively each testimony from *OBOS* would have been unrealistic and not all that effective, she also

remembers testimonies given by women during public forums organized by Otašević in some ten Serbian cities following the book's publication. One poignant case concerns the conditions in which rural women give birth. Otašević cites one particular testimony and explains that up until some ten years ago, in some rural areas, women were still expected to manage their own pregnancies and to give birth alone away from their husbands, returning home with the newborn only after the labour had ended. Such practices are rooted in very old, patriarchal, and misogynist traditions that view women's bodies and their biological processes as inherently private and "unclean."[33]

The chapter on abortion is complemented with a section on the "Situation in our country" ("Situacija u našoj zemlji") (2001, 374-375). Readers learn that abortion was a criminal offence until 1952 and that following an amendment in 1960, women were able to cite socio-medical conditions for requesting an abortion with fewer restrictions. The chapter also presents a section entitled "Political history of abortion" and reproduces the well-known photo of a deceased Geraldine Santoro, an Ukrainian-American woman who bled to death as a consequence of an illegal abortion on the floor of a California hotel room in 1964 (2001, 373). The police photo of her naked and blood-stained corpse ended up becoming a symbol of the pro-choice movement in the United States. Santoro was in fact fleeing domestic violence when she underwent the illegal abortion with the help of a boyfriend, illustrating the ways in which women's reproductive health, sexuality, and domestic violence are closely intertwined.[34] The practical work of the AWC with women survivors of domestic and wartime sexual violence also confirmed to the Belgrade feminist activists that these issues could not be treated separately.

[33] Interview with Otašević. See also St. Erlich (1971).
[34] See an article with more information on Santoro's life: https://rewire.news/article/2007/06/08/the-woman-in-the-photo/

5. Shame and the female body: Three key words in *NTM*

In the following analysis, I examine three words that I suggest are effective illustrations of the challenges encountered by feminist activists in their translation of a feminist text, *OBOS*, into a language that has deep patriarchal roots. Shaming of women with regard to their sexuality and bodies is also expressed through language (Makoni 2015; Davis 2007). Not unlike other languages, the Serbian language also has a repertoire of derogatory terms and phrases for women, their bodies, and their supposed traits. These phrases are often vulgar and are associated with "nature," animals, objects, and negative qualities such as being unreliable, disloyal, manipulative, and deceptive (Antonijević 2000; Mardešić 2000; Savić 2000). The notion that everyday language is man-made, designed to express men's realities and exclude or insult women's experiences, suggests that women necessarily have to translate from the unknown (Flotow 1997, 8, 12). As feminist sociologist Marjorie Devault argues: "If words often do not quite fit, then women who want to talk of their experiences must 'translate,' either saying things that are not quite right, or working at using the language in non-standard ways" (1990, 97).

A common problem facing many of the *OBOS* translators was finding terms for female genitalia that did not invoke any connotation of shame. This issue was identified by Kathy Davis (2007) in her analysis of the global translations of *OBOS*. Referring to a meeting between *OBOS* global translators and the Boston collective members in Utrecht, the Netherlands in 2001, Davis writes:

> For example, the Japanese translators described their struggles to come to terms with the fact that there was no language in which women could talk about their bodies. The vocabulary traditionally used to describe and diagnose the female body was either highly technical or negatively marked. Terms such as *pubic hair*, *pubic bone*, and *vulva* included characters that signified "shameful" or "dark and shady," thereby alienating women from their bodies (2007, 171; emphasis in the original).

According to Davis, this meeting offered an opportunity for all *OBOS* translators to explore the ways in which language, regardless of the country and culture, subjected women to negative terms and images about their bodies.

In what follows, I trace the etymology of the words "stidnica" or vulva, "himen" or hymen, and "pobačaj" or abortion/miscarriage.

Vulva

The most obvious example of the troubling relationship between female genitals and shame is the word "stidnica." In Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and other Slavic languages spoken in the former Yugoslavia, women's outer genitals, or the vulva, are named after the word "stid" or literally "shame." This association is rendered somewhat more ambiguous because "stid" can also mean "shyness." The suffix *–ica* is a marker that signifies a noun derived from "stid." Therefore, the female outer genitals are read as body parts either of shame or shyness. The fact that "sramnica" – "sram" unambiguously meaning "shame" – is also used colloquially to name the vulva reiterates this negative connotation.

For the most part, *NTM* uses the word "vulva," but on a few occasions writes about "stidnica." It is interesting to note that *Knjiga za svaku ženu* does not even name this part of the female body, while Stambolović's *Higijena žene* exclusively refers to it as "stidnica." *NTM* departs from this usage by choosing a latinized, more medical and, therefore, presumably more neutral term, vulva. However, this medical word is arguably a "foreignizing" method of translating.[35] According to the foreignizing translation method, the translator keeps the foreign word from the source text (the original text), that is, the word that is not in common use in the translating language. In contrast to the foreignizing method, the domesticating method prefers to

[35] For more on foreignizing vs. domesticating methods, see Antoine Berman (2009).

replace this foreign word with a more familiar local word. In the domesticating method, the translator makes this choice even if this domestic word is an inadequate equivalent or if it distorts the original meaning. The Latin-sounding word eschews connotations of shame and shyness, possibly at the cost of creating a cold distance between women's genitalia and the translators' inability to name it in non-patriarchal language. Admittedly, it is a difficult choice. There are no easy solutions since a feminist translation strategy of playfully inventing a new, emancipatory word might be esoteric and unintelligible to the readers.

In a recent publication, German scholar Mithu Sanyal, *Vulva: Unveiling an Invisible Sex* (2009) (originally published in German, *Vulva: Die Enthüllung des unsichtbaren Geschlechts*), challenges dominant misconceptions and misnaming practices of this largely ignored female body part. Sanyal identifies not only the negative connotations associated with vulvas in history and mythology, but also a kind of erasure of this body part from our languages and psyches:

> Vulvas were described as "the gateway to hell, the source of all trouble and strife in the world and the potential downfall of man" at the same time we were led to believe that this dangerous genital is so small and insignificant that it's not worth talking about and we can safely overlook it.[36]

Sanyal rightly points out that the word "vagina" – a term which refers to the internal organ connecting the vaginal opening and the cervix – is increasingly being used to describe the outer genitals, leading not only to confusion but also to "psychic genital mutilation."[37] Using the word vagina to describe a woman's outer organ is the equivalent of linguistic erasure: an organ that is normally visible becomes "invisible," leading to the "widespread denial of female external

[36] Sanyal's groundbreaking book was originally written in German and has so far been translated into four languages, but is not yet available in English. I have used her article on the topic available on her website to draw on her main arguments: http://www.sanyal.de/vulva-unveiling-invisible-sex.
[37] In this quotation, Sanyal is citing Harriet Lerner.
See at http://www.sanyal.de/vulva-unveiling-invisible-sex

genitalia (and thus of female sexuality, if not female reality)."[38] Similarly, in her study of labelling of female genitalia in a Southern African context, Busi Makoni shows how the naming of female genitalia with derogatory terms reflects and reproduces sexist attitudes and unequal social structures (2015). Makoni too observes a kind of confusion and "non-specificity" in naming female genitalia: "[one] could not tell whether what was referred to was the vagina, clitoris, or labia" (2015, 59).

By contrast, *NTM* operates with a kind of positive erasure when it removes references to shame or shyness in descriptions of the outer and inner lips: "spoljašnje i unutrašnje usne" (2001, 205). In the four previously mentioned self-help books, the authors frequently refer to female genitalia as the outer shameful lips and the inner shameful lips (or "spoljašnje stidne usne" and "unutrašnje stidne usne"). By contrast, in describing the outer genitals, *NTM* refers to "stidni predeo" ("shameful area"), but the translators create distance and resort to a more explanatory tone when they write "takozvani" or "the so-called" (2001, 204). Otašević explains that "narodni izrazi" or colloquial words and phrases needed to be used in order to reach the book's female readers who would have been familiar only with the more popular terms even if they were sexist:

> […] we wanted to make a book that would be accessible to all women, or at least to most women, and we wanted them to understand it. This meant that we needed to use so-called colloquial phrases, and we know that the American literature on health is often based on Latin […] and Latin terms are taken up in English too, so we worked on that too.[39]

The colloquial terms, including "stidnica" and "stidni predeo" were used in the section on sexually transmitted diseases, for example "stidne vaši" or pubic lice. But, it is important to

[38] In this quotation, Sanyal is citing Harriet Lerner.
See at http://www.sanyal.de/vulva-unveiling-invisible-sex

[39] Interview with Otašević: "[…] mi smo htele da napravimo knjigu koja je pristupačna svakoj ženi ili bar većini žena i da je razumeju, znači potrebno je bilo koristiti narodne izraze, da ih tako nazovem, a znamo da je američka literatura o zdravlju uglavnom na latinskom se bazira i ima uglavnom ne prevod, preuzet latinski u engleski jezik, tako da smo mi naročitu pažnju tu posvetile […]."

highlight that female outer genitals are also a source of very common swear words, as they are in many languages, and touch upon extremely violent and sexualized imagery.[40] Highly derogatory terms "pička" or "pizda" are words (similar to "cunt" in English) with which every speaker of Serbian is familiar. These words are potent insults, while "vulva" and even "stidnica" are used mostly in literature, leaving many women speechless when pressed to name their most intimate body parts: "tamo dole" or "down there" is all they can utter.

In her preface to *NTM*, Mladjenović addresses this point when she writes about the importance of *NTM*:

> There was so much that I did not know about myself, my body, or my sexuality […] What do I do if it's itchy down there? Why am I saying "down there"? What is the actual name? Why is it so difficult for us to name the female sex organ? So, the clitoris is the neurological point of orgasm: why is no one saying this! (2001, viii).[41]

Much like Makoni and Mladjenović, a study by Wynn *et al.* shows that the confusion and the "non-specificity" mentioned above also pervade the English language in North America. In a study on the phrases used in English, Wynn *et al.* analyzed emails sent by readers to a sexual and reproductive health website. The authors found that "people were most likely to use avoidance strategies in writing about sex and genitals" and that "writers showed considerable preference for vague references to 'inside', 'down there' or 'private' in describing female genitals over terms like 'vagina'"(2010, 502). Such studies confirm that the shame in naming the female sex organ is still prevalent and that both *OBOS* and *NTM* contain information that is still a taboo in many societies.

[40] See Maria Olujić's article on both peacetime and wartime metaphors of female sexuality and the body (1998).
[41] The original in Serbian is as follows: "A toliko nisam znala o sebi o svom telu o seksualnosti. […] Šta da radim kad me svrbi dole? Zašto kažemo dole? Kako se šta zove? Zašto nam je teško da imenujemo ženski polni organ? Dakle klitoris je neurološka tačka orgazma: zašto to niko ne govori!" (2001, viii).

Hymen

The word "hymen" is linked similarly to a sense of shame. Its presence or absence is instrumentalized by the widespread taboo against the loss of a woman's virginity in pre-marital heterosexual intercourse. This taboo is supported by many of the world's organized religions, including the Serbian Orthodox church.

Hymen is a thin membrane that partly or wholly closes the vaginal opening. It is named after the Greek god of marriage, Hymen. In English, the word was taken from the Latin "hymen" which originally came from the Greek "hymēn," meaning "membrane."[42] For centuries, this membrane has been associated with the absence of initiation into sexual intercourse and accompanying notions of a woman's honour, purity, and goodness. As Emek Ergun suggests in her study of virginity in Turkey, a country with a very strong patriarchal tradition that emphasizes the importance of women's sexual innocence, the hymen is believed wrongly to be "a physical proof of virginity" (2015, 24). Ergun writes: "What we call the hymen is actually so diverse in shape, size, appearance, structure, and resilience that 'saying that someone has a hymen is, all by itself, a bit like saying someone has skin'" (Blank 2007, 41 quoted in Ergun 2015, 25). This is the reason why the so-called legally codified and enforced "virginity tests" in Turkey and other parts of the world are misleading and dangerous.

The fact that the name for this part of female sexual anatomy is named after the Greek god of marriage reinforces the association of this body part with heteronormative patriarchal marriage. In this way, the hymen is linked to a woman's suitability for marriage. If the hymen is still intact, the bride is considered to be "unspoiled goods" ("ispravna roba") – a notion that is

[42] See Merriam-Webster's dictionary entry:
http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hymen

also discussed and debunked in *NTM* (AWC 2001, 166).[43] In her study of patriarchal traditions in the Balkans (including certain parts of former Yugoslavia), Bette Denich explains that traditionally young girls betrothed in marriage had to be "*intacta virgo*" or they would be considered "damaged goods" (1974, 254). Ergun further explains that if the hymen is absent, it means that the bride has "compromised" herself by engaging in pre-marital sexual activity – and this means penile penetration of the vagina. A husband has traditionally been given the right to break the marriage contract and seek another bride with an "intact" hymen if his first wife is found to be missing the membrane. In the patriarchal imaginary, her vagina had been "marked" (Ergun 2015, 105) by another man and, therefore she is despoiled.

According to an old patriarchal tradition in Serbian villages, and in many other regions around the world, blood-stained white sheets were regularly displayed after the wedding night in order to confirm proudly to the public that the bride had been a virgin worthy of marriage. Ironically, in this tradition, the outcome of a supposedly private act is assessed and exhibited publicly. Even though sexuality is treated as a cultural taboo generally, the verification of a woman's virginity can become a community spectacle.[44]

While the Latin word "himen" is well known to Serbian speakers and is used in medical literature, a more colloquial word also exists: "devičnjak." The translators of *NTM* opt for "himen" but on one occasion, in a sketch of different kinds of hymens (2001, 206), they identify the membrane in parentheses as "devičnjak." This popular (narodni) term has its root in the word "devica" or "virgin," and so, "devičnjak" means a marker of virginity. The word "devičnjak" shares its etymological root with "devojka" meaning "girl," once again creating a rigid

[43] This is a common theme in literature critical of conceptualizations of virginity. Both the American *OBOS* and the Serbian translation refer to the notions of ownership and goods. Emek Ergun discusses it as well: ""untouched" object, "unused" commodity, and "unopened" package status of the woman's body […]" (2015, 107).
[44] See St. Erlich (1971, 151).

dichotomy between girl/woman. In this heteronormative logic, *girl* is a sexually uninitiated, hymen-protected, unmarried female, and *woman* is a married, sexually active female who loses her hymen to her husband.

While the text in *NTM* challenges the widely accepted ideas that virginity is something that can be lost, it does not elaborate on the misleading notion that the hymen is a guarantee of virginity. Given the still strong influence of traditional, patriarchal associations of the hymen with virginity, and folkloric references to blood-stained sheets after the wedding night, *NTM* misses an opportunity to debunk a widely accepted myth in Serbian society. The translators' choice of the more medical and supposedly neutral "himen" steers away from the hetero/sexist "devičnjak," but the negative connotations associated with the loss of this membrane are still insufficiently challenged.

Abortion

Just like the English-language *OBOS*, *NTM* dedicates an entire chapter to abortion. The chapter begins with the same confirmation of a woman's right to choose whether or not to carry a pregnancy to term that appeared in *OBOS*: "The right to a legal and safe abortion helps us to manage our lives" ("Pravo na legalan i siguran abortus nam pomaže da raspolažemo svojim životima") (2001, 353). Throughout the chapter on abortion, there are numerous references to "abortus" or abortion, and not "pobačaj" (rejection, that which is thrown away). In the Serbian language, both these words can be used to denote the medical procedure. Interestingly, "pobačaj" can refer to both miscarriage and abortion.[45] In *NTM*, however, "pobačaj" is reserved only for

[45] It is also interesting to note that English-language medical literature from the 1950s, the 1960s, and the 1970s often collapses the distinction between the induced and the spontaneous termination of pregnancy with the use of the term miscarriage. Malcolm Potts, Peter Diggory and John Peel write: "The word 'abortion' is firmly entrenched in the language even if the definition is imprecise. The word 'miscarriage' can be synonymous with abortion or limited

sections where miscarriage is discussed. "Pobačaj" has etymological roots in the word "baciti" or to throw away and together with the prefix "po" – which indicates that the action is finished completely – the word itself means "rejection" strictly in relation to pregnancy.

While the other four self-help books refer to abortion as "pobačaj," qualifying it as "intentional," "provoked" or "medical" to differentiate it from miscarriage, *NTM* uses "pobačaj" exclusively in parts of the book on miscarriage. "Abortion" stems from the Latin verb "aborior" meaning to rise, to be born too soon or prematurely, to die.[46] In Serbian, the word is translated as "abortus" and it refers to the procedure of terminating a pregnancy.

The clear separation between "abortus" and "pobačaj" in the book produces several effects. First, "abortus" has a more medical sound while "pobačaj" is a more familiar, domestic word. The consistent use of "abortus" throughout the chapter and the rest of the book to refer specifically to the induced termination of pregnancy, neutralizes the word by aligning it more with medical terminology. Paradoxically, the foreign word "abortus" can also be likened to the highly politicized American term, abortion. Because of the growing anti-abortion climate in the United States in the 1990s (Faludi 1992), this linguistic choice can be seen as highly politicized, especially when a section entitled "Political history of abortion" is also included in the Serbian translation.

While the Serbian language maintains an ambiguity in its use of "pobačaj," which can mean both "miscarriage" and "abortion," *NTM* removes this double meaning and gives women one specific way of naming this important procedure for their reproductive health. As many feminists have argued before, including Betty Friedan (1963), being able to name a "problem" is

---

to the description of spontaneous abortions. It is a word favoured by lay writers and is sometimes used by lawyers. Emotionally, it has fewer of the harsh overtones of 'abortion' which the lay writer and jurist sometimes restrict to the description of induced abortions" (1977, 21).

[46] See note in the online Merriam-Webster dictionary: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/abort#h1

the beginning of the solution. This word choice also reveals the influence of the American source text on the translation strategies of the Belgrade feminists. By aligning "abortion" with the unambiguous word "abortus," *NTM* establishes a much more clear-cut connection with the American feminist movement and its own struggles for safe and legal abortion in the United States. Importantly, the more technical term "abortus" removes any negative connotations of "rejection" and "throwing away" which can be easily harnessed by abortion opponents to shame women and accuse them of insensitivity and selfishness.

Conclusion

As these examples show, questions around translation can often reveal complex social and ideological dimensions of language. Yugoslav (and Serbian) feminists gave voice to the issues that were vital to them, namely women's reproductive health and sexuality. Their feminist awakening in the 1970s and the 1980s led them to speak about "unspeakable" taboo topics and, undeniably influenced by radical American feminists, to write about feminist ideas in the Yugoslav context. The *NTM* project illustrates Serbian feminists' efforts to deal with patriarchal vocabulary and gender relations when translating feminist ideas. In this chapter, I have argued that *NTM* provides a critical contribution to feminist knowledge production by informing and engaging women in regard to their reproductive health and sexuality, topics which patriarchal traditions had rendered taboo, silencing women in the process.

Conclusion:

Some Lessons on the Politics of Translation and Reproduction

"All kinds of knowledge and practices were coming to us in abundance […] women visited us [from everywhere], it was a real transnational exchange following the principle of solidarity […] So [books] arrived in the arms of these feminists who would come and help us and who understood that the transfer of knowledge is incredibly important […] access to knowledge is key […].

But a certain paradigm became very, very obvious, you know, the West brings knowledge, the East receives it. So, women from Eastern European countries were more like recipients than educators at that time. But of course the women recognized this, this global asymmetry in the 1990s, we understood it to be a very geopolitical thing."[1]

J.T. (Interview)

The changes in the politics of reproduction and the Yugoslav wars produced new conditions under which the Belgrade feminists worked in the 1990s. Specifically, the AWC feminists' work with sexual and domestic violence and with a refugee crisis inspired them to produce literature that would guide their work. They sought feminist knowledge that they hoped would help women survive the difficult times of economic insecurity, militarization, and daily threats of all kinds. Their Serbian translation of *OBOS* was meant to be that key feminist source on women's health at an extremely uncertain moment in Serbia's history, which had produced both an ideological and physical assault on women's bodies, rights, and health. *NTM* was their response to a need for feminist consciousness-raising and the consequent knowledge production.

[1] The original in Serbian is as follows: "Do nas su dolazila znanja i prakse i to *in abundance* […], žene su dolazile [od svuda], pravi *transnational exchange*, pod tim osnovama solidarnosti. […]. Tako je dolazilo [knjige] u naramcima tih feministkinja, koje su dolazile i koje su nam pomagale i koje su shvatale da je transfer znanja jako važno. […] *access to knowledge* je bila ključna stvar […].
Tu je bila vrlo, vrlo evidentna ta paradigma, znaš, Zapad donosi znanje, Istok prima, znači žene iz istočnoevropskih zemalja su bile više *recipients* u to vreme nego *educators*. Ali naravno žene su prepoznalavale to, i 90ih je ta asimetrija globalna, shvatali smo je kao vrlo geopolitičku stvar."

The urgency created by the wars, which instrumentalized women's bodies, served as a unique backdrop to this particular *OBOS* translation.

As the activists expressed to me in our interviews, the original *OBOS* left an indelible mark on their intellectual formation. Thus, they worked to share that feminist knowledge and spread its transformative effects with their translation. As I have shown, the context in which *NTM* was produced made the book's feminist discourse – with its messages strongly supporting bodily autonomy for women and lives free of male violence – an oppositional discourse to the growing ethno-nationalist and pronatalist discourses that dominated public, political, and media landscapes.

The *NTM* case study points, however, to a number of contradictions, which can be called "the ironies of translation."[2] As I note in chapter three, women in Yugoslavia had access to legal abortion for decades, and due to a number of specific circumstances, abortion, together with *coitus interruptus*, became one of the main fertility control methods, placing Yugoslav (Serbian) women somewhat ahead of American women with respect to legal access to abortion services. However, the pro-choice discourse in *OBOS* was closely intertwined with the feminist battles for abortion legalization in the United States (BWHBC 1973 and 1976). Since Yugoslav women did not have to fight for legalization of abortion, they could not necessarily connect to this pro-choice discourse. However, with the changes in the politics of reproduction, the 1990s brought a clamping down on women's reproductive rights in Serbia with the new, restrictive 1995 abortion law, ironically making the *OBOS* pro-choice discourse in the translation highly relevant to women in Serbia. Indeed, the *OBOS* philosophy and consciousness-raising principles became an essential tool for the activists. Moreover, in the 1990s, American women were also witnessing a

[2] I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Christabelle Sethna, for bringing the notion of the ironies of translation to my attention.

renewed series of attacks on their reproductive rights, including hundreds of new state laws restricting abortion access as well as physical attacks on abortion doctors and clinics in the United States (Feldt 2004; Faludi 1992).

NTM highlights another irony of translation according to which the Belgrade feminists had to depoliticize their translation and their practical work in order to encourage women to take care of their health and to become aware of their rights. In many ways, in this period when the Serbian government was heavily involved in the wars in the region, women's groups, and in particular the AWC, were seen as "apolitical" actors simply because their work with women on issues such as violence was not viewed by the authorities as a *political* matter.[3] The painful reality, however, was that this stance could not have been further from the truth: women's bodies did quite literally become the battleground in the 1990s, whether through rape, domestic violence, or their refusal to have children. By not steeping their translation in political jargon and by not naming specifically the main political institutions and actors in Serbia at the time, such as the Milošević government, the Orthodox Church, demographers, and politicians, all of whom threatened women's reproductive health, rights, and bodily autonomy, the activists first and foremost wanted to *reach out* to women. They depoliticized *NTM* in this respect so that this feminist text could actually speak to them about their health in terms that left out the heavily aggressive language of demographers, politicians, and clergy. By doing so, the activists strove to bring the women to lean into the feminist messages in *NTM* about their bodies, ironically, politicizing the readers and equipping them with an oppositional discourse to the politics of reproduction.

The Serbian translation reveals the third irony of translation in the sense that translation both enriches and hinders local knowledge production. In the context of the 1990s, when

[3] This view was repeated several times by the Belgrade feminists during our interviews.

resources accessible to feminist activists were extremely limited, undertaking the Serbian translation of a long and complex feminist text such as *OBOS* constituted a large, time-consuming, and labour-intensive task. Translating such an important feminist source text and then partially adapting it, tested the limits and the capacities of the AWC activists. This was also a time of intense daily practical work and consultations with women, as well as a time when the activists were developing their feminist approaches and engaging in regular exchanges and workshops with the visiting, mostly Western, feminists. Some of my interviewees concede that, *today*, after developing a fairly strong knowledge base in the 1990s and gaining significant experience, writing their own, fully adapted feminist resource on women's health would be more appropriate and desirable. But, as I mention in chapter two, there are much fewer resources and funding possibilities for such a project today, especially since *NTM* already exists, making the possibility of writing a local feminist health text highly unlikely.

In the following concluding remarks, I discuss a number of lessons on which, I believe, the *NTM* case study has shone a light, especially with respect to feminist knowledge production. First, I highlight the links between the politics of translation and reproduction through the prism of transnational feminism. Second, I draw some lessons on feminism from the "East-West divide." Third, I observe how the framework of the politics of translation can bring our attention to the role of funding and the way texts such as *OBOS* are chosen for translation. And last, I conclude with a look at the influence of English in feminist theorizing and networking in Serbia and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s when the so-called Western and Eastern feminists meet for the first time and ponder: "Can feminism speak a Slavic language?" (Busheikin 1997).

The very title, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, is an important metaphor for its female readers. The title itself is a message that young women and girls reading *NTM* somewhere in Serbia can

take away with them as they build their lives.[4] As the title of the dissertation suggests, "Our Bodies, Ourselves" can be understood as "Our Bodies, Our Location" for women in Serbia, but also from elsewhere in Eastern Europe, since the major ideological and economic shifts of the post-1989 period turned women's bodies into the location of struggles over those fundamental human rights that democracy was supposed to secure rather than take away.[5] Moreover, uneven geopolitical borders and spaces amplify the asymmetry in women's location vis-à-vis each other. Adrienne Rich's notion of the politics of location suggests that as women, our bodies are our location; that is, the different contexts that shape women's lives create gaps and differences between our lived experiences (1986, 212). In more recent formulations of a feminist politics of location by transnational feminist scholars, "location" is not viewed as "a fixed position" but rather involves "a temporality of struggle," thereby calling us to "be attentive to the social and power relations that 'produce location and situated knowledges'" (Álvarez 2014, 1).[6] The case of *NTM* has demonstrated that feminist discourses acquire new meanings as they circulate from one location to another. The more feminist discourses absorb the local contexts, the more effective they can become. However, the case of *NTM* has also illustrated some of the challenges related to feminist knowledge production across uneven geopolitical borders.

[4] Interview with J.T..
[5] The gender scholarship I refer to in chapters one and two reveals the extent to which the so-called transition to democracy has weakened women's rights and in particular women's reproductive rights (see Gal and Kligman 2000a and 2000b; Watson 2000; Renne 1997; Einhorn 1993; Funk and Mueller 1993).
[6] Sonia E. Álvarez and Claudia de Lima Costa take the feminist politics of location a step further and name their framework "feminist politics of translocation," since they wish to link "geographies of power at various scales (local, national, regional, global) with subject positions (gender/sexual, ethnoracial, class, etc.) that constitute the self" (Álvarez 2014, 2).

1. The politics of translation and reproduction and transnational feminism

Why translate *OBOS*? This seemingly simple question brings together the notion of knowledge production, circulation of feminist texts across transnational feminist networks, and translation flows across uneven geopolitical borders. The choice to translate *OBOS* cannot be viewed as accidental. In its effort to acknowledge differences among women and build true solidarity in transnational feminist networks, feminist scholarship must ask not only what the concrete ways are in which knowledge circulates but also *whose* knowledge circulates and where.

Writing about the different turns in gender studies, such as the linguistic turn, the cultural turn, the materialist turn, the global turn, the affective turn, among others, Kathy Davis concludes:

> One of the missions of feminist scholarship has always been to cast a critical, reflexive eye on *the politics of knowledge*. This includes everything from academic gatekeeping, citation practices, 'star systems' to the inequalities and injustices of institutional processes of tenure and promotion. We need to be sensitive to all attempts, including our own, to authorize one discourse, one theoretical perspective, or one disciplinary approach, while excluding, silencing or dismissing others (2015, 127; my emphasis).

While some feminist scholarship critically examines the direction in which discourses travel, including the patterns that seem to be quite persistent (Pereira 2014; Cerwonka 2008; Friedman 1998; Todorova 1997), they nevertheless leave the role of translation in this travel unexamined. Much like the work by scholars combining translation studies and women's and gender studies (Ergun 2015; Palmary 2014; Davis 2007; Slavova 2001), this dissertation has aimed to establish a dialogue between the two fields. By bringing them together, I hope to contribute to the effort of bridging the gap in the knowledge on translation's role in feminist knowledge production. Likewise, with this dissertation, I hope to invite further research that will engage with the

problematic of translation and language through a feminist lens, particularly with regard to the circulation of feminist texts, and not only from West to East or from North to South, but even more importantly, of those texts moving against the "current."

As I discussed in chapter two, in the Serbian case, the Belgrade feminists in the 1990s had to face both the struggles and the opportunities that translation brought. Marina Blagojević explains:

> The major ideological and practical challenges for feminist scholars from Serbia were related to the wars and Serbian nationalism: how to translate 'Western' feminist knowledge – which had a prevailing influence at the time but had been articulated in different contexts and was based on different experiences – into the local women's and anti-war movements? (2010, 187-188).

But, importantly, translation is more than just the concrete way feminist discourses circulate across borders and different societies and cultures: "Translation is not merely an act of transferring information, but a process of knowledge production" (Kamal 2008, 254). As the *NTM* case study illustrates, translating a feminist text also produced new knowledge, particularly related to taboo topics around reproductive health, domestic violence, and women's sexuality.

While a feminist defence of reproductive health and bodily autonomy can resonate with many women across borders, a focus on translation reveals just how meanings around reproduction take different shape and are highly context-dependent. Translation becomes the space where differences meet, whether they are differences between cultures or between contexts (Álvarez and Vidal 1996). Translation, then, can be said to unravel the differences between women by highlighting the power of language and history to determine women's particular views and locations, or their "situated knowledges" (Álvarez 2014, 1; Haraway 1988). As Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere write: "There is always a context in which the translation takes

place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed" (1990, 11).

In my dissertation, I have endeavoured to illustrate how both the politics of feminist translation and the politics of reproduction are inevitably an exploration of power relations. While in translation studies, at the metaphorical level, important feminist critiques have exposed the ways in which translation has been formulated as a *reproduction* of the original, and therefore, inferior and female (Chamberlain 1988), in my study, I have dealt with translation and women's reproductive capacity, or the source of such age-old metaphors. I have examined how the notion of reproduction at its concrete level intersects with translation to explore how both are informed by wider political systems. Both translation and reproduction meet in the Serbian translation of *OBOS* to show how the production of feminist knowledge that opposes repressive politics of reproduction, is complicated by context and history. According to Kathy Davis: "It was the method of knowledge sharing and not a shared identity as women which appeared to have a global appeal, making *OBOS* a case in point for a transnational feminist body/politics based on *oppositional practices* rather than *identity politics*" (2002, 240-241; my emphasis). The focus on translation in this case study showed that oppositional discourse is most effective when it takes into full consideration the context of women's lives.

2. The "East-West divide" and feminist knowledge production

As feminists from Sweden, Switzerland, Norway, Germany, the United States, Austria and the U.K. visited the closely connected Belgrade feminist groups, they emphasized the importance of the access to knowledge and the transnational exchange of knowledge. The

Belgrade feminist activists remember this period of the 1990s as a very dynamic and almost "magical" period of intense learning thanks to a constant stream of workshops and lectures. As the opening quotation suggests, this was a period when feminists from "everywhere," but most noticeably from Western countries, arrived with their feminist classics following the principle of solidarity and believing that access to knowledge was key.

As the Belgrade feminists began to translate a number of these books and excerpts including *OBOS*, they effectively engaged in the sharing of knowledge. Translating these books became a political act.[7] Even though it became clear that the knowledge the visiting feminists brought was modelled on women's experiences in Western countries, and that a certain global asymmetry shaped these encounters, the exchanges were rich and generally appreciated. Even Blagojević, who remains highly critical of the asymmetrical relations in knowledge production, hesitates to label the feminist exchanges in the 1990s in Serbia as "neocolonial." She writes that there was such a great thirst for knowledge at the time among feminist activists who were trying to resist the Milošević regime that they welcomed any visit and offer of solidarity by mostly Western feminists (2015, 44-45).[8]

Even though the visiting feminists became increasingly conscious of this global asymmetry in knowledge production, it was difficult to change the actual practice. American scholar and long-time feminist activist Ann Snitow, a frequent visitor to Belgrade and elsewhere in the region in the 1990s, explained the difficulty in the "East-West conversation" as follows:

> The new, independent Eastern women's groups enter a world in which Western women's movements have been defining themselves for several decades, a

[7] Interview with J.T..
[8] The original in Serbian states: "Ipak, ja odbijam da celinu ovog procesa vidim isključivo kao specifičnu neokolonijalnu strategiju, iako je velikim delom upravo o tome reč. To ne mogu da učinim zato što je „žeđ za znanjem" koja se artikulisala naročito u prvim godinama otpora Miloševićevom režimu, kada je reč o Srbiji, jasno bila povezana sa učenjem, upijanjem ideja, kao i sa ličnim i grupnim rastom koji se odvijao u nekolicini centara" (Blagojević 2015, 44-45).

> world-historic condition that is simply a fact to be reckoned with – one way or another – as these new democracies look westward. Now that their isolation is past, East movements won't be able to evolve without reference to the ubiquitous ideas of Western feminism and to the Western phenomenon of large women's mobilizations (1995, 143).

The framework of the politics of translation through which I have analyzed the case study of *NTM* and the Belgrade feminists can be applied to other contexts and other "locations." In a study on knowledge production and translation in China, Yangsheng Guo proposes that theorizing the politics of translation is a political act in itself (2009, 256). Guo acknowledges that the stakes are high for those not located in the core:

> […] the active political participation of the non-West is required for any valid theorization. The 'non-West' peoples have been silenced for so long, however, that they may have lost their 'voice' and their 'self'. Consequently, they are caught in a dilemma. Either they participate in debates on theoretical issues by borrowing, learning or adopting the dominant language of the West, and thus risk becoming mere parrots, or they lapse further into silence (2009, 256).

Translation, therefore, is an important factor in the dissemination not simply of the dominant culture but of the dominant culture that gives privileged status to its own models – status justified through its discourse of advancement and the authority assigned to it by the Other (Mihalache 2010; Naples 2002; Crnković 1992). While the Serbian translation of *OBOS* has shown how translation can enrich local feminist knowledge production, it has simultaneously exposed the tensions inherent in the transfer of knowledge from one geopolitical location to another.

3. Choice of translations and the politics of donor funding

As I examine in chapter two, the question of the choice of translations, including *OBOS* translations, in the post-1989 context is significant since it involves examining funding and circulation, and therefore, the presence of non-governmental organizations in the nascent civil

society. In the words of Susan Gal, "in the post-socialist period the market and foundations have come to play crucial roles," and "foundations support books that correspond in some ways with their political, ethical or social 'mission'" (2003, 106). Recognizing the influence of intermediaries is an important task when tracing the decision-making process, where choice is entangled with "frankly political considerations" (Gal 2003, 106). The role of translators as well as publishers' translation ideologies also needs to be examined in addition to profit-making motivations that characterize new, post-socialist, capitalist book markets. While the institutional agents involved in the choices of translation have changed from before and after 1989, they still impose constraints on the selection of texts for translation. Although more overt mechanisms of censorship prevalent to varying degrees in some communist countries have disappeared (such as censorship implemented by state officials), funding provided by foreign and domestic foundations and profit motivations steer text selections in specific, constrained directions.

As I have shown in chapter two, from the early beginnings of its Network Women's Program, from 1997 onwards, the Soros Foundation's Open Society recognized the importance of translation in the development of feminist expertise among Eastern European scholars and activists. The Eastern European translations of *OBOS* were seen from the start of the Women's Issues Translation Program as capable of inspiring consciousness-raising and even of mobilizing women (Cîrstocea 2011, 395). However, as the workshop on *OBOS* adaptations at the Minischool organized at the Central European University shows, it was recognized from the start that adaptation strategies were necessary. This approach confirmed that the process of contextualization was crucial if "new" feminist knowledge was to resonate with the local readers. However, despite the recognition that adaptation is a necessary strategy in the translation process, a number of participants in the Minischool insisted that the best way to help women in

the transitioning countries was to provide resources for tackling issues already identified by women in the region, rather than steering the direction and the content of their activities (Cîrstocea 2011, 396). Such responses to the Foundation's initiatives pointed to the wider tensions that characterized such encounters, particularly in the 1990s and in the context of donor politics (Bagić 2006). By promoting *OBOS* translations in Eastern Europe, the Foundation provided an incentive for local feminists to engage in the translation project. The involvement of the donor, however, contributed to the ambiguity behind *OBOS* translations: while desired by local feminists, *OBOS* translations were also promoted by the donor.

4. The role of English in feminist knowledge production in the 1990s

In our interviews, the Belgrade feminists confirmed the importance of understanding and speaking English in their activism, communication with a number of different funding agencies, international conferences, and transnational feminist networking. As I have discussed in chapter one, their own life trajectories have also revealed a long history of a cultural and linguistic *rapprochement* between the activists and the Anglo-American core. The AWC activists' choice to translate *OBOS* is in line with the translation flows, but it is also revealing of the wider knowledge production patterns and logics present not only in transnational feminist networks but also in the knowledge production paradigms on a global scale.

The lens of the politics of translation leaves us with one last question of whether or not key terms or "carriers" of a particular discourse should or could even be translated. During some of the first contacts at conferences and gatherings between Western feminists and Eastern European scholars in the early 1990s, following the opening up of borders, dilemmas arose as to

how to render fundamental terms such as "gender," "women's studies," or "sexual harassment" in Slavic languages.[9] Laura Busheikin reports that at a major gathering in Liblice, the Czech Republic, in 1994, a Bulgarian feminist asked: "Can feminism speak a Slavic language?" (1995, 124).[10] With this opening question, a host of other questions were raised. Busheikin shows that it is not the case of a mere "linguistic query" but that it is about "asking how, why and whether or not to translate feminist concepts and practices, developed mainly in Western conditions, into Slavic conditions" (1995, 125). Davis notes that the Bulgarian version of *OBOS* introduced a neologism "sociosex" (combining biological sex and social gender) in order to deal with the translation of *gender* (2007, 188). Together with these discussions came questions about identity and national labelling. For example, who exactly were Eastern Europeans, or should this term be changed to East Central Europeans, or Central Europeans? (Busheikin 1995, 125).

Translating key feminist terms – which appeared to be "arriving late" onto the feminist scene – required clear "subjective positions" in order for the discourse to be understood. While the Serbian language already has words for *sex* ("pol") and *gender* ("rod"), some Russian and Czech feminists adopted the foreign term *gender*, pronouncing it with either soft or hard "g." Joan W. Scott asserts that the question of whether the word "gender" can be translated, is linguistic as much as it is political and philosophical (Flotow and Scott 2016, 358). Translation is not only about exposing differences:

[9] See Bahovec and Hemmings (2004) on the "Teaching Travelling Concepts" project (including translations of "gender" across Europe) in European Women's Studies programs. The discussion on these matters continues as can be seen in the recent, 2016 ATGENDER (The European Association for Gender Research, Education and Documentation) conference entitled "Spaces of Feminist Learning and Teaching: Queering Movements, Translation, and Dynamics." The conference also included a workshop "Teaching Gender in Europe" where scholars were invited to present on the various ways "gender" has been translated in different European countries. http://eige.europa.eu/news-and-events/events-calendar/event/6091

[10] Laura Busheikin explains that this gathering included women from Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Croatia, Serbia, and the Czech Republic. Therefore, not all participants spoke a Slavic language. Busheikin also notes that during the discussions on how to translate the term "gender" into a Slavic language, "the Romanians and Hungarians could only watch and wonder" (1995, 125).

> But it is also about attempts to find commonality; struggling to reconcile local vernaculars with the word coined in English can be a gesture of feminist solidarity across the lines of national difference. Sometimes, too, a decision to renounce translation altogether and to instead coin a neologism—"gender"—is a means of signifying membership in a global political project. In this way, the universal status of the term (and of the political movement) is confirmed, seeming to transcend its particular articulations (Flotow and Scott 2015, 358).

Similarly, I would argue, the decision to translate *OBOS* is also to signify membership in one of the best known feminist knowledge production projects that propelled the women's health movement in the United States and internationally (Davis 2007; Ruzek 2007; Morgen 2002). The growing membership in the OBOS Global Initiative also reflects this point.[11]

Importantly, determining what translation effects are produced through translations of feminist political terms such as "gender" or texts such as *OBOS* is a long-term project, as Luise von Flotow reminds us, since it is "notoriously difficult to gauge the effects of a translation" and "translation effects can take several generations to develop" (Flotow and Scott 2016, 370). The case of *OBOS* in the United States has shown that despite the fact that it has exerted significant and somewhat immediate influence on the development of the women's health movement in the United States, it has taken decades to fully document and assess its *effects* on the feminist movement and practices there. Similarly, the (translation) effects of the translated *OBOS* in post-communist European countries (Poland, Bulgaria, Moldova, Albania, Russia, in addition to Serbia) will also require years, if not decades, before a fuller picture of its reception and influence on the feminist thought and practices can be sketched out with greater detail and certainty.

Contrary to the official rhetoric during the Cold War, borders were not impermeable before 1989: "[…] cultural products, people, political and financial interests, and such like,

[11] For more information, see the OBOS Global Initiative: http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/global-projects/global-initiative/

constantly *seeped through*, ensuring the continued presence of the other bloc on each of their soils" (Penezic 1995, para. 39; my emphasis). As we have seen in the case of *NTM*, *OBOS* had "seeped through" to Yugoslavia *before* the visiting American feminists arrived in the 1990s and brought the 1992 edition. Mladjenović's discovery of an earlier English-language *OBOS* edition in a bookstore in Sarajevo, Bosnia in the early 1980s together with the Yugoslav feminists' interest in American feminist literature in the 1970s illustrate the ways in which the cultural crossover operated before 1989. In many ways, thus, these points demonstrate that the local "does not exist in a pure state" (Kaplan 1994, 149; Probyn 1990).

In the 1990s, however, the crossover was further supported by those located on the cultural borders, who acted as intermediaries and translated both the culture and the texts. As Kornelia Slavova, the translation coordinator for the Bulgarian *OBOS*, aptly explains:

> Similarly, the scholars and activists who are engaged in gender politics in the region also live "in translation": on the one hand, they try to "translate" the established diverse feminist ideas and practices (mainly coming from the West) into the local idiom, while on the other hand, they try to "translate" the East-European experience and reality to the international community (2001, 1).

Although Slavova's conclusion applies to the specific context of the so-called East-West divide, it draws many parallels with the conclusions formulated by scholars studying the development and circulation of feminist theories in Latin America. Claudia de Lima Costa similarly argues that with respect to the travels of feminist theories in Latin America, "there are several 'theory brokers' ranging from academics, international and national donors situated in State and philanthropic organizations, feminist NGOs, and grassroots women's organizations and movements" (2014, 25).

Although there are differences in geopolitical axes, from "North-South axis" (Costa 2014, 22) to the East-West divide, Costa's, Slavova's, and Blagojević's critical analyses make it

clear that closer examinations of the role of the politics of translation in the shaping of transnational feminist paradigms have become increasingly important. Finally, these critical insights bring me back to my opening comments in the introduction: these insights point not only to differences, but also to some common and recurring patterns in knowledge production that continue to challenge transnational feminism. In this light, it is my hope that this dissertation will contribute to feminist scholarship, which is increasingly interrogating the implications of such challenges for the future of transnational feminism.

Bibliography

Alarcón, Norma, Caren Kaplan, and Minoo Moallem. 1999. "Introduction: Between Woman and Nation." In *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalism, Transnational Feminism, and the State*, edited by Norma Alarcón, Caren Kaplan, and Minoo Moallem 1-16. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Alexander, Jacqui M. and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds. 1997. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*. New York: Routledge.

Allcock, J. 2000. *Explaining Yugoslavia*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Álvarez, Román and M. Carmen-África Vidal. 1996. "Translating: A Political Act." In *Translation, Power, Subversion*, edited by Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal, 1-9. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Álvarez, Sonia E. 2014. "Introduction to the Project and the Volume: Enacting a Translocal Feminist Politics of Translation." In *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas*, edited by Sonia E. Álvarez, Claudia de Lima Costa, Verónica Feliu, Rebecca J. Hester, Norma Klahn, and Millie Thayer, 1-19. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Álvarez, Sonia E., Claudia de Lima Costa, Verónica Feliu, Rebecca J. Hester, Norma Klahn, and Millie Thayer. eds. 2014. *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

———. 2009. "Beyond NGO-ization? Reflections from Latin America." *Development* 52 (2): 175-184.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London/New York: Verso.

Andjelković, Branka. 1995. "Zakon o abortusu predsednikova tajna" [Law on Abortion, a President's Secret]. *Feminističke sveske* 3/4, 39-41.

Antonijević, Dragana. 2000. "Kako shvatiti ženski pol: Žargonski izrazi o ženi" [How to Understand the Female Sex: Slang Phrases about Women]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji: Diskursi i prakse, Vol. 2* [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol.2], edited by Marina Blagojević, 89-95. Belgrade: Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

Archer, Rory, Igor Duda, and Paul Stubbs. eds. 2016. *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ash, Timothy Garton. 1999. “The Puzzle of Central Europe.” *The New York Review of Books* (March 18). Accessed January 2017 http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1999/03/18/the-puzzle-of-central-europe/

———. 1986. “Does Central Europe Exist?” The New York Review of Books (October 9). Accessed January 2017 http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1986/10/09/does-central-europe-exist/

Atanacković, Petar and Djordje Tomić, eds. 2009. *Društvo u pokretu. Novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968 do danas* [Society on the Move. New Social Movements in Yugoslavia from 1968 to Today]. Novi Sad: Cenzura publishing.

Autonomni ženski centar. 2003. “Report: Deset godina Autonomnog ženskog centra” [Ten Years of the Autonomous Women’s Centre]. Belgrade: Autonomni ženski centar. Accessed January 2017 http://www.womenngo.org.rs/images/izvestaji-o-radu/pdf/10_godina.pdf

———. 2001. *Naša tela, mi* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Belgrade: Autonomni ženski centar.

Avery, Byllye. 1996. “Preface to the 25th Anniversary Edition.” In *Our Bodies, Ourselves* by Boston Women’s Health Book Collective, 8-9. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Avramov, Dragana, ed. 1992. D*emografski problemi i populaciona politika Kosova i Metohije* [Demographic Problems and Population Politics in Kosovo and Metohije]. Univerzitet u Beogradu: Institut društvenih nauka, Centar za demografska istraživanja.

Bagić, Aida. 2006. “Women’s Organizing in Post-Yugoslav Countries: Talking about ‘Donors.’” In *Global Feminism: Transnational Women’s Activism, Organizing, and Human Rights*, edited by Myra Marx Ferree and Aili Mari Tripp, 141-165. New York and London: New York University Press.

Bahovec, Eva and Hemmings, Clare. 2004. “Teaching Travelling Concepts in Europe.” *Feminist Theory* 5 (3): 333-342.

Bakić-Hayden, Milica. 1995. “Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia.” *Slavic Review* 54 (4): 917-931.

Balakrishnan, Gopal, ed. 2012 (1996). *Mapping the Nation*. London and Brooklyn, NY: Verso.

Bassnett, Susan. 1986. *Feminist Experiences: The Women's Movement in Four Cultures*. London, Boston: Allen & Unwin.

Bassnett, Susan and André Lefevere, eds. 1990. *Translation, History, Culture*. London: Pinter Publishers.

Batinić, Jelena. 2015. *Women and Yugoslav Partisans. A History of World War II Resistance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2001. "Feminism, Nationalism, and War: The 'Yugoslav Case' in Feminist Texts." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 3 (1): 2–24.

Baxter, Pamela and Susan Jack. 2008. "Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers." *The Qualitative Report* 13 (4): 544-559.

Beauvoir, Simone de. 1949. *Le deuxième sexe, Vol. I* and *II*. Paris: Gallimard.

Bell, Susan E. 1994. "Translating Science to the People: Updating the *New Our Bodies, Ourselves*." *Women's Studies International Forum* 17 (1): 9-18.

Benderly, Jill. 1997a. "Feminist Movements in Yugoslavia, 1978-1992." In *State-Society Relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992,* edited by Melissa K. Bokovoy, Jill A. Irvine, and Carol S. Lilly, 183-209. London: Macmillan.

———. 1997b. "Rape, Feminism, and Nationalism in the War in Yugoslav Successor States." In *Feminist Nationalism*, edited by Lois A. West, 59-73. New York and London: Routledge.

———. 1994. *Women's Movements in Yugoslavia, 1978-1992*. Master's thesis. George Washington University.

Beogradski ženski lobi [Belgrade Women's Lobby]. 1995a. "Protest ženskog parlamenta protiv odluke skupštine Republike Srbije o učešću osiguranika u troškovima zdravstvene zaštite" [Protest of the Women's Parliament against the Decision of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia on the Insurer's Contribution to Health Expenses]. *Feminističke sveske* 3/4, 31-33.

———. 1995b. "Skupštini Republike Srbije" [To the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia]. *Feminističke sveske* 3/4, 44.

———. 1995c. "Protest protiv militarizma i seksizma u božićnoj poslanici Patrijarha Pavla" [Protest against Militarism and Sexism in Patriarch Pavle's Christmas Message]. *Feminističke sveske* 3/4, 45-46.

Berman, Antoine. 2009. *Toward a Translation Criticism: John Donne*, trans. and ed. Françoise Massardier-Kenney. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.

Besemeres, John F. 1980. *Socialist Population Politics: The Political Implications of Demographic Trends in the USSR and Eastern Europe*. White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

Blagojević, Marina (Hughson). 2015. *Poluperiferija i rod. Pobuna konteksta* [Semiperiphery and Gender. The Rebellion of the Context]. Belgrade. Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.

———. 2014. “Transformacija roditeljstva: Poluperiferijska perspektiva” [Transformation of Parenthood: The Semiperipheral Perspective]. *Sociologija* 56 (4): 383-402.

———. 2010. “Feminist Knowledge and the Women’s Movement in Serbia.” *Aspasia* 4, 184-197.

———. 2009. *Knowledge Production at the Semiperiphery: A Gender Perspective.* Belgrade: Institut za kriminološka i sociološka istraživanja.

———. ed. 2005. *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji*. Diskursi i prakse, Tom II [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol. II]. Belgrade: AŽIN Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

———. ed. 2000a. *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji*. Diskursi i prakse, Tom I [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol. I]. Belgrade: AŽIN Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

———. 2000b. “Mizoginija: Nevidljivi uzroci, bolne posledice” [Misogyny: Invisible Causes, Painful Consequences]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji*. Diskursi i prakse, Tom I [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol. I], edited by Marina Blagojević. 31-55. Belgrade: AŽIN Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

———. 2000c. “Patriotizam i mizoginija: Mit o srpskoj muškosti” [Patriotism and Misogyny: The Myth of Serbian Masculinity]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji*. Diskursi i prakse, Tom I [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol. I], edited by Marina Blagojević 281-309. Belgrade: AŽIN Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

———. ed. 1998. *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih* [Toward a Visible Women’s History: Women’s Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s]. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Blagojević, Marina, Daša Duhaček, and Jasmina Lukić. eds. 1995. *Eastern European Feminist Conference: What Can We Do for Ourselves?*. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Blagojević, Jelisaveta, Katarina Kolozova, and Svetlana Slapšak, eds. 2006. *Gender and Identity: Theories from and/or on Southeastern Europe*. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije.

Bogić, Anna. 2009. *Rehabilitating Howard M. Parshley: A Socio-historical Study of the English Translation of Beauvoir’s Le deuxième sexe, with Latour and Bourdieu*. Master’s thesis. Ottawa: University of Ottawa.

Bonfiglioli, Chiara. 2016. “On Vida Tomšič, Marxist Feminism, and Agency.” In “Ten Years After: Communism and Feminism Revisited,” edited by Francisca de Haan, 102-168. *Aspasia* 10, 145-151.

———. 2015. “Gendered Citizenship in the Global European Periphery:
Textile Workers in Post-Yugoslav States.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 49, 57-65.

———. 2012. *Revolutionary Networks: Women's Political and Social Activism in Cold War Italy and Yugoslavia (1945-1957).* PhD thesis. Utrecht: University of Utrecht.

———. 2008. *Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the Conference "Drugarica žena. Žensko Pitanje – Novi Pristup / Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach?" Thirty Years After*. Master's thesis. Utrecht, Netherlands: University of Utrecht.

Bonilla, Zobeida. 2005. "Including Every Woman: The All-Embracing 'We' of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*." *NWSA Journal* 17 (1): 175-183.

Boranić, Čuča Smokvina, ed. 1986. *Knjiga za svaku ženu* [A Book for Every Woman]. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Znanje.

Boston Women's Health Book Collective (BWHBC). 2011, 2005, 1998, 1992, 1984, 1979, 1976, 1973. *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

———. 2000. *Nuestros Cuerpos, Nuestras Vidas.* New York: Siete Cuentos Editorial.

———. 1983. *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. Edited by Angela Phillips and Jill Rakusen. Middlesex: Penguin Books.

———. 1978. Our*selves and Our Children: A Book by and for Parents*. New York: Random House.

———. 1971. *Our Bodies, Our Selves*. Boston: New England Free Press.

Božinović, Neda. 1996. *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku* [Woman's Question in Serbia in the 19th and 20th Centuries]. Belgrade: Devedesetčetvrta and Žene u crnom.

Bracewell, Wendy. 1996. "Women, Motherhood, and Contemporary Serbian Nationalism." *Women's Studies International Forum* 19 (1/2): 26-33.

Breznik, Dušan. ed. 1980. *Fertility and Family Planning in Yugoslavia*. Belgrade: Institute of Social Scieneces, Demographic Research Center.

Brownmiller, Susan. 1975. *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Buden, Boris, Stefan Nowotny, Sherry Simon, Ashok Bery, and Michael Cronin. 2009. "Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem, and Responses." *Translation Studies* 2 (2): 196-219.

Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bunch, Charlotte. 2003. “Feminism, Peace, Human Rights, and Human Security.” *Canadian Women’s Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme* 22 (2): 6-11.

Busheikin, Laura. 1997. “Is Sisterhood Really Global? Western Feminism in Eastern Europe.” In *Ana’s Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*, edited by Tanya Renne, 12-21. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

———. 1995. “Conference Report: Gender Studies Inspirations East-East: Liblice, the Czech Republic, 19-22 May 1994.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 2 (1): 124-127.

Calixte, Shana L., Jennifer L. Johnson, and J. Maki Motapanyane. 2010. “Liberal, Socialist, and Radical Feminism: An Introduction to Three Theories about Women’s Oppression and Social Change.” In *Feminist Issues: Race, Class, and Sexuality*, edited by Nancy Mandell, 1-39. Toronto: Pearson Canada.

Casanova, Pascale. 2002. “Consécration and accumulation de capital littéraire : La traduction échange inégal.” *Actes de la recherches en sciences sociales* 2 (144): 7-20.

Castro, Olga. 2009. “(Re-)Examining Horizons in Feminist Translation Studies: Towards a Third Wave?” *MonTI: Monographs in Translation and Interpretation 1*. Translated by Mark Andrews. [Original in Spanish: “(Re)examinando horizontes en los estudios feministas de traducción: ¿hacia una tercera ola?” *MonTI: Monographs in Translation and Interpretation 1*, 59-86].

Center for Reproductive Rights. 2016. “Advancing Maternal Health as a Human Rights Issue.” Accessed January 2017 https://www.reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civicactions.net/files/documents/USPA_MH_TO_HRBrief_Final_5.16.pdf

Cerjan-Letica, Gordana. 1986. “Žene i zdravlje” [Women and Health]. *Žena* 44 (1): 23-25.

Cerwonka, Allaine. 2008. “Traveling Feminist Thought: Difference and Transculturation in Central and Eastern European Feminism.” *Signs* 33 (4): 809–32.

Ćetković, Nadežda. 1998. “Beogradski ženski lobi” [Belgrade Women’s Lobby]. In *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih* [Toward a Visible Women’s History: Women’s Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s], edited by Marina Blagojević, 63-72. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Chamberlain, Lori. 1988. “Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation.” *Signs* 13 (3): 454-472.

Cîrstocea, Ioana. 2015. “‘Se faire une voix.’ La production internationale du féminisme est-européen des années 1990-2000.” *L'Homme et la société* 198 (4): 73-94.

———. 2011. “Lieux et formes de transnationalisation du féminisme : le cas de l’Europe de l’Est depuis 1990.” In *Femmes sans frontières : stratégies transnationales féminines face à la*

mondialisation, XVIIe-XXe siècles, edited by Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, Diana Burgos-Vigna, and Mercedes Yusta, 385-402. Berne: Peter Lang.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 2007. *From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis*. London: Zed Books.

Cook, Rebecca J. 2014. "Stigmatized Meanings of Criminal Abortion Laws." In *Abortion Law In Transnational Perspective: Cases and Controversies*, edited by Rebecca J. Cook, Johanna N. Erdman, and Bernard M. Dickens, 347-370. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Corin, Chris. 1992. *Superwomen & Double Burden: Women's Experience of Change in Central and Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*. London: Scarlett Press.

Correa, Sônia and Rosalind Petchesky. 1994. "Reproductive and Sexual Rights: A Feminist Perspective." In *Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, Empowerment, and Rights*, edited by Gita Sen, Adrienne Germain, Lincoln C. Chen, 107-123.

Costa, Claudia de Lima. 2014. "Introduction to Debates about Translation. Lost (and Found?) in Translation: Feminisms in Hemispheric Dialogue." In *Translocalities/Translocalidades: Feminist Politics of Translation in the Latin/a Américas*, edited by Sonia E. Álvarez, Claudia de Lima Costa, Verónica Feliu, Rebecca J. Hester, Norma Klahn, and Millie Thayer, 19-36. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Costa, Claudia de Lima and Sonia E. Álvarez. 2014. "Dislocating the Sign: Toward a Translocal Feminist Politics of Translation." *Signs* 39 (3): 557-563.

Crnković, Gordana. 1992. "Why Should You Write About Eastern Europe, Or: Why Should You Write About the Other?" *Feminist Issues* 12 (2): 21-42.

David, Henry P. and Robert J. McIntyre. 1981. *Reproductive Behavior: Central and Eastern European Experience*. New York: Springer Pub. Co.

Davis, Kathy. 2015. "The Politics of the 'Turn.'" *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22 (2): 125-128.

———. 2007. *The Making of "Our Bodies, Ourselves:"How Feminism Travels Across Borders*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

———. 2002. "Feminist Body/Politics as World Traveller. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9 (3): 223–247.

Delphy, Christine. 1979. "… de Yougoslavie." *Questions Féministes* 5, 129-136.

Denich, Bette S. 1974. "Sex and Power in the Balkans." In *Woman, Culture and Society*, edited by Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, 243-262. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Descarries, Francine. 2014. “Language Is Not Neutral: The Construction of Knowledge in the Social Sciences and Humanities.” *Signs* 39 (3): 564-569.

Devault, Marjorie. 1990. “Talking and listening from women’s standpoint: Feminist strategies for interviewing and analysis.” *Social Problems* 37 (1): 96-116

Dević, Anna. 1998. “Ethnonationalism, Politics, and the Intellectuals: The Case of Yugoslavia.” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 11 (3): 375-409.

———. 1997. “Anti-War Initiatives and the Un-Making of Civic Identities in the Former Yugoslav Republics.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10 (2): 127-156.

Djikanović, Bosiljka, Henrica A. F. M. Jensen, and Stanislava Otašević. 2010. “Factors Associated with Intimate Partner Violence Against Women in Serbia: A Cross-Sectional Study.” *Journal of Epidemiological Community Health* 64: 728-735.

Djikanović, Bosiljka, Sylvie Lo Fo Wong, Henrica A. F. M. Jensen, Silvia Koso, Snežana Simić, Stanislava Otašević, and Antoine Lagro-Janssen. 2012. “Help-seeking behaviour of Serbian women who experienced intimate partner violence.” *Family Practice* 29, 189-195.

Doboš, Manuela. 1983. “The Women's Movement in Yugoslavia: The Case of the Conference for the Social Activity of Women in Croatia, 1965-1974.” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 7 (2): 47-55.

Dojčinović-Nešić. 1998. “Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju” [Centre for Women’s Studies, Research and Communication]. In *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih* [Toward a Visible Women’s History: Women’s Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s], edited by Marina Blagojević, 207-214. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Doress, Paula Brown, Diana Laskin Siegal, and the Midlife and Older Women Book Project. 1987. *Ourselves, Growing Older: Women Aging with Knowledge and Power*. In cooperation with the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Dragovic-Soso, Jasna. 2008. “Why Did Yugoslavia Disintegrate? An Overview of Contending Explanations.” In *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia’s Disintegration*, edited by L.J. Cohen and J. Dragovic-Soso, 1–39. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.

Drakulić, Slavenka. 1993. “Women and the New Democracy in the Former Yugoslavia.” In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, edited Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, 123-130. New York: Routledge.

———. 1984. *Smrtni grijesi feminizma: Ogledi o mudologiji* [Mortal Sins of Feminism: Essays on Testicology]. Zagreb: Znanje.

Drezgić, Rada. 2015. “Orthodox Christianity and Gender Equality in Serbia: On Reproductive and Sexual Rights.” In *Gender (In)equality and Gender Politics in Southeastern Europe: A Question of Justice*, edited by Christine Hassenstab and Sabrina Ramet, 297-317. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2010. *“Bela kuga” medju Srbima: O naciji, rodu i radjanju na prelazu vekova* [‘White Plague’ among the Serbs: On the Nation, Gender and Birth at the Turn of the Century]. Belgrade: Albatros plus, Fronesis edition.

———. 2009. “Religion, Politics and Gender in Serbia: The Re-traditionalization of Gender Roles in the Context of Nation-State Formation.” Accessed January 2017 http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/3C57C157BE2D09D18025790D004F8E82?OpenDocument

———. 2008. “Od planiranja porodice do populacione politike – Promena vladajuće paradigme u srpskoj demografiji krajem 20. veka” [From Family Planning to Population Politics – Paradigm Changes in Serbian Demography in late 20th Century]. *Filozofija i društvo* 3, 181-215.

———. 2004a. *(Re)producing the Nation: The Politics of Reproduction in Serbia in the 1980s and 1990s.* PhD thesis. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh.

———. 2004b. “The Politics of Abortion and Contraception.” *Sociologija* 46 (2): 97-114.

Duhaček, Daša. 2002. “Gender Perspectives on Political Identities in Yugoslavia.” In *Gender Relations in South Eastern Europe: Historical Perspectives on Womanhood and Manhood in 19th and 20th Century*, edited by Miroslav Jovanović and Slobodan Naumović, 267-286. Belgrade and Graz: Zur Kunde Sudosteuropas and Udruženje za društvenu istoriju.

———. 1993. “Women’s Time in the Former Yugoslavia.” In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*, edited Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, 131-137. New York: Routledge.

Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deirdre English. 1986. “‘Bolesne’ žene iz viših klasa” [“The ‘Sick’ Women of the Upper Classes,” an excerpt from *The Cultural Crisis in Modern Medicine* (1978)]. Translated by Gordana Cerjan-Letica. *Žena* 44 (1): 26-61.

Einhorn, Barbara. 2000. “Discussant’s Comments.” In *Making the Transition Work for Women in Europe and Central Asia*, edited by Marnia Lazreg, 107–110. World Bank Discussion Paper 411. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

———. 1993. *Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender, and Women’s Movements in East Central Europe*. London and New York: Verso.

Einhorn, Barbara, and Charlotte Sever. 2003. “Gender and Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5 (2): 163-190.

Ergun, Emek. 2015. *Doing Feminist Translation as Local and Transnational Activism: The Turkish Translation of* Virgin: The Untouched History *and Its Reception*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. Baltimore: University of Maryland.

Erjavec, Karmen and Zala Volcic. 2010. "Living with the Sins of Their Fathers: Self-Representation of Adolescents Born of War Rape." *Journal of Adolescent Research* 25 (3): 359-386.

Estrin, Saul. 2010. *Self-management: Economic Theory and Yugoslav Practice*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge Press.

Ettinger, Laura E. 2005. "Inside Out: The Use and Inadvertent Misuse of Oral Histories." In *Building New Bridges: Sources, Methods and Interdisciplinarity*, edited by Jeff Keshen and Sylvie Perrier, 103-112. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Faludi, Susan. 1992. *Backlash: The Undeclared War on American Women*. New York: Anchor Books.

Federici, Eleonora. ed. 2011. *Translating Gender*. Bern & New York: Peter Lang.

Feldt, Gloria. 2004. *The War on Choice: The Right-Wing Attack on Women's Rights and How to Fight Back*. New York: Bantam Books.

Fisher, Kate. 2006. *Birth Control, Sex and MNarriage in Britain, 1918-1960*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Flotow, Luise von. ed. 2011. *Translating Women*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

———. 2001. "Translation in the Politics of Culture." In *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, edited by Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Luise von Flotow, and Daniel Russell, 9-15.

———. 1997. *Translation and Gender: Translating in the 'Era of Feminism.'* Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

———. 1995. "Beginnings of a European Project: Feminisms and Translation Studies. *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 8 (1): 271-277.

Flotow, Luise von, and Joan W. Scott. 2016. "Gender Studies and Translation Studies: 'Entre braguette' – Connecting the Transdisciplines." In *Border Crossings. Translation Studies and Other Disciplines*, edited by Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer, 349-373. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Freiwald, Bina. 1991. "The Problem of Trans-lation: Reading French Feminisms." *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 4 (2): 55-68.

Friedan, Betty. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Friedman, Susan Stanford. 1998. *Mappings and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Funk, Nanette and Magda Mueller. 1993. "Introduction: Women and Post-Communism." In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism:Reflections From Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, 1-14. New York: Routledge.

Funk, Nanette. 1993. "Feminism East and West." In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism:Reflections From Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, 318-330. New York: Routledge.

Gagnon Jr., V.P. 2004. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1994. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." *International Security* 19 (3): 130-166.

Gal, Susan. 2003. "Movements of Feminism: The Circulation of Discourses About Women." In *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements: Contested Identities, Agency and Power*, edited by Barbara Hobson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1994. "Gender in the Post-Socialist Transition: The Abortion Debate in Hungary." *East European Politics and Societies* 8 (2): 256-286.

Gal, Susan and Gail Kligman, eds. 2000a. *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life After Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

———. 2000b. *The Politics of Gender After Socialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gasior, Paulina. 2010. "The Taming of the Eastern European Beast? A Case Study of the Translation of a Polish Novel into English." In *Translation: Theory and Practice in Dialogue*, edited by Antoinette Fawcett, Karla L. Guadarrama García, and Rebecca Hyde Parker, 147-163. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Gender Alliance for Development Center. 2006. *Ne Dhe Trupiynë, në Shekullin e ri* [We and Our Bodies in the New Century]. Tirana: Gender Alliance for Development Center. Accessed January 2017 http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/global-projects/albania-gender-alliance-for-development-center/

Gentzler, Edwin and Maria Tymoczko, eds. 2002. *Translation and Power*. Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2006. “Nongovernmental Ogres? How Feminist NGOs Undermine Women in Postsocialist Eastern Europe.” *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law* 8 (3). Accessed January 2017
http://www.icnl.org/research/journal/vol8iss3/art_2.htm

———. 2004. “Feminism-by-Design: Emerging Capitalisms, Cultural Feminism, and Women’s Nongovernmental Organizations in Postsocialist Eastern Europe.” *Signs* 29 (3): 727-753.

Gitlin, Todd. 1987. The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage. Toronto and New York: Bantam Books.

Godard, Barbara. 1991. “Translating (With) the Speculum.” *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 4 (2): 85-121.

———. 1990. “Theorizing Feminist Discourse/Translation.” *Translation, History, Culture*, edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, 87-96. London: Pinter Publishers.

Gordon, Linda. 1981. *Woman’s Body, Woman’s Right: Birth Control in America*. New York: Grossman.

Gordon, Linda and Berrie Thorne. 1998. “Feminist Subversions: *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.” In *Required Reading: Sociology’s Most Influential Books*, edited by Dan Clawson, 181-188. Amherts: University of Massachusetts Press.

Grabowska, Magdalena. 2012. “Bringing the Second World In: Conservative Revolution(s), Socialist Legacies, and Transnational Silences in the Trajectories of Polish Feminism.” *Signs* 37 (2): 385-411.

Grewal, Inderpal and Caren Kaplan, eds. 1994. *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gržinić, Marina. 2009. “Analysis of the exhibition “Gender Check – Femininity and Masculinity in the Art of Eastern Europe.” *European Institute for Progressive Cultural Politics* (December). Accessed January 2017
http://eipcp.net/policies/grzinic/en

Gudac-Dodić, Vera. 2014a. “State Policy and Woman’s Identity in Socialism.” *Tokovi istorije* 2, 83-97.

———. 2014b. “Domestic Violence Against Women in Serbia.” *Tokovi istorije* 3, 143-158.

———. 2012. “Život u senci zla. Nasilje u braku i porodici” [Life in the Shadow of Evil. Domestic Violence]. *Tokovi istorije* 3, 226-241.

———. 2006. *Žena u socijalizmu: Položaj žene u Srbiji u drugoj polovini 20. veka* [Woman in Socialism: Women’s Status in Serbia in the Second Half of the 20th Century]. Belgrade: INIS.

Guo, Yangsheng. 2009. “Theorizing the Politics of Translation in a Global Era.” *The Translator* 15 (2): 239-259.

Hakalović, Anela and Jasna Kovo. 2013. “Bosanskohercegovačko majčinstvo na razmedju nacionalnog i tržišnog reguliranja” [Motherhood in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the Crossroads between National and Market Regulations]. In *Postajanje majkom u vreme neoliberalnog kapitalizma* [Becoming a Mother in Neoliberal Capitalist Times], edited by Ana Vilenica, 134-143. Belgrade: uz)bu))na))).

Hall, Stuart. 2003. “Work of Representation.” In *Representation. Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices,* edited by Stuart Hall, 13-74. London: Sage Publications.

Hancock, Dawson R. and Bob Algozzine. 2006. *Doing Case Study Research. A Practical Guide for Beginning Researchers.* New York and London: Teachers College Press and Columbia University.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective.” *Feminist Studies* 14 (3): 575-599.

Hayden, Robert. 2013. *From Yugoslavia to the Western Balkans: Studies of a European Dissolution, 1991-2011*. Leiden: Brill.

Hayden, Sarah Elaine. 1994. *Twenty-Three Years of “Our Bodies, Ourselves:” Individualism, Community and Social Change in the Work of the Boston Women’s Health Book Collective.* PhD thesis. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Hearn, Jeff. 2015. *Men of the World. Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times*. London: Sage.

Helms, Elissa. 2013. *Innocence and Victimhood: Gender, Nation, and Women’s Activism in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Henitiuk, Valerie. 1999. “Translating Woman: Reading the Female through the Male.” *Meta : journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators' Journal* 44 (3): 469-484.

Hite, Shere. 1976. *The Hite Report: A Nationwide Study of Female Sexuality*. New York: Dell.

Holmstrom, Nancy, ed. 2002. *The Socialist Feminist Project: A Contemporary Reader in Theory and Politics*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

hooks, bell. 2000a. *Feminism Is For Everybody: Passionate Politics*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

———. 2000b. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Hughes, Donna M. and Lepa Mladjenović. 1995. "Feminist Organizing in Serbia: 1990-1994." *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la femme* 16 (1): 95-97.

Human Rights Watch. 1993. *Human Rights Watch World Report 1993 - The Former Yugoslav Republics*. Accessed January 2017
http://www.refworld.org/docid/467fca72a.html

Hyman, Jane Wegscheider, Esther R. Rome, and Boston Women's Health Book Collective. 1996. *Sacrificing Ourselves for Love: Why Women Compromise Health and Self-Esteem… and How to Stop*. Freedom: CA: The Crossing Press.

Iveković, Rada. 1995. "Women, Democracy and Nationalism." *Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme* 16 (1): 10-13.

———. 1981. "Studije o ženi i ženski pokret" [Women's Studies and Women's Movement]. *Marksizam u svetu* 8 (8-9): 5-48.

Iveković, Rada and Julie Mostov. 2002. *From Gender to Nation*: Ravenna: Longo.

Iveković, Rada and Slavenka Drakulić-Ilić. 1984. "Yugoslavia: Neofeminism and Its 'Six Mortal Sins.'" In *Sisterhood is Global*, edited by Robin Morgan, 734-738. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Jalušič, Vlasta. 1999. "Women in Post-socialist Slovenia: Socially Adapted, Politically Marginalized." In *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*, edited by Ramet, Sabrina, 109-129. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Jancar-Webster, Barbara. *Women & Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945*. London: Arden Press.

———. 1988. "Neofeminism in Yugoslavia." *Women & Politics* 8 (1): 1-30.

———. 1985. "The New Feminism in Yugoslavia." In *Yugoslavia in the 1980s*, edited by Pedro Ramet, 201-223. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Johnson, Janet Elise and Aino Saarinen. 2013. "Twenty-First-Century Feminisms under Repression: Gender Regime Change and the Women's Crisis Center Movement in Russia." *Signs* 38 (3): 543-567.

Jovanović, Anita. 2010. *La réception du Deuxième sexe de Simone de Beauvoir en Europe de l'Est : L'exemple de la Serbie*. Master's thesis. Université Laval, Québec.

Jović, Dejan. 2009. *Yugoslavia: A State that Withered Away*. (English translation of *Jugoslavija – država koja je odumrla*). West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.

———. 2001. "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory

Approaches." *European Journal of Social Theory* 4 (1): 101–20.

Jung, Nora. 1994. "Eastern European Women with Western Eyes." In *Stirring It: Challenges for Feminism*, edited by Gabriele Griffin, Marianne Hester and Shrin Rai, 195–211. London: Taylor and Francis.

Kamburov, Dimitar. 2006. "The Handicapped Under Part of Europe: (En)gendering Regional In-betweeness." In *Gender and Identity: Theories from and/or on Southeastern Europe*, edited by Jelisaveta Blagojević, Katarina Kolozova, and Svetlana Slapšak, 343-365. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije.

Kamal, Hala. 2008. "Translating Women and Gender: The Experience of Translating *The Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures* into Arabic." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36 (3-4): 254-268.

Kaplan, Caren. 1994. "The Politics of Location as Transnational Feminist Practice." In *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, edited by Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, 137-152. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kaplan, Caren, Norma Alarcón, and Minoo Moallem, eds. 1999. *Between Woman and Nation: Nationalisms, Transnational Feminisms, and the State*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Kapor-Stanulović, Nila and Henry P. David. 1999. "Former Yugoslavia and Successor States." In *From Abortion to Contraception: A Resource to Public Policies and Reproductive Behavior in Central and Eastern Europe from 1918 to Present*, edited by Henry P. David, with the assistance of Joanna Skilogianis, 279-315. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press

Karalić, Željka. 1986. "Porod u bolnici ili kod kuće?" [Hospital Birth or Home Birth?]. *Žena* 44 (5): 38-45.

Kašić, Biljana. 2004. "Feminist Cross-Mainstreaming within 'East–West': Mapping a Postsocialist Perspective." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 11 (4): 473-485.

Kaufman, Michael T. 2002. *The Life and Times of a Messianic Billionaire*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Kesić, Vesna. 1994. "A Response to Catharine MacKinnon's Article "Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide." *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 5 (2): 267-280.

Kirin, Renata Jambrešić and Marina Blagaić. 2013. "The Ambivalence of Socialist Working Women's Heritage: A Case Study of the Jugoplastika Factory." *Narodna umjetnost* 50 (1): 40-73.

Kline, Wendy. 2010. *Bodies of Knowledge: Sexuality, Reproduction, and Women's Health in the Second Wave*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kljajić-Imširović, Jelka. 2003. “Srpska pravoslavna crkva o braku, seksu i radjanju” [Serbian Orthodox Church on Marriage, Sex and Birth]. In *Žene, zdravlje i razoružanje* [Women, Health, and Demilitarization], edited by Staša Zajović, 88-91. Belgrade: Žene u crnom.

———. 1998. “Ženski parlament” [Women’s Parliament]. In *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih* [Toward a Visible Women’s History: Women’s Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s], edited by Marina Blagojević, 85-107. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Koevoets, Sanne and Sara de Jong. 2013. “Introduction.” In *Teaching Gender with Libraries and Archives: The Power of Information*, edited by Sanne Koevoets and Sara de Jong, 1-12. Utrecht and Budapest: ATGENDER. The European Association for Gender Research, Education and Documentation, and Central European University Press.

Konstantinović-Vilić, Slobodanka and Nevena Petrušić. 1997. “Abortion Rights – Legislation and Practice.” In *Women’s Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*, edited by Vesna Nikolić-Ristanović, 19-39. Belgrade: Center for Women’s Studies, Research and Communication.

Korać, Maja. 1998. *The Power of Gender in the Transition from State Socialism to Ethnic Nationalism, Militarization, and War: The Case of Post-Yugoslav States*. PhD thesis. Toronto: York University.

Kotzeva, Tatyana. 1999. “Re-imaging Bulgarian Women: The Marxist Legacy and Women's Self-identity.” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics* 15 (1): 83-98.

Kramer, Anne-Marie. 2009. “The Polish Parliament and the Making of Politics through Abortion: Nation, Gender and Democracy in the 1996 Liberalization Amendment Debate.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 11 (1): 81-101.

LaFont, Suzanne. 2001. “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back: Women in the Post-Communist States.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 34 (2): 203-220.

Lang, Sabine. 1997. “The NGOization of Feminism: Institutionalization and Institution Building with the German Women's Movements.” In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, edited by Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, 101-120. New York: Routledge.

Lilly, Carol S. and Jill A. Irvine. 2002. “Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia, 1990-1997.” *East European Politics and Society* 16 (1): 109-144.

Liotta, P.H. 2001. “Paradigm Lost: Yugoslav Self-Management and the Economics of Disaster.” *Balkanologie* 5 (1-2). Accessed January 2017 https://balkanologie.revues.org/681

Litričin, Vera. 1999. “Ženska reproduktivna prava” [Women’s Reproductive Rights]. In *Priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona “Žene za život bez nasilja*” [Handbook for SOS Hotline Volunteers, “Women for a Life Without Violence”], edited by Lada Protić, part XV, 4-5. Belgrade: SOS telefon.
http://www.sostelefon.org.rs/publikacije/prirucnik.htm

Lóránd, Zsófia. 2014. “*Learning a Feminist Language:” The Intellectual History of Feminism in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s*. Phd thesis. Budapest: Central European University.

Lotbinière-Harwood, Susanne de. 1991. *Re-belle et infidèle : la traduction comme pratique de réécriture au féminin = The body bilingual : translation as a re-writing in the feminine*. Montreal: Les Éditions du remue-ménage.

MacKinnon, Catharine A. 1993. “Turning Rape Into Pornography: Postmodern Genocide.” *Ms. Magazine* July/August, 24-30.

Macura, Miloš and Ana Gavrilović, eds. 2005. *Evolucija populacione politike u Srbiji 1945-2004* [The Evolution of the Population Politics in Serbia 1945-2004]. Belgrade: Srpska academija nauka i umetnosti.

Mainardi, Pat. 1970. “The Politics of Housework.” Accessed January 2017 https://www.cwluherstory.org/classic-feminist-writings-articles/the-politics-of-housework

Makoni, Busi. 2015. “Labeling Female Genitalia in a Southern African Context: Linguistic Gendering of Embodiment, Africana Womanism, and the Politics of Reclamation.” *Feminist Studies* 41 (1): 42-71.

Mardešić, Ivana. 2000. “Mizoginija u primorskim čakavskim i cakavskim dijalektima srpsko-hrvatskog jezika” [Misogyny in Chakavian and Sakavian Dialects of Serbo-Croatian Language]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji: Diskursi i prakse, Vol. 2* [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol.2], edited by Marina Blagojević, 97-101. Belgrade: Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

Marody, Mira and Anna Giza-Poleszczuk. 2000. “Changing Images of Identity in Poland: From the Self-Sacrificing to the Self-Investing Woman.” In *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life After Socialism*, edited by Susan Gal and Gail Kligman, 151-175. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mazowiecki, Tadeusz. 1993. “Situation of the Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia.” Fifth Periodic Report. E/CN.4/1994/47. November 17, 1993.

McClintock, Anne. 1993. “Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family.” *Feminist Review* 44, 61-80.

McMahon, P.C. 2001. “Building Civil Societies in East Central Europe: The Effect of American Non-Governmental Organizations on Women’s Groups.” *Democratization* 8 (2): 45-68.

Mendoza, Breny. 2002. “Transnational Feminisms in Question.” *Feminist Theory* 3 (3): 295-314.

Mihalache, Iulia. 2010. *Le modèle occidental et ses traductions dans un pays postcommuniste : Le cas de la Roumanie*. Saarbrucken, Germany: Éditions universitaires européennes.

Mikuš, Marek. 2015. “Indigenizing “Civil Society” in Serbia: What Local Fund-raising Reveals about Class and Trust.” *Focaal—Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 71, 43-56.

Milić, Andjelka. 2011. “Feministički talasi, orientacije i pokret u jugoslovenskom i srpskom društvu 20. veka” [Feminist Waves, Orientations and Movement in Yugoslav and Serbian Society of the 20th Century]. In *Uvod u rodne teorije* [Introduction to Gender Studies], edited by Ivana Milojević and Slobodanka Markov, 51-64. Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing.

———. 1993. “Women and Nationalism in the Former Yugoslavia.” In *Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, 109-122. New York: Routledge.

Mills, Sara (1997). *Discourse*. New York, London: Routledge.

Miškovska-Kajevska, Ana. 2014. *Taking a stand in times of violent societal changes: Belgrade and Zagreb feminists’ positionings on the (post-)Yugoslav wars and each other (1991-2000).* PhD thesis. Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research.

Mladjenović, Lepa. 2001. Preface. In *Naša tela, mi* [Our Bodies, Ourselves], viii-x. Belgrade: Autonomni ženski centar.

———. 1999a. “Pet godina SOS-a” [Five Years of the SOS Hotline]. In *Priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona “Žene za život bez nasilja*” [Handbook for SOS Hotline Volunteers, “Women for a Life Without Violence”], edited by Lada Protić, part II, 5-12. Belgrade: SOS telefon. http://www.sostelefon.org.rs/publikacije/prirucnik.htm

———. 1999b. “Refleksije s trotoara” [Reflections from the Sidewalk]. *Feminističke sveske* 11/12.
http://www.womenngo.org.rs/fs-11-12

Mladjenović, Lepa, Vera Litričin, and Tanya Renne. 1993. “Belgrade Feminists 1992: Separation, Guilt and Identity Crisis.” *Feminist Review* 45: 113-119.

Moghadam, Valentine, ed. 1993. *Democratic Reform and the Position of Women in Transitional Economies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2002. “‘Under Western Eyes’ Revisited: Feminist Solidarity Through Anticapitalist Struggles.” *Signs* 28 (2): 499-535.

———. 1986. “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.” *Boundary 2* 12 (3): 333-358.

Morgan, Robin, ed. 1984. *Sisterhood is Global*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Morgan, Sue, ed. 2006. *The Feminist History Reader*. London and New York: Routledge.

Morgen, Sandra. 2002. *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement in the United States, 1969–1990*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Morokvašić, Mirjana. 1981. "Sexuality and the Control of Procreation." In *Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspective*, edited by Kate Young, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh, 127-143. London: CSE Books.

Mostov, Julie. 1995. "'Our Women'/'Their Women': Symbolic Boundaries, Territorial Markers, and Violence in the Balkans." *Peace & Change* 20 (4): 515-529.

Mršević, Zorica. 2000. "Belgrade's SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence: A Report." In *Reproducing Gender: Politics, Publics, and Everyday Life after Socialism*, 370-392. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

———. 1994. *Ženska prava su ljudska prava* [Women's Rights Are Human Rights]. Belgrade: SOS telefon za žene i decu žrtve nasilja, Autonomni ženski centar protiv seksualnog nasilja i Centar za ženske studije i komunikaciju.

Naples, Nancy A. 2002. "Changing the Terms: Community Activism, Globalization, and the Dilemmas of Transnational Feminist Praxis." In *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Transnational Politics*, edited by Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, 3-14. London: Routledge.

National Women's Studies and Information Center. 2002. Translator's Preface. In *Tu Si Curpul Tau Pentru* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Accessed January 2017 http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/cms/assets/uploads/2010/10/romanianpreface5.pdf

Network of East-West Women. 2004. *Nasze Ciala, Nasze Zycie* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Gdansk, Poland: Fundacja Wspolpracy Kobiet.

Nikolić-Ristanović, Vesna. 2002. *Social Change, Gender and Violence: Post-communist and War Affected Societies*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

———. ed. 1997. *Women's Rights and Social Transition in FR Yugoslavia*. Belgrade: Center for Women's Studies, Research and Communication.

———. 1989. *Žene kao žrtve kriminaliteta* [Women as Victims of Crime]. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga.

Ninković, Radoslav. 1984. *Ginekolog za svaku ženu* [Gynecologist for Every Woman]. Belgrade: OOUR Izdavačko publicistička delatnost.

Nissim, Rina. 2014. *Le self-help et le mouvement femmes et santé*. Geneva: Éditions Mamamélis.

Norsigian, Judy, Vilunya Diskin, Paula Doress-Worters, Jane Pincus, Wendy Sanford, and Norma Swenson. 1999. "BWHBC and *Our Bodies, Ourselves*: A Brief History and Reflection." *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association.* Accessed January 2017: http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/history/impact-and-influence/bwhbc-and-our-bodies-ourselves-a-brief-history-and-reflection/

Nowicka, Wanda. 1994. "Two Steps Back: Poland's New Abortion Law." *Journal of Women's History* 5 (3): 151-155.

Olujić, Maria. 1998. "Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12 (1): 32-50.

Osgood, Kenneth. 2006. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*. Lawrence: University of Kansas.

Otašević, Stanislava. 2005. *Nasilje u partnerskim odnosima i zdravlje* [Domestic Violence and Health]. Beograd: Autonomni ženski centar.

———. 2001a. Preface. In *Naša tela, mi* [Our Bodies, Ourselves], iii-vi. Belgrade: Autonomni ženski centar.

———. 2001b. Translator's Preface. In *Naša Tela, Mi* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Translated into English by Maja Sotra. Accessed January 2017 http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/uploads/pdf/serbianpreface.pdf

Palmary, Ingrid. 2014. "A Politics of Feminist Translation: Using Translation to Understand Gendered Meaning-Making in Research." *Signs* 39 (3): 576-580.

Papić, Žarana. 1999. "Women in Serbia: Post-Communism, War and Nationalist Mutations." In *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*, edited by Sabrina Ramet, 153-169. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 1995. "Women's Movement in Former Yugoslavia: 1970s and 1980s." In *What Can We Do For Ourselves?* edited by Marina Blagojević, 19-22. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanje i komunikaciju.

———. 1989. *Sociologija i feminizam – Savremeni pokret i misao o oslobođenju žena i njegov uticaj na sociologiju* [Sociology and Feminism – Contemporary Movement and Thought on Women's Liberation and Its Influence on Sociology]. Belgrade: Istraživačko-izdavački centar SSO Srbije.

Pavlović, Tatjana. 1999. "Women in Croatia: Feminists, Nationalists, and Homosexuals." In *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav*

Successor States, edited Sabrina Ramet, 131-152. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Penezic, Vida. 1995. "Women in Yugoslavia." In *Postcommunism and the Body Politic*, edited by Ellen E. Berry, 57–77. New York: New York University Press.

Pereira, Maria do Mar. 2014. "The Importance of Being "Modern" and Foreign: Feminist Scholarship and the Epistemic Status of Nations." *Signs* 39 (3): 627-657.

Petrović, Pavle, Željko Bogetić, and Zorica Vujošević. 1999. "The Yugoslav Hyperinflation of 1992-1994: Causes, Dynamics, and Money Supply Process." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 27: 335-353.

Petrović, Tanja. 2012. *Yuropa: Jugoslovensko nasledje i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društvima* [Yuropa: Yugoslav Legacy and the Politics of the Future in Post-Yugoslav Societies]. Belgrade: Fabrika knjiga.

Pitter, Laura and Alexandra Stiglmayer. 1993. "Will the World Remember: Can the Women Forget?" *Ms. Magazine*, March/April, 19-22.

Porter, Anna. 2015. *Buying a Better World: George Soros and Billionaire Philanthropy*. Toronto: TAP Books.

Posadskaya-Vanderbeck, Anastasia. 1997. "On the Threshold of the Classroom." In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, edited by Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, 373-381. New York and London: Routledge.

Potts, Malcolm, Peter Diggory, and John Peel. 1977. *Abortion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Price, Kimala. 2010. "What is Reproductive Justice? How Women of Color Activists Are Redefining the Pro-Choice Paradigm." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Rransnationalism* 10 (2): 42-65.

Probyn, Elspeth. 1990. "Travels in the Postmodern: Making Sense of the Local." In *Feminism/Postmodernism*, edited by Linda J. Nicholson, 176-189. New York: Routledge.

Protić, Lada, ed. 1999a. *Priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona "Žene za život bez nasilja"* [Handbook for SOS Hotline Volunteers, "Women for a Life Without Violence"]. Belgrade: SOS telefon.
http://www.sostelefon.org.rs/publikacije/prirucnik.htm

———. 1999b. "Sigurne ženske kuće [Women's Shelters]." In *Priručnik za volonterke SOS telefona "Žene za život bez nasilja"* [Handbook for SOS Hotline Volunteers, "Women for a Life Without Violence"], edited by Lada Protić, part III, 8-11. Belgrade: SOS telefon.

Radović, Nadežda. 2005. “Srpska pravoslavna crkva i žene” [Serbian Orthodox Church and Women]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji: Diskursi i prakse, Vol. 2* [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol. 2], edited by Marina Blagojević, 359-362. Belgrade: Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

Ramazanoglu, Caroline and Holland, Janet. 2002. *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: SAGE Publications.

Ramet, Sabrina, ed. 1999. *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans: Women and Society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Successor States*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Rašević, Mirjana. 1993. *Ka razumevanju abortusa u Srbiji* [Toward an Understanding of Abortion in Serbia]. Belgrade: Institut društvenih nauka, Centar za demografska istraživanja.

Reagan, Leslie. 1997. *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and the Law in the United States, 1867-1973.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Reinharz, Shulamit. 1983. “Experiential Analysis: A Contribution to Feminist Research.” In *Theories of Women’s Studies*, edited by Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein, 162-191. Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Renne, Tanya. 1997. *Ana’s Land: Sisterhood in Eastern Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Rich, Adrienne. 1986. “Notes toward a Politics of Location.” In *Blood, Bread and Poetry*, 210-232. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company.

Roberts, Dorothy. 1997. *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty*. New York : Pantheon Books.

Robinson, Douglas. 1997. *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained*. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing.

Ross, Loretta, Lynn Roberts, and M. Bahati Kuumba. 2005. “The Reproductive Health and Sexual Rights of Women of Color: Still Building a Movement.” *NWSA* 17 (1): 93-98.

Rowbotham, Sheila. 1977. *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women’s Oppression and the Fight Against It*. London: Pluto Press.

Ruzek, Sheryl. 2007. “Transforming Doctor-Patient Relationships.” *Journal of Health Services Research and Policy* 12, 181-2.

Said, Edward W. 1994. “Travelling Theory Reconsidered.” In *Critical Reconstructions: The Relationship of Fiction and Life*, edited by Robert M. Polhemus and Roger B. Henkle, 251-268 Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. 1983. “Travelling Theory.” In *The Word, The Text, and The Critic*, 226-247 Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1979/1995. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Salecl, Renata. 1997. “The Postsocialist Moral Majority.” In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, edited by Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, 79-97. New York: Routledge.

Sanford, Wendy Coppedge. 1979. “Working Together, Growing Together: A Brief History of the Boston Women’s Health Book Collective.” *Heresies* 2 (3): 83-92.

Santaemilia, José, ed. 2005. *Gender, Sex and Translation: The Manipulation of Identities*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Sanyal, Mithu. 2009. *Vulva: Die Enthüllung des unsichtbaren Geschlechts* [Vulva: Unveiling an Invisible Sex]. Berlin: Wagenbach.

———. n.d. “Vulva – Unveiling of an Invisible Sex.” Accessed January 2017 http://www.sanyal.de/vulva-unveiling-the-invisible-sex/

Savić, Svenka. 2000. “Seksizam u jeziku – politika omaložavanja” [Sexism in Language – The Politics of Humiliation]. In *Mapiranje mizoginije u Srbiji: Diskursi i prakse, Vol. 2* [Mapping Misogyny in Serbia: Discourses and Practices, Vol.2], edited by Marina Blagojević, 65-85. Belgrade: Asocijacija za žensku inicijativu.

Schaffner, Christina. 2007. “Politics and Translation.” In *A Companion to Translation Studies*, edited by Piotr Kuhiwczak and Karin Littau, 134-147. North York: Multilingual Matters.

Schwartz, Agatha and Helga Thorson. 2014. *Shaking the Empire, Shaking Patriarchy: The Growth of a Feminist Consciousness Across the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy*. Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press.

Scott, Joan W., Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, eds. 1997. *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Seaman, Barbara. 1969. *The Doctors’ Case Against the Pill*. New York: P.H. Wyden.

Sekulić, Isidora. 1994. “Inside Serbia: The War at Home.” *Ms. Magazine* March/April, 18-19.

Sethna, Christabelle. 2011. “All Aboard? Canadian Women¹s Abortion Tourism, 1960-1980.” In *Gender, Health and Popular Culture,* edited by Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, 89-108. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

———. 2006. “The Evolution of the *Birth Control Handbook*: From Student Peer Education Manual to Feminist Self-Empowerment Text, 1968-1975.” *Canadian Bulletin of*

Medical History/Bulletin canadien d'histoire de la médecine 23 (1): 89-118.

Shapiro, Ester R. 2005. “Because Words Are Not Enough: Latina Re-Visionings of Transnational Collaborations Using Health Promotion for Gender Justice and Social Change.” *NWSA* 17 (1): 141-172.

Shiffman, Jeremy, Marina Skrabalo, and Jelena Subotic. 2002. “Reproductive Rights and the State in Serbia and Croatia.” *Social Science & Medicine* 54, 625–642.

Simic, Andrei. 1999. “Machismo and Cryptomatriarchy: Power, Affect, and Authority in the Traditional Yugoslav Family.” In *Gender Politics in the Western Balkans*, edited by Sabrina P. Ramet, 11-29. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

———. 1969. “Management of the Male Image in Yugoslavia.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 42 (2): 89-101.

Simon, Sherry. 1996. *Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission*. London: Routledge.

SisterSong. 2008. *Reproductive Justice Briefing Book: A Primer on Reproductive Justice and Social Change*. Accessed January 2017 http://www.protectchoice.org/downloads/Reproductive%20Justice%20Briefing%20Book.pdf

Skjelsbaek, Inger. 2006. “Victim and Survivor: Narrated Social Identities of Women Who Experienced Rape During the War in Bosnia-Herzegovina.” *Feminism & Psychology* 16 (4): 373-403.
———. 2001. “Sexual Violence and War: Mapping Out a Complex Relationship.” *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (2): 211-237.

Sklevicky, Lydia. 1989. “More Horses Than Women: On the Difficulties of Founding Women’s History in Yugoslavia.” *Gender & History* 1 (1): 68-75.

———. 1987. “Konji, žene, ratovi, itd.: Problem utemeljenja historije žena u Jugoslaviji” [Horses, Women, Wars, etc.: On the Difficulties of Founding Women’s History in Yugoslavia]. *Žena i društvo: Kultiviranje dijaloga* 4, 51-59.

Slavova, Kornelia. 2006. “Looking at Western Feminisms through the Double Lens of Eastern Europe and the Third World.” In *Women and Citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Jasmina Lukić, Joanna Regulska, and Darja Zaviršek, 245-263. Hampshire: Ashgate.

———. 2001. “Translating Gender-Related Texts/Politics In/Out of Context.” Slavova’s unpublished English translation of the original “Sporovete za roda (gender): Znachenje, Upotrebi, Prevodi.” In *Teoria prez granitsite. Vuvedenie v izsledvaniata na roda*, edited by Milena Kirova and Kornelia Slavova, 8-27. Sofia: Polis.

Slavova, Kornelia and Ann Phoenix. 2011. “Living in Translation: Voicing and Inscribing Women’s Lives and Practices.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 18 (4): 331-337.

Sloat, Amanda. 2005. “The Rebirth of Civil Society: The Growth of Women’s NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 12 (4): 437-452.

Smith, Dorothy E. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.

Snitow, Ann. 1995. “Feminist Future in the Former East Bloc.” In *Eastern European Feminist Conference: What Can We Do for Ourselves?*, edited by Marina Blagojević, Daša Duhaček, and Jasmina Lukić, 141-155. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Solinger, Rickie. 2013. *Reproductive Politics: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Soros, George. 1995. *Soros on Soros. Staying Ahead of the Curve*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. 1992/2004. “Politics of Translation.” Reprinted in *The Translation Studies Reader*, edited by Lawrence Venuti, 369-388. New York and London: Routledge.

St. Erlich, Vera. 1971. *Jugoslovenska porodica u transformaciji: Studija u tri stotine sela* [Yugoslav Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Villages]. Zagreb: Institut za književnost i Filozofski fakultet (Liber).

Stambolović, Blagoje. 1976. *Higijena žene: Kako žena da sačuva svoje zdravlje* [Woman’s Hygiene: How Woman Can Protect Her Health]. Belgrade and Zagreb: Medicinska knjiga.

Stevanović, Jasmina. 2008. “Reproduktivna prava u Srbiji” [Reproductive Rights in Serbia]. In *Neko je rekao feminizam? Kako je feminizam uticao na žene u XXI veku* [Somebody Said Feminism? How Feminism Has Influenced Women in the 21st Century], edited by Adriana Zaharijević, 84-93. Belgrade: Heinrich Boll Stiftung.

Stloukal, Libor. 1999. “Understanding the ‘Abortion Culture’ in Central and Eastern Europe.” In *From Abortion to Contraception: A Resource to Public Policies and Reproductive Behavior in Central and Eastern Europe from 1918 to Present*, edited by Henry P. David, with the assistance of Joanna Skilogianis, 23-38. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Stojaković, Gordana. 2011. “Prilog za istoriju ženskog pokreta u Vojvodini i Srbiji 19. i 20. veku” [On the History of the Women’s Movement in Vojvodina and Serbia in the 19th and 20th Centuries]. In *Uvod u rodne teorije* [Introduction to Gender Studies], edited by Ivana Milojević and Slobodanka Markov, 65-81. Novi Sad: Mediterran Publishing.

Stojanović, Jugana, ed. 1977. *Žena i dom* [Woman and the Home]. Translated from the Italian by Jugana Stojanović (*Il grande libro della casa*). Belgrade: Narodna knjiga.

Stojčić, Marijana. 2009. “Proleteri svih zemalja – ko vam pere čarape? Feministički pokret u Jugoslaviji 1978-1989” [Proleterians of the World – Who’s Washing Your Socks? Feminist Movement in Yugoslavia 1978-1989]. In *Društvo u pokretu. Novi društveni pokreti u Jugoslaviji od 1968 do danas* [Society on the Move. New Social Movements in Yugoslavia from 1968 to Today], edited by Djordje Tomić i Petar Atanacković, 108-121. Novi Sad: Cenzura publishing.

Sudetic, Chuck. 2011. *The Philanthropy of George Soros: Building Open Societies*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Susam-Sarajeva, Şebnem. 2006. *Theories on the Move: Translation’s Role in the Travels of Literary Theories*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Šuvar, Stipe. 1980. “Društveni položaj i uloga žene u razvoju socijalističkog samoupravljanja” [Social Position and Role of Women in Socialist Self-Management]. *Žena* 38 (4-5): 13-23.

Thayer, Millie. 2000. “Traveling Feminisms: From Embodied Women to Gendered Citizenship.” In *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections, and Imaginations in a Post-modern World*, edited by Michael Burawoy, Joseph A. Blum, Sheba George, Zsuzsa Gille, Teresa Gowan, Lynne Haney, Maren Klawiter, Steven H. Lopez, Seán Ó Riain, and Millie Thayer, 203-233. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Tobias, Sheila. 1977. “International Notes.” *Signs* 2 (3): 702-705.

Todorova, Maria. 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Todorović, Neda. 1987. *Ženska štampa i kultura ženstvenosti* [Women’s Press and the Culture of Femininity]. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga.

———. 1981. “Ka novoj polnosti” [Toward a New Sexuality]. *Bazar* 440 (Dec. 3, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Nikad nije kasno” [It’s Never Too Late]. *Bazar* 439 (Nov. 19, 1981): 58-59.
———. 1981. “Slobodna žena” [A Free Woman]. *Bazar* 438 (Nov. 5, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Nešto treće” [Something Third]. *Bazar* 437 (Oct. 22, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Žena na ljubavnoj stramputici” [Woman at the Crossroads of Love]. *Bazar* 436 (Oct. 8, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Nezadovoljna žena” [Unsatisfied Woman]. *Bazar* 435 (Sep. 24, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Orgazam, šta je to?” [Orgasm, What is That?] *Bazar* 434 (Sep. 10, 1981): 60-61.
———. 1981. “Potrebna je samo ljubav” [All That Is Needed Is Love]. *Bazar* 433 (Aug. 27, 1981): 60-61.

———. 1977. “Svoga tela gospodar” [The Master of Her Own Body]. *NIN* 1366, (March 13, 1977): 27-28.

Trivunac, Sofia. 1985. “U četiri oka” [Tête-à-tête advice column]. *Bazar* 534, 61.
———. 1985. “U četiri oka” [Tête-à-tête advice column]. *Bazar* 528, 60.
———. 1984. “U četiri oka” [Tête-à-tête advice column]. *Bazar* 518, 59

———. 1983. “U četiri oka” [Tête-à-tête advice column]. *Bazar* 483, 63.
———. 1983. “U četiri oka” [Tête-à-tête advice column]. *Bazar* 481, 62.

True, Jacquie. 1999. “Antipodean Feminisms.” In *Émigré Feminism: Transnational Perspectives*, edited by Alena Heitlinger, 267-293. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tsing, Anna. 1997. “Transitions as Translations.” In *Transitions, Environments, Translations: Feminisms in International Politics*, edited by Joan W. Scott, Cora Kaplan, and Debra Keates, 253-272. New York: Routledge.

Verdery, Katherine. 1996. *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

———. 1994. “From Parent-State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe.” *Eastern European Politics and Society* 8 (2): 225-255.

Višić, Tanja. 2013. “Nacionalne populacione politike i konstrukcija materinstva u post-socijalističkoj Srbiji” [National Population Politics and Construction of Motherhood in Post-socialist Serbia]. In *Postajanje majkom u vreme neoliberalnog kapitalizma* [Becoming a Mother in Neoliberal Capitalist Times], edited by Ana Vilenica, 91-131. Belgrade: uz)bu))na))).

Vučaj, Sunčica. 2009. *Treći glas: Coming out i lezbejke u Srbiji* [Third Voice: Coming Out and Lesbians in Serbia]. Belgrade: Labris.

Vušković, Lina and Sofija Trivunac. 1998. “Feministička grupa Žena i društvo” [Feminist Group Woman and Society]. In *Ka vidljivoj ženskoj istoriji: Ženski pokret u Beogradu 90-ih* [Toward a Visible Women’s History: Women’s Movement in Belgrade in the 1990s], edited by Marina Blagojević, 47-48. Belgrade: Centar za ženske studije, istraživanja i komunikaciju.

Walby, Sylvia. 2004. “The European Union and Gender Equality: Emergent Varieties of Gender Regime.” *Social Politics* 11 (1): 4–29.

Watson, Peggy. 2000. “Re-thinking Transition: Globalism, Gender and Class.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 2 (2): 185-213.

———. 1993a. “Eastern Europe’s Silent Revolution: Gender.” *Sociology* 27 (3): 471-487.

———. 1993b. “The Rise of Masculinism in Eastern Europe” *New Left Review* (March-April 1993). Accessed January 2017 http://newleftreview.org/I/198/peggy-watson-the-rise-of-masculinism-in-eastern-europe

Wells, Susan. 2010. “*Our Bodies, Ourselves”and the Work of Writing*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Wolff, Larry. 1994. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Women's Health Initiative in Bulgaria. 2001. *Naseto Telo, Nie Samite* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Sofia: The Women's Health Initiative Foundation.

Women's Health in St. Petersburg. 2007. *Мы сами и наше тело Новое издание для новой эры* [Our Bodies, Ourselves]. Accessed January 2017 http://www.womenhealth-spb.ru/book/index.php

Woodward, Susan. 1995. *Balkan tragedy : chaos and dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C. : Brookings Institution.

———. 1985. "The Rights of Women: Ideology, Policy, and Social Change in Yugoslavia." In *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, edited by Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer, 234-254. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Woolf, Virginia. 1938. *Three Guineas.* London: The Hogarth Press.

———. 1929. *A Room of One's Own.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co.

Wynn, L.L., Angel M. Foster, and James Trussell. 2010. "Would you say you had unprotected sex if …? Sexual health language in emails to a reproductive health website." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 12 (5): 499-514.

Yee, Jessica, Alisha Nicole Apale, and Melissa Deleary. 2011. "Sexual and Reproductive Health, Rights, and Realities and Access to Services for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis in Canada." *Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecololgy Canada* 33(6): 633-637.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1997. *Gender and Nation*. London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yuval-Davis, Nira and Floya Anthias, ed. 1989. *Woman – Nation – State*. London: Macmillan.

Young, Brigitte (2002). "Globalization and Gender: A European Perspective." In *Gender and Work in Transition: Globalization in Western, Middle and Eastern Europe*, edited by Regina Becker-Schmidt, 49-82. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Zaharijević, Adriana. 2013. "Being an Activist: Feminist Citizenship Through Transformations of Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav Citizenship Regimes." CITSEE Working Paper Series 2013/28. Edinburgh, U.K.: CITSEE. Accessed January 2017 http://www.research.ed.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/being-an-activist%2808bcd81f-828a-47d3-9cfb-983c92928bdf%29.html

Zaharijević, Adriana, Zorica Ivanović, and Daša Duhaček, eds. 2012. *Žarana Papić. Tekstovi 1977-2002* [Žarana Papić. Texts 1977-2002]. Belgrade: Centar za studije roda i politike, Rekonstrukcija Ženski fond, and Žene u crnom.

Zajović, Staša, ed. 2003. Ž*ene, zdravlje i razoružanje* [Women, Health, and Demilitarization]. Belgrade: Žene u crnom.

Žarkov, Dubravka. 2007. *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Break-up of Yugoslavia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

———. 2003. "Feminism and the Disintegration of Yugoslavia: On the Politics of Gender and Ethnicity." *Social Development Issues* 24 (3): 59-68.

Žene ženama Sarajevo. 2014. *Zbornik radova. Osnovni obrazovni program Ženskih studija "Žarana Papić"* [Edited Collection. Women's Studies Education Program 'Žarana Papić']. Sarajevo: Žene ženama Sarajevo. Accessed January 2017 http://www.zenezenama.org/zene/images/dokumenti/zbornik-radova-zs.pdf

Zielinska, Eleonora. 1993. "Recent Trends in Abortion Legislation in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Poland." *Criminal Law Forum* 4 (1): 47-93.

Živanov, Slavko. 2000. "Out of Step: The Year in Review for Serbia." *Central Europe Review* 2 (43), December 11, 2000. Accessed January 2017 http://www.ce-review.org/00/43/roundup43serbia.html

Interviews

Laura Busheikin, Vancouver Island, June 5, 2014
Lepa Mladjenović, Belgrade, July 15, 2014
Sunčica Vučaj, Belgrade, July 15, 2014
Stanislava Otašević, Belgrade, July 16, 2014
J.T. Belgrade, July 17, 2014
Judy Norsigian, Boston, November 17, 2014
Ayesha Chatterjee, Boston, November 17, 2014
Nesrine Bessaih, Montreal, May 4, 2015

Archives

The Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA
Collections:
BWHBC. MC503
BWHBC. MC667

Biblioteka Matice srpske [Library Matica srpska]
Novi Sad, Serbia
Collections:
Žena and *Bazar*

Autonomni ženski centar [Autonomous Women's Centre]
Belgrade, Serbia
Feminističke sveske [Feminist Notebooks]
volume 1, 1994
volume 2, 1994
volume 3/4, 1995
volume 5/6, 1996
volume 7/8, 1997
volume 9/10, 1998
volume 11/12, 1999
http://www.womenngo.org.rs/zenski-pokret/feministicka-literatura/feministicke-sveske

Websites

Autonomni ženski centar [Autonomous Women's Centre] (Belgrade):
http://www.womenngo.org.rs/ (accessed January 2017)

Centar za ženske studije Beograd [Centre for Women's Studies Belgrade]:
http://www.zenskestudie.edu.rs/ (accessed January 2017)

Labris (Belgrade):
http://labris.org.rs/ (accessed January 2017)

Our Bodies Ourselves (Boston):
http://www.ourbodiesourselves.org/ (accessed January 2017)

Žene u crnom / Women in Black (Belgrade):
http://zeneucrnom.org/ (accessed January 2017)

APPENDIX A

Table of Contents – *Our Bodies, Ourselves* (1992)

Table of Contents – *Naša tela, mi* (2001)

Contents

I DEO

Briga o sebi

II DEO

Odnosi i seksualnost

III DEO

Kontrola plodnosti

APPENDIX B

Examples of interview questions

Theme 1: Grassroots involvement
Could you please describe your education background such as any college/university degrees and where you studied?
Would you use the word *feminist* to describe your work/activism? If not, how would you describe it?
How were local translators chosen for the translation project, or how did they become involved?
What kind of editorial freedom did the translators have? Were the translators paid for their work?
What motivated you (the translator) to join the *OBOS* translation project?
Did you collaborate with the other translators, or did you work independently?

Theme 2: Transnational connections
How did you decide to translate *Our Bodies, Ourselves*?
Were there any other books that you were interested in translating?
Have you ever lived in the United States and how long?
Were you in contact with the Boston Collective during the translation process?
Have any of the members in Boston visited you? Have you visited them? In what language do you communicate? Where did you learn English?
Do you have a working relationship with the Boston members?
How familiar are you with the American feminist politics?
Have you collaborated with other NGOs that also translated *OBOS*? If yes, which ones and from which country?

Theme 3: Editorial and content decisions
Which topics did you think were very important for women in Serbia to read and why?
Were there sections of the book or topics that you did not feel comfortable translating?
Do you think that the translation contains any content you think may be considered controversial by some readers/segments of society?
Would you say that there is a political message in the Serbian *OBOS*?
Why did you decide to include pictures of Serbian women in the translation? Why did you decide to keep pictures of American women in the translation?
How important was it for you to add information on abortion in your country?
Did the Soros Foundation have a say in any editorial decisions?

Theme 4: Distribution and readership
Is the published translation on sale in bookstores and which ones?
Was the translation distributed in particular centres/clinics/shelters, etc.?
Who do you think are the readers of the Serbian *OBOS*?
How many copies have been printed and sold/distributed?
Have you received any feedback from readers about the book?
What is the main message you hope the readers should take away from reading this book?
How do you wish the readers should use this book?

APPENDIX C

Ethics Certificate provided by the Ethics Review Board of the University of Ottawa

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the ethics application for the above named research project. Ethics approval is valid for the period indicated above and subject to the conditions listed in the section entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the project, the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove participants from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the project (e.g., change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, including consent and recruitment documentation, should be submitted to the Ethics Office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at: http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html.

Please submit an annual report to the Ethics Office four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to request a renewal of this ethics approval. To close the file, a final report must be submitted. These documents can be found at: http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.