

Women Activism in the Former Yugoslav States

This thesis is submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Political Science and International Relations

by

K. Aslı Erbay

Bogaziçi University
2004

Bogazici University Library



39001102294686

14

PREFACE

The Balkans has always been a fascinating area for me to explore. The dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation and the war, which destroyed lives of many people, changed every aspect of life in the region. I decided to take a look at the women's role in civilian initiative development because this topic goes unnoticed. In a world where more and more emphasis is given to the development of civil society, it is important to explore the development of women's organizations in a conflict zone, where the countries experience transition to democracy. This study approaches women activism from a social movement perspective. Hopefully, it represents a different angle to the reader and enhances his/her perception of women and civil activism.

This study was possible with the help of several people. I am grateful to Eithne Boland, who offered me to contact with her friends from former Yugoslavia. Many thanks to Bilijana Stevanovska, Miss Ines from Women's Infoteka, And my interviewees, Nurije Zhaku from Aureola, Nena Sudar from B.a.B.e, Mirjana

Dimovska from UWOM, Jasmina Ismailovska/ Dilbera Kamberovska from DAJA, Vesna Jankova from ORT. As the local women activists, they provided me with valuable information. My thesis advisor, Mine Eder; her continuous energy, interest, encouragement, and precious comments guided me during this study. Thank you. I would also like to thank Aydın Babuna for his comment on choosing this topic.

My dear parents, Funda-Semih Erbay and my sister Özge, thank you for being always with me in my decisions and have always been a great support to me all my life. My special thanks to Demirtaş family. Nihan Çini, Pelin Sönmez, Yeşim Pekiner, Ebru Anse, Reşad Shirinov and Salih Akkanat, Gülcü sisters and all other friends: their patience, friendship and energy helped me get over the difficult times.

ABSTRACT

Women Activism in the Former Yugoslav States

by

Aslı Erbay

This study questions what kind of factors had an impact on women's organizing during and after the Yugoslav war of 1991-1995. The feminist movement, the Mother's Movement and the anti-war movement in 1990s and their effect on women's organization are the subjects of this thesis.

The argument of this study is that feminist movement of 1980s and anti-war movements mobilized women and paved the way for their self organization in the form of women's NGOs during and after the Yugoslav war. Women were mobilized in anti-war and self-help groups in the former Yugoslav states, where actual armed conflicts took place. The number of women's organizations in these states continued to increase after the war.

This study reflects on the women's organization in the public sphere as a consequence of anti-war and feminist movements, which are examined from the social movement theory perspective. The thesis attempts to show that the women became more active actors in public life during and after the war and women's activism should not go unnoticed.

During my research I gathered data from secondary sources (books, academic articles, internet web-pages, conference papers, field reports) and from primary resources (interviews with women activists in Croatia and Macedonia).

KISA ÖZET

Eski Yugoslav Devletleri'nde Kadın Hareketi

Aslı Erbay

Bu tez, 1990'ların başında eski Yugoslav devletlerindeki kadınların örgütlenmesi üzerindeki hangi faktörlerin etkisi olduğu ana başlığundan yola çıkılarak oluşturuldu. Konu Yugoslavya'daki feminizm hareketi, 1990'ların başında savaşa tepki olarak gelişen Anneler Hareketi ve savaş karşıtı hareketin kadın örgütlenmesine etkisi olarak daraltıldı.

1980'lerde özellikle Hırvatistan, Slovenya ve Sırbistan'da başlayan feminizm hareketi ve 1990'lardaki savaş karşıtı hareketlerindeki deneyimleri kadınların savaş sırası ve sonrasında çok sayıda sivil toplum örgütü kurmuşlarının yolunu açmıştır. Özellikle savaşın doğrudan etkilediği eski Yugoslav devletlerinde kadınlar savaş karşıtı ve insani yardım örgütleri kurmuşlardır. Kadın örgütlerinin sayısı savaştan sonar da artmaya devam etmiştir.

Kadınların örgütlenmesine temel hazırlayan feminizm, savaş karşıtı hareket ve Anneler Hareketi sosyal hareketler teorisi göz önünde bulundurularak incelenmiştir. Bu tez Yugoslavya'daki savaş ve çatışmaların getirdiği koşullarla

kadınların toplumsal alanda savaş öncesi döneme göre daha aktif rol oynadıkları ve kadın örgütlenmelerinin çalışmalarının gözardı edilmemesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır.

Konu hakkındaki bilgiler birinci (mülakatlar) ve ikinci derece kaynaklardan (kitap, akademik makale, saha raporları, konferans yazıları, web-sayfaları) derlenmiştir.

Table of Contents

Preface	iii
Abstract	v
Kısa Özet	vii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Tables	xi
Chapter I: Introduction	1
Chapter II: Theoretical Background	5
Social Movement Theory	5
Women's Organization in the Former Yugoslav States in 1990s	11
A. Mothers' Movement and Anti-war Movement	11
B. Women's Organizing during and after the Yugoslav War	24
Summary	27
Chapter III: Transformation of Women's Consciousness in Former Yugoslavia from 1940s to 1990s	28
A. Three Capitals of Women's Organizing in 1970s and 1980s: Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade	34
Summary	39

Chapter IV: Women Activism Before the War: 1990- 1991	41
Summary	49
Chapter V: Women Activism During the War: 1992 –1995	51
A. Serbia between 1990- 1995	52
B. Croatia between 1992-1995	60
C. Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992-1995	66
D. Macedonia between 1992-1995	72
E. Slovenia and Montenegro	75
Chapter VI: Women Activism in the Post-war Period, 1996- 2003	78
A. Serbia between 1996-2003	78
B. Croatia between 1996-2003	88
C. Bosnia- Herzegovina between 1996-2003	96
D. Macedonia between 1996-2003	104
Summary	116
Chapter VII: Conclusion	117
Appendix	120
Bibliography	132

List of Tables

Table I: Women's organizations in Serbia, 1990-2003	80
Table II: The number of women's organizations in Serbia according to the year of establishment, 1990-2003	86
Table III: Women's organizations in Croatia, 1990-2002	89
Table IV: The number of women's organizations in Croatia according to the year of establishment, 1990-2003	93
Table V: Women's organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1989-2002	99
Table VI: The number of women's organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the year of establishment, 1990-2003	103
Table VII: Women's organizations in Macedonia, 1990-2001	106
Table VIII: The number of women's organizations in Macedonia according to the year of establishment, 1990-2001	111

Chapter I

Introduction: Woman and War in Former Yugoslav States

This study will analyze the women activism within the social movement wave, which is observed in the former socialist/communist states of Eastern Europe after 1989. Chapter II explains the social movement theory perspective and how the Yugoslav women fit in the peace and women's movement in 1990s. The third chapter informs the reader on the economic and social status of women beginning with the Second World War women activism. Women took a leading role during the Axis invasion of the Yugoslav Kingdom lands and contributed to achieving the victory. The socialist system constrained the operation of civil society groups. This attitude prevented women mobilization until mid-1980s. In Chapter IV, V and VI women activism right before, during and after the Yugoslav war were examined respectively. The first women's organizations were established with the anti-war movement of 1990 and 1991 in Serbia and Croatia. The number of women's NGOs (mostly working on humanitarian issues) operating in Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia increased during the war. After mid-1990s the number of women's NGOs (WNGOs) in Macedonia increased. After the war, there was a variety of WNGOs operating in women's political, economic and social rights in these republics.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia raised many issues to be discussed. The high politics issues such as the ultra-nationalist policies in an ethnically diverse environment leading to a conflict, the dynamics of war and the methods to bring about peace were the priorities. Most people observed these events with given premises about international relations in mind. Secondary to the discussion of high politics, the media paid increasing attention to the humanitarian issues about the war. Sexual violence that the Yugoslav women suffered during the conflict was what the

main focus of the media. More specifically, it was the suffering the women went through that the world knew most about. However, there was much more to it. Their war experiences and suffering had social consequences for the post-war period. Women organized themselves before, during and after the war to voice their opposition to the war and to help the war victims.

Women activism started as they took place in peace demonstrations right before the war. It was the first time they organized and were mobilized in mass public activism. The need and urge to survive and help others to survive during and after the war united women against the difficulties of wartime and against nationalist policies. Some of them learned to work with women of "the other side", "the enemy". The peace movement in the former Yugoslav countries during 1990-1991 contributed to the emergence and development of women's groups. Almost all local women NGOs, even the groups working to promote feminism from an academic perspective or the groups working to improve women's engagement in economy were a part of peace activities.

Women first organized rehabilitation centers for women victims of war. The solidarity they showed contributed to the proper functioning of women's organizations in general. The women who received help in these centers were also attracted by the success of these women's groups. In this way the women's groups recruited more and more women activists. Starting with the anti-war demonstrations women organized themselves during the war in other aspects such as humanitarian help for the women and children victims of violence, women and children refugees. Women working in local women organizations gained self-confidence because of their successful work especially in providing humanitarian help for war effected women and children. Their experience and success constructed a model for other

women who joined women groups. Being a survivor drew these women together because they survived the war although they had different ethnic backgrounds. They formed women activism first based on anti-war feelings and then on surviving the war by helping others.¹ The women NGOs did a lot in peace building and preservation and yet they did not receive the attention they deserved. Licht argues that they are still “invisible” although they achieved success.² Chapter four and five deal with the women’s organizing right before the war (1990-1992) and during the war respectively.

The development of women’s groups in the post-war period is the topic of Chapter six. After the war, the scope of women’s organizations broadened. The number of women’s groups focusing on women’s rights, political representation, academic perspective on women’s studies and economic improvement of women grew. Today, women’s organizations are the most stable and strong civil initiatives in the former Yugoslav republics. The members show a great deal of solidarity and cooperation because they started their activities as a result of feeling continuous threat to their existence. It was women’s success to establish and continue the working of these groups. On the other hand, some women worked in the NGOs, which were founded by foreign or international donors. These organizations experienced severe financial problems. The financial resources were scarce and the majority of the organizations depended on foreign donors for funds in all of the former Yugoslav republics.

There are several women’s groups and not all of them are seriously cooperating with the other groups. The majority of these groups are located in the republics, which were most affected by the Yugoslav war: Bosnia, Serbia and

¹ Internet source: Licht, Sonja. <http://wiis.georgetown.edu/Licht.pdf>

² Internet source: Licht, Sonja. <http://wiis.georgetown.edu/Licht.pdf>

Croatia. The women's groups in these countries established a network to exchange their experience. Though there is a large number of women's groups in Macedonia, they are disorganized and suffer from a very hierarchical leadership. Slovenian women's organizations function not as alternative groups but work in close cooperation with the state institutions. In Montenegro women's groups, women's groups did not develop during the war due to the circumstances, which will be explained in chapter five. Obviously, the women mobilization developed in three different ways in these countries because of the specific circumstances of each country. Therefore, the countries will be examined separately.

This study aims to show that there has been an increase in the women activism in the former Yugoslav republics especially during and after the war. It was the war and the humanitarian disaster rather than a feminist consciousness, which encouraged women to take civil action. Their success in civil work gained them respect from the society and the authorities in general. The developments in each country will be examined according to in time periods: before the war, during the war and in the post-war era.

Chapter II

Theoretical Background

Social Movement Theory and Women's Organizing in the former Yugoslav States in 1990s

Women's political and social organization during and after the Yugoslav war will be analysed within the framework of the social movement theory to show the emergence and dynamics of the women's organizing (movement) during 1990s.

This study seeks to address how the women organized.

Social Movement Theory

Social movements have been a part communal life. However, the social movements became significant since the nineteenth century. 1960s was the time when student, feminist, anti-regime movements dominated the life in the United States, France, Mexico, Italy, Germany, Spain, Japan, Pakistan and other countries. Since 1980s, several scholars focused on the social movement theory to understand the dynamics of this process.

What is a "social movement"? Here are some of the definitions by scholars.

"Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new system of living. The career of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life". (Blumer 1969: 99)

"Social movements are ... best conceived of as temporary public spaces, as moments of collective creation that provide societies with ideas, identities, and even ideals". (Eyerman and Jamison 1991: 4)

"Contentious politics occurs when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents. [...] When backed by dense social networks and galvanised by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents. The result is the social movement". (Tarrow 1998: 2)

“(1) *informal networks*, based (2) on shared *beliefs and solidarity*, which *mobilise* about (3) *conflictual issues*, through (4) the frequent use of various *forms of protest*”. (della Porta and Diani 1999: 16)

In Yugoslavia, mothers’ movement *mobilized* the mothers through *informal networks*. The demand of the mothers was the return of their sons from the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). It was a *conflictual issue* when analysed deeply because it entailed the dissolution of the Yugoslav republic on the basis of ethnic segregation policies. The mothers’ movement utilized public *protests* in several places. The anti-war movement was a reaction to the approaching war by the former Yugoslav citizens, who wanted peace. Citizens from all ethnic groups were *united* by their *belief* for peace. Similarly, the anti-war movement also *mobilized* its activists through *informal channels* and the *different forms of collective action* (demonstrations, rock concerts, public discussions, meetings, tour around Europe etc.)

The common points in all of these definitions is that a social movement is the systemic use of form(s) of collective action by any group aiming at replacing an aspect of life with a “better” version. It entails building up challenges by people in interaction with political elites, opponents and authorities for a social solution and solidarity through maintaining collective action (Tarrow, 1996: 3).

Any social movement is based on the philosophy of collective action. Collective action in social movements is the direct action to disturb and challenge the political elites, authorities, social groups or cultural norms. Collective action may take the form of organized personal resistance or assertion of new cultural codes by public disruptive action. Although collective challenges are the most common forms, there are other types of

collective action. These are consensus building among the movements' supporters, lobbying with political authority or challenging cultural norms by changing personal or collective practices of behaviour (Tarrow, 1996: 4).

Social movements have three necessary components in order to transform the "unorganised, autonomous and dispersed population" into an organized body of people acting systematically. These three components are political opportunity structure, social mobilization and framing processes (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996:2). The transformation of the unorganised masses into an organised movement is through reacting to the political opportunities by mobilizing people, using form(s) of collective action and sustaining this process with the shared meanings which keep people together for the movement (Tarrow, 1996: 9). Political opportunity structures, mobilization structures and framing are three necessary conditions to have a social movement.

In order to have a better understanding, these three factors have to be examined.

Political Opportunity Structures:

Tarrow defines political opportunity structures as:

"... consistent dimensions of political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure." (Tarrow, 1996: 85).

Most academic work focused on explaining how changes in a political system generate opportunities for the challengers to initiate and take up collective action (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996: 17).

By encouraging or discouraging people to employ collective action, the political environment creates the political opportunity structure (Tarrow, 1996:

18). Tarrow argues that by responding to the political opportunities, the social movements actually create new political opportunities as a result of their collective action (Tarrow, 1996: 17). It is important to stress that political opportunities and constraints unique to the national framework shape the social movements (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996:3). The political opportunities and constraints are shaped by the unique circumstances of each country. They can be created by international and domestic dynamics. For instance, Oberschall argues that the democratisation movement in Eastern Europe was a result of both international and domestic political opportunities, which ended up in the loss of the communist regimes' legitimacy, followed by the decline in its authority and the rise of challenge by the citizens (Oberschall, 1996: 94). Hence, the political opportunities were open for the Eastern European communist countries by late 1980s (Tarrow, 1996: 85). Opportunity structures encourage the opponents of an authority to take action collectively by using their resources such as people, money and skills. The weakness of the authorities or elite-authority coalitions is a political opportunity for a group to challenge, attack and even draw the elites on their side as allies (Tarrow, 1996: 86-87). The political situation has to offer people space to form alliances among themselves or with a part of the elites to challenge the authorities. Alliances are especially vital for the movements in non-democratic systems since they support the movement against the authorities. The Catholic Church in Poland and the Protestant Church in East Germany helped the maintenance of the pro-democracy movement and protected the activists from being punished by the authorities in 1980s (Tarrow, 1996: 88).

Mobilizing Structures:

“Mobilizing structures” defines informal and formal bodies, which activate people for collective action (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996: 3). The already existing social networks through which people communicate among themselves are the most common sources of creating solidarity among people for collective action.

Personal ties, common values and identities are shared by these networks (Taylor, 2000). Such interaction takes place in a workplace, church, social activity centre, university or similar gatherings. This daily inter-personal communication of the activists establishes the feeling of solidarity and commitment. Nevertheless, the social movements are vulnerable to the gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality inequalities because they are an inherent part of the associations, organizations, clubs, which bring people together. If these inequalities are not overcome, the movement will lose support (Taylor, 2000). Oberschall states that the capacity to mobilize in Eastern European countries was low due to the one-party communist regime (Oberschall, 1996: 94). His study focuses on four countries: Poland, East Germany, Czech Republic and Hungary. In Yugoslavia 1980s was the period when mobilization of the citizens to express alternative political and social ideas (like the feminist, gay-lesbian rights, ecology etc.) began. It was partly due to the state’s relatively relaxed interference or policy to communicate with social groups (like the Churches) in 1970s. In addition, the political culture of the country has always been more open to the Western impact.

Framing:

Framing theory covers the collective identity and culture formation. It is the definition of who “we” are in order to draw the line between “us” and “them”. Taylor defines collective identity as

“the shared definition of a group that derives from its members’ common interests and solidarity” (Taylor, 2000).

According to David Snow, framing is the

“conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action”. (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, 1996: 6)

Collective identity is necessary because it provides a definition of the movement against the opposing groups, urges recruitment of new activists and strengthens the feeling of solidarity among the activists. People gather around the feeling of injustice, which they think is created usually by the wrong policies of their state. Some examples are state definitions of citizenship, gendered definitions of occupations, legal definitions of rights (Taylor, 2000). Social movements develop their own language and culture when they are expressing their ideas, criticisms and solutions. Music, arts, rituals and other symbols and practices express new moral codes in the form of personalized politics (Taylor, 2000). For instance, in East Germany, the democratisation movement developed the frame with two words: “free elections” and “democracy” (Oberschall, 1996: 99). It was adopted by even the several apolitical citizens of East Germany against a state, which lacked a credible and meaningful frame (Oberschall, 1996: 100). The result was Leipzig Monday marches, where the collective identity of “We are the people” was raised against “Them, the communists” (Oberschall, 1996: 100).

Women's Organization in the former Yugoslav States in 1990s

The first women's organizations appeared during 1980s, when the first civil society groups were formed throughout the socialist Yugoslav state.

These groups were mostly feminist organizations with a limited number of members. The mass movement of women into the civil and political life began when the war seemed inevitable. Accordingly, in early 1990s, there were two movements, which were mostly carried out by female activists. They were the "mothers' movement" and the "anti-war/peace movement".

With the beginning of the war, women organized self-help groups both on the local and national level. Women's organizing in the form of civil society groups, which aimed to improve women's rights, continued after the war. The most important peace organization in the anti-war movement, Women in Black, continued its works throughout the war. This development of women's organizing will be examined from the social movement theory perspective.

The mothers' movement and the anti-war movement in former Yugoslavia from 1990 until the beginning of the Yugoslav war will be examined together because they happened at the same time. Hence, some of the conditions, which had an impact on these movements, were common.

A. Mothers' Movement and Anti-War Movement:

Political Opportunity Structure

Political climate in 1980s and early 1990s in the Yugoslav Federation:

1980s was marked by political instability in former Yugoslavia. Milosevic's rise to power in Serbian Communist Party, the overt employment of the Serbian nationalism for mobilizing the masses and the Serbian attempts to change the

federation constitution in favour of a Serbian dominated and re-centralized state structure. These events are the main themes until 1989. After 1989, the poor going economy increased the political tension. Slovenian, Croatian, Macedonian and Bosnian leaders openly react to the Serbian authoritarian policies. They proposed confederation, the maintenance of existing borders and depoliticization of JNA. However, these demands were rejected by the Serb authority, which led to the declaration of independence by Slovenia and the first armed confrontations of the dissolution in 1991.

In this decade, a number of civil society groups in Slovenia, Serbia and Croatia were formed. In Slovenia they were mostly youth organizations while in Serbia and Croatia a number of feminist groups were established. Ramet states that there were independent political interest groups based in Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia by 1989. Their number was between a dozen and two and they represented feminist, ecologist, gay, pacifist, cultural or other interests by issuing bulletins or periodicals (Ramet, 1999: 44). She asserts that some of them were constructed under a governmental structure as mostly observed in Slovenia: the interest groups functioned under the local youth organization and their activities were described as this youth organization's activities (Ramet, 1999: 44). In Croatia independent women's initiatives started a network of peace, human rights and anti-war groups in 1991 as a reaction to the aggression against Croatia.³

The development of both movements were affected by political constraints and opportunities. The most obvious political constraint was

³ Internet source: NGO in Croatia: <http://www.aimpress.org/dyn/trac/archive/data/199909/90922-003-trac-zag.htm>

political repression on the expression of alternative voices by the citizens.

When Milosevic came to power there was state repression of freedom of expression in Serbia and also in Montenegro. The nationalist policies, which militarised the politics and the society, were built upon the lack of a democratic experience. The nature of the ultra-nationalist Milosevic regime was repressive and militarising, which attracted the opposition of ordinary citizens. The people, who were discontented with the regime's policies, decided to show their reaction.

In 2 June 1991, the first mass public meeting of the (Serbian) mothers' movement took place in Belgrade to protest their sons' fighting in the Yugoslav Army (JNA) (Hughes, Mladjenovic, Mrsevic, 1995). The first anti-war protests was organized in spring and summer of 1991 as a result of the cooperation of three women's organizations: Women's Parliament, Women's Lobby and Women's Party (Hughes, Mladjenovic, Mrsevic, 1995).

The general policy of political repression did not bother the mothers' movement in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina because the governments did not perceive this movement as an alternative political stand, which jeopardised their policies. On the contrary, they used this movement to support the ethnic segregation of the Yugoslav people, as a tool for their own nationalist policies. The anti-war movement, however, received state pressure because it openly criticized militarization and nationalist policies of the authorities. Therefore, the mothers' movement did not experience political constraints as much as the anti-war movement.

Political Opportunity Structure and the Mother's Movement:

The political atmosphere and the development of mothers' movement vis-à-vis the political authorities will be explained to understand the political constraint and opportunities regarding this movement.

Mother's movement took place in three former Yugoslav republics: Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It started first in Serbia, followed by the mobilization of mothers in Croatia and Bosnia- Herzegovina. Mothers' movement was a reaction of mothers in Serbia to the recruitment of their sons in the Yugoslav National Army (JNA), who were sent to Slovenia right after the republic declared independence.

The Serbian mothers were the first to perform an organised to protest the Serbian regime's policy of sending the JNA to Slovenia. The matter of discontent, which the mothers reacted upon, was their sons' service in the JNA. The mothers broke into the Serbian Parliament on 2 July 1991. Since the mothers were neither feminists nor the part of the opposition, the Serbian government decided to consider their approach. The state authorities promised to send their sons back but this promise was never kept. However, the Serbian regime accused the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), the main opposition to the regime, for "manipulating" the mothers (Lilly, Irvine, 2002). With this event, the Serbian political authority oversimplified the mothers' movement as a reaction fuelled by the opposition, hence not really taking it seriously as a challenge.

The Serbian mothers' movement was used to accuse the political opposition and to separate the ethnically mixed people in the republics.

According to Licht and Drakulic, the governments of the republics where the mothers movement took place, manipulated the movement in order to destroy the grassroots peace movement. They claim that the mothers' breaking into the Serbian Parliament on 2 July 1991 was tolerated by the Serbian authorities because pretending to meet the mothers demand would "prepare the public opinion for the JNA withdrawal from Slovenia".⁴ The Serbian government-controlled press released a letter from the Serbian mothers in Krajina (Serbian dominated territory in the Croatian republic). The letter asked the Croatian mothers to withdraw their sons back from the army (Irvine, Lilly: 2002). This would change the ethnic balance in the JNA in favour of the Serbs. Hence, the Serbian regime used the media and the mothers' movement to achieve their plan.

The Croatian and Bosnian mother's mobilization began with the transfer of the JNA from Slovenia to Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The movement spread to these two republics. It was clear that the Serbian authorities were not releasing the soldiers. However, Bosnian and Croatian mothers organized themselves to get their sons back. Bosnian and Croatian governments' reaction to the mothers' movement was the same as the Serbian government's method: to manipulate the movement for their political goals.

In Croatia, the government arranged about twenty buses for the Croatian mothers to visit the European Parliament, Brussels and other European cities to attend conferences and meet the Western public.⁵ Licht and Drakulic argue that the Croatian government, which received considerable

⁴ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

⁵ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

international support, wanted to keep this position.⁶ In Bosnia, Izzetbegovic supported two of the three ethnic women's groups, which also ended up in the break up of the peace movement in Bosnia. Licht and Drakulic claim that Izzetbegovic supported the Muslim and Croatian women's groups against the Serbian ones, the latter being against the recruitment of their sons from the JNA. As Drakulic and Licht put it:

“The ruling nationalist parties in both Serbia and Croatia had recast the movement in more partisan, ethnic terms and were attempting to exploit it to mobilize support for their own nationalist programs. Indeed, it seems that the movement had simply been overtaken by politicians on all sides”.⁷

In short, the nationalist governments of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina chose one of the two strategies against the women's movement in early 1990s to reduce its effectiveness: they either directed the collective action into politically and traditionally more accepted forms or they tried to isolate their movement in public life by ignoring their demands (Irvine, Lilly: 2002).

The mother's movement experienced the constraint of political elites' manipulation of their activism to strengthen their own nationalist policies. According to Licht and Drakulic, the authorities in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia did not actually want peace and therefore they did not want any grassroots peace movement.⁸ Hence, they easily tolerated and manipulated the mothers' movement, which did not openly protest the war as its primary goal. Additionally, the ruling elites used the mothers' movement to increase the ethnic tensions. This fact was not understood by the Western media, which

⁶ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html

⁷ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html

⁸ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html

showed the news about the mothers'.⁹ The Serb, Croatian and Bosnian authorities' made use of this movement to strengthen their own nationalist agendas. While the mothers' tours through Europe attracted public attention to the situation in former Yugoslavia, the politicians utilized the movement to pretend before the international community that they were sensitive to the mothers' voices. However, the mothers could not get their demand (their sons' withdrawal from the JNA) because the republics were heading towards a war.

Political Opportunity Structure and the Anti-war Movement:

What about the anti-war movement? The participants of the anti-war movement were majorly women. Licht and Drakulic state that there was an increase in the number of women's groups in Serbia, which opposed the war but did not formally call themselves anti-war organizations.¹⁰ The SOS Hotline established in 1990, the Women's Lobby, Women's Parliament, Women's Aid Centre for War Victims were all taking part in the anti-war movement and spent considerable energy on the projects like the Candle Lighting Ceremony, Women in Black protests, public marches and rock concerts to voice their opposition to the war. The forms of collective action were candle lighting to protest the war, marching, silent protests by the Women in Black protestors, meetings and discussions with NGO representatives, inhabitants and EU officials during the tour in Europe and former Yugoslavia (Peace Caravan). This kind of disobedience was not welcomed by the state authorities, whose policies the movement criticized. One of the Women in Black representatives confirm that the Milosevic rule tried to use repressive

⁹ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

¹⁰ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

measures such as arrests, police investigations and breaches of individual rights in order to stop the anti-war demonstrations (Korac, 1998: 28). At the same time, the government-controlled media was disseminating news to prevent women's anti-war activities and use this movement for the government's nationalistic purposes (Korac, 1998: 28). Korac also claims that the state "propaganda machines" (the media) worked to prevent feminists in the anti-war movement to reach other women (Korac, 1998: 29). It is no surprise that the nationalist state officials denounced the anti-war protestors as anti-patriotic people and traitors. According to Korac, the political elites showed "prompt and strong reaction" because the anti-war movement challenged the state's "ethnic national projects" (Korac, 1998: 29). The peace activists worked under a repressive political atmosphere, which was a political constraint.

As for the political opportunities, there were two of them, which opened the space for expressing their ideas. These opportunities were the international community's (basically the peace groups') support for their cause and the fractured nature of the political elites. External political environment creates opportunities for people to engage in protests by affecting their views about their capacity to mobilize and the possibility of success or failure. The anti-war movement took advantage of the external political environment, which offered the international community support as a political opportunity and encouraged them to organize against war.

The second political opportunity was the division within the political elite, especially in Serbia. The members of the SPO, the main political opposition party, occasionally joined the Candle Lighting Ceremony and the

peace marches in Belgrade. It weakened the state authority by creating an anti-regime alliance of peace activists and main political opposition party.

Mobilization and the Mother's Movement:

The mothers of the JNA soldiers came together through informal means. The founder of the Serbian mothers' movement was Nena Kunijevic, who was a Women in Furs activist. Women in Furs was established as the Serbian political authorities' counter-movement against the mothers. Its activists were making public speeches to criticize the former Prime Minister Ante Markovic.¹¹ Hence, Milosevic regime mobilized some women of the women's movement as a tool of propaganda. The Serbian mothers' activities were spread to other republics by the media, which mobilized other mothers from Croatia and Bosnia. First in Serbia, then in Croatia they received transportation means (buses) to seek their sons in Slovenia as well as to tour around Europe in order to voice their opposition to the recruitment of their sons in the JNA to the Western public opinion.¹² They broke into the parliament, carried out a sitting protest in a Sports Center, which was directed at the generals of the JNA in Belgrade. Croatian and Bosnian mothers came to Belgrade to demand their sons' return from the army but did not contact the Serbian peace movement, showing that the mothers' movement was not organized foremost for peace. Although some women surely joined the movement for peace, the movement was obviously used by the politicians to intensify ethnic distrust and division.

¹¹ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

¹² Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

Mobilization and the Anti-war Movement:

The anti-war movement consisted of several separately organized collective action forms. The independent peace movements took place in all the former Yugoslav republics, the strongest being in Bosnia initially and the weakest in Slovenia. One of the most significant collective actions was the Candle Lighting Ceremony in Belgrade between 8 October 1991 and 8 February 1992. Every night between 50 to several hundred participants gathered in front of the Serbian Parliament to light a candle for the war atrocities. Two women, Natasha Kandic and Biliana Jovanovic were the two organizers of the ceremony and women were the majority of the participants. This activity continued for the following three months and mobilized the maximum number of participants when Cyrus Vance joined the activists on the New Years' Eve at the end of December 1991.¹³ In addition, the movement mobilized the opposition party members and its president, Vuk Draskovic. His continuous participation in the ceremony was a success because it signalled the division of the political elites and the alliance of political elite and citizens in opposition to the regime policies.

After 8 February 1992, Candle Lighting Ceremony was repeated for three years and mobilized people for other forms of collective action, such as petitions. One of the petitions managed to collect 80,000 signatures to demand the end to mobilizing the Serbian and Montenegrin soldiers beyond the borders of these republics. Drakulic and Licht assert that this was one of the most massive anti-war collective action taken during the war.¹⁴

¹³ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

¹⁴ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

Another collective anti-war action was organized by the European peace activists but aimed to mobilize both Yugoslav and European citizens for protesting the approaching war. It was the Peace Caravan, which started its tour around Europe and former Yugoslav republics in September 1991. There were 500 members of the Caravan, 200 Italians, 30 Germans, Scandinavians, French, Hungarian and others. 20 people from Belgrade joined the Caravan.¹⁵ Hence, the Caravan was dominated by nationals of other countries, who gathered masses in the Yugoslav republics for the peace movement. The Caravan attracted public attention through the conferences and meetings, which brought the Caravan participants and the people together. For instance in Novi Sad, the Caravan was greeted by 600-800 people with placards, public discussions with the opposition political party members, civil initiative activists and independent media members as well as a rock concert.¹⁶ The Caravan managed to attract a participant number of 8,000-10,000 in Sarajevo in September 1991. The Caravan members met three major political party representatives, the Bosnia-Herzegovina government representatives and President Alija Izetbegovic. The personal communications established between the Caravan members and the local people mobilized several Yugoslavs to set up their own peace groups.¹⁷

The independent anti-war groups organized several marches and concerts independently from each other. The marches and concerts mobilized the most number of people. In March 1992, Belgrade Civic Resistance

¹⁵ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

¹⁶ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

¹⁷ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

Movement organized a peace rally to demand a ceasefire in Sarajevo, which was shelled by the Bosnian Serb Army. 100,000 protestors, including the Serbian Movement of Renewal Party members, also participated. The mobilization for anti-war demonstrations reached its maximum number during one of the peace concerts. The peace concert organized by the Yugoslav TV in July 1992 witnessed the participation of 300,000 people in Sarajevo.¹⁸

One of the anti-war groups, which continuously performed collective action, was Women in Black, Belgrade. Two of its members' words would summarize the peace activists' motivations and experience of mobilization.

A Bosnian woman having an ethnically mixed family said:

“I remember it was March 8, 1994, and I was passing by, and I saw a woman who was crying a slogan ‘My Mostar [a town in Bosnia- Herzegovina] will be forever young’. That got to me, I started crying, I came up to her, asked her where she got the slogan. She told me “Come on, join me. You carry this.’ [A banner] I asked: “What is this’ [gathering], and she said “the group *Women in Black*’ and so on, “one of our activists is here, she is from Mostar.’ We talked and since then I sometimes have felt the need to go on Wednesdays when they stand, protesting against the war and that’s how we grew close...” (Korac, 1998: 32).

Radmilla Zarkovic, a Bosnian Serb refugee woman activist expressed why she joined the Women in Black:

“I have joined the Women in Black because they are the only organization here in Belgrade which continually, for the last three and a half years, every Wednesday, protest on the street. There are other anti-war groups in Belgrade, not just women’s groups, which are trying to do something against this war, but I think that it is very important to express your resistance to war publicly, on the street...” (Korac, 1998: 33).

¹⁸ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

It is through the Wednesday protests that they became anti-war activists. In addition, the group organizes international meetings annually in Novi Sad since 1992, bringing together women anti-war groups from former Yugoslavia and Europe. This meeting contributes to the inter-ethnic communication of women across the borders.

It can be concluded that the activists were mobilized through informal channels and by the collective action activities (which are open to public) organized by these movements. Peace activism right before the war prepared the background for mobilizing people, especially women, to establish the anti-war and self-help organizations. This phase will also be analysed in the following section.

Framing, the Mother's Movement and the Anti-war Movement:

As stated earlier, the framing theory covers the collective identity and culture formation. The mother's movement utilized motherhood and the mother identity to mobilize women against the Yugoslav policy of recruitment. The common interest of the Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian mothers' was the return of their sons from the JNA. They legitimized their demand through the motherhood identity: it was only natural for women to want the return of their sons. The generals and the public sympathized with them because they were mothers. Since the mothers' movement lacked a certain agenda they could not stand firm and their mother identity was used by the politicians as a part of their militarist and nationalist rhetoric.

Women in Black Belgrade, the most organized and systematically working peace group with a political agenda. These women created a culture of their own activism: they protested against militarism, nationalism, violence

against women and war every Wednesday by standing in silence on the street. The women were carrying placards, which showed their political stand. They were wearing black dresses. They openly criticized the nationalist regimes and made a clear distinction between themselves and the authority. The peace activists were “us” while the nationalist militarist governments were “them”. The language of the organization was anti-militarist, anti-nationalist and feminist. The public statement the group announced on 10 June 1992 read:

“We say that the *Serbian regime* and its *repressive structures* (Federal Army and paramilitary formations) are responsible for all three wars, in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serbian regime leads to wars in the name of all citizens of Serbia. This way all the citizens become hostages of their imperialistic policies” (Korac, 1998: 32).

The fact that the peace movement and the mothers’ movement lacked an organized and systemic nature and the harsh realities of armed conflict reduced these movements to insignificant events. The international media was less occupied with the peace movement than the war itself, which makes it difficult to document the details about these movements. The language and the culture of these movements can only be learned from the participants’ experiences. However, one thing remains sure: these movements were not enough to prevent the war.

B. Women’s Organizing during and after the Yugoslav War

As stated previously, the anti-war movement took place in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. They were mostly organized by women and the majority of the participants were women. Before the war broke out, women formed several peace groups. For instance, “Women for Peace” was established in Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia in March 1991. Another WNGO was Center for Anti-War Action, which was founded in summer 1991 as a peace group. The SOS Hotline for Women and

Children Victims of Violence was set up during the war in all war-torn former Yugoslav republics. This group founded the Group for Women Raped in War in December 1992, which aimed to offer medical and social help to raped women during the war. The Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence was established by this group on 10 December 1993. These are some of the organizations, which were developed out of the anti-war movement in Serbia. Numerous similar groups emerged in Croatia and a few in Bosnia such as the Center for Women War Victims, Women's INFOTEKA (1992 in Croatia) and Medica Zenica (1993 in Bosnia). There are many other WNGOs, which were formed by women during the war and included several anti-war women activists. The organizations above will be examined in detail in the following chapters.

The experience of women in the anti-war movement and feminist organizations opened the way for the establishment of women's organizations during and after the Yugoslav war of 1992-1995. During the war, a number of WNGOs were founded most of which were anti-war groups also containing humanitarian help services. After the war, women initiated organizations, which worked for the improvement of economic, social and political rights of women. These organizations are born out of anti-war and feminist activism and can be defined as "a complex, or formal, organization that identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement these goals" (Zald, McCarthy, 1987: 20).

When asked about whether feminist groups' activism had an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war, the activists in WNGOs confirm that they had a positive impact. Nurije Zhaku, Dilbera Kamberovska, Mirjana Dimovska from Macedonia state that the feminist groups'

work empowered and encouraged women to participate in civil life. More women participate in civil society because they know that as the number of organized women increases, the women manage to influence the state of affairs and improve some aspects of women in social life (Interviews).

The contribution of the feminist awakening of 1970s in former Yugoslavia to the women's participation in the anti-war movement in early 1990s and women NGO (WNGO) formation will be examined below.

Emergence of Feminist Organizations as the First Women's Initiatives:

The Western feminist movement of 1970s and 1980s paved the way for the emergence and development of Yugoslav feminism. In mid-1970s, feminist women from academia organized themselves politically, arguing that the SAWPY was not willing to improve the gender relations and Yugoslav women did not use their legal rights to the full because of "cultural traditionalism" (Ramet, 1995: 223-224). Hence, the first phase of women's movement during the socialist regime began in 1978 and ended in 1985. The unauthorized international conference, "Comerad-ess Woman: Woman Question-New Approach" held in 1978 and as well as the first feminist organizations, such as Women and Society signaled the beginnings of feminist activism. The official women's organization retaliated these developments with a political argument and announced that "feminism was synonymous with disloyalty to Yugoslavia" (Cockburn, 1998: 160). It is important to note that the Yugoslav feminism was an urban movement and it developed mainly in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Women's groups in Zagreb operated independently from any other organization and were focused on feminist issues.

The second period, feminist activism, started in mid-1980s and lasted until the Yugoslav war broke out in 1991. Most of the women decided to take part in

civilian action in dealing with the daily problems of women (Ramet, 1995: 224-225). Feminist movement and women's organizing in 1980s in general was not only important developments for women's attempts at organizing themselves for improving their position in the society, but was also important because the feminist organizations questioned the policies of communist and neo-nationalist governments. They criticized the contradictions of the Yugoslav system, such as inter-ethnic tensions, which were hidden under the communist rhetoric and the neo-nationalist policies of re-strengthening male control of women in the public and private spheres (Cockburn, 1998: 160).

Summary

The mothers' movement, anti-war movement and the feminist revival in the former Yugoslav states (mainly in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia) prepared the background for the establishment of WNGOs during and after the Yugoslav war. Women participated in these movements mobilized other women to form WNGOs, which shared the common objective of improving the status of women in society. As the number of WNGOs increased, these groups turned into a network of women, who worked to challenge the rules in order to change and improve women's rights through mutual cooperation with each other. Hence, these WNGOs became a ground of solidarity with a common culture, which derives from the common goal of improving women's economic, social and political status after the foundation work done by the previous womens organizations founded in the pre-war era.

Chapter III

Transformation of Women's Consciousness in Former Yugoslavia from 1940s to 1990s

This chapter presents information about the history of women's movement in former Yugoslavia in the twentieth century. Yugoslav women's movement had its roots in the late nineteenth century, when women demanded political, social and economic rights from the rulers. However, the development of women activism in the twentieth century will be examined for the purposes of this study. The particular problems women's movement experienced and its development during the socialist era give a better understanding for the emergence of women activism.

Twentieth century women activity in former Yugoslavia had two routes: the socialist women organizations established during the German invasion in 1941 and then the independent feminist organizations, effective especially after late 1970s.

In the inter-war period, Yugoslav women organized themselves to acquire suffrage, fight against alcoholism, prostitution and war (Jalusic, 1999: 63). Women established several groups. For instance, only in Slovenia there were at least 67 women organizations by 1939 (Jalusic, 1999: 62). From mid-1930s, a split between women movement became apparent in the Yugoslav Kingdom. The Communist Party took up the "women issue" in this period (Jalusic, 1999: 62).

The Communist Party established the "Alliance of Women's Movement and Yugoslav Association of University Educated Women" and the youth group the "Union of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia", through which it controlled many local women's groups. This socialist organization of women organized and participated in mass-scale protests against the deteriorating living standards and the coming war in late 1930s (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 329). During the Second World War,

the people of Yugoslav Kingdom, men and women, fought against the Axis powers to end the occupation of their country. The social discrimination against women in the inter-war period channeled women more to affiliate with socialism and national liberation as women's liberation (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 72). This was not a new phenomenon because the women organizations used women's rights issue as a part of the national liberation movement in late nineteenth century. For instance, General Slovenian Women's Society claimed that the women's issue was an essential part of Slovenian liberation from Austria-Hungarian empire and gained support for the foundation of the first independent Slovenian women's organizations (Jalusic, 1999: 53). German occupation of Yugoslav kingdom in 1941 started independence movements in which many women were involved. The number of women soldiers was few. Most women stayed behind the lines, where they were very successful in supporting the fighters logistically (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 86). According to some figures, about 100,000 women fought in the regular Partisan units, 25,000 women were killed and 40,000 were wounded (Cockburn, 1998: 157). Cockburn argues that approximately one fifth of women played an active role for independence and new order (1998: 157). There were about 2000 women officers in the partisan forces (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 329). The women's contribution in war was regarded as "vital for victory". They worked at the rear; sheltering, feeding and clothing the civilians and nursing the wounded soldiers. They held the civilians behind the lines together and supported the soldiers logistically. The socialist rule rewarded these efforts with social and economic rights after the Yugoslav state was established.

In December 1942, the first women's conference was organized. Women from all over Yugoslav lands (except for Macedonia, which was behind the front)

participated.¹⁹ The most important outcome of this conference was the establishment of the "Anti-Fascist Front of Women" (AFZ), with two million members (Cockburn, 1998: 156-157). The Anti-Fascist Front of Women (AFZ) was the basis of the Union of Women's Associations, which was later named as the Conference for the Social Activity of Women. These organizations were constituted by the socialist rulers in order to mobilize women and make the representation of the women's movements a subordinate part of class struggle ideology.

AFZ was not only effective for organizing women to achieve victory but was also significant because it was the basic model of the party's official organ, Union of Women's Associations, to "represent" women. The Communist Party organized the National Liberation Front, under which the AFZ women's commissions were set up in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Skopje and other big cities for the purpose of mobilizing women to the partisan movement. In 1944, the socialist regime placed them under the newly established local institutions (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 329). From 1942 to 1944, women were in control of the AFZ local and federal units. In 1944, the state authorities pronounced the first official discontent with the AFZ, accusing the AFZ to have been turned solely into narrow-minded women's organizations (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 81). Previously the local AFZ groups were consisted primarily of women from the dominant ethnic community in that region. After the CPY report of 1944, this discriminatory policy was officially –and in theory- changed. The AFZ aimed to attract all women, regardless of ethnicity and religion, into its organization because the AFZ member regarded the political, religious and national differences as dividing forces to be erased. In 1945, the AFZ local councils were subordinated to the local administrations instead of the AFZ

¹⁹ Internet source: <http://www.womenngo.org.yu>

central committee and it became an organization for all women (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 81). The women who served with remarkable success in the partisan struggle were appointed to the higher cadres of the socialist administration after the war. Unfortunately, the recruitment of women in the local AFZ branches was not only based on service during the war but also on ethnicity. The majority of women in a local AFZ council belonged to the dominant ethnic group in that area. The inter-ethnic communication among women was possible in the higher ranks of the AFZ. The goal and structure of the AFZ left inter-ethnic cooperation at the minimum except the women's solidarity during the First and Second Anti-Fascist Women's Conferences. Therefore, the AFZ remained ineffective in uniting Yugoslav women regardless of their ethnicity. The inter-ethnic violence during the Second World War could not erase or at least minimize the suspicions and distrust among different ethnic groups among the Yugoslavs. The AFZ also remained ineffective about enhancing cross-ethnic cooperation within its own staff. It was established by the socialist circle to educate women for the socialist goal, which was affirmed by the AFZ's subordination to ruling elite as a political tool. The AFZ was not designed to be and could not become an independent group of women representing women (Jancar-Webster, 1998: 82). It also worked to prevent any connection among the pre-war women's movement, the national liberation and the socialist era. Therefore, the pre-war women's movement, labeled as "bourgeois" women's movement, could not continue in the new socialist state (Jancar-Webster, 1998: 85). Nevertheless, AFZ contributed to improve women's condition. The institution played an important role in the educational and cultural services provided to women for eleven years. In 1950, AFZ was formally subordinated to the regime structure under the Women's Section (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 329). It was abolished in 1953 on the

grounds that it was too much involved in political activity.²⁰ The authorities asserted that women's equality with men could be achieved by the work of official organizations, which were not gender specific. The party established the Union of Women's Societies replacing the AFZ, which was united with the Communist Party's women's commissions in 1961 (Ramet, 1999: 94). The Union's activities were limited to education of women from rural areas. Consequently, women as independent active players disappeared from the political scene until the feminist movements of 1980s.²¹

The role of women in the national liberation war provided women with organizing themselves under the socialist rule. However, the socialist rule demanded their complete subordination to the system as a socialist rather than a women's organization. Hence, women's activity took on mainly socialist character and not a women's movement character. Women could not transform the AFZ into a women's organization which could influence the policy making process. The state institutions provided women's contact with each other in the socialist era and women's issues were discussed as long as they remained within the socialist political philosophy and policies. This situation reduced the women's ability to organize themselves and operate autonomously (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 85).

The status of women improved significantly in the socialist era compared to the inter-war period. One proof of this is the Article 24 of the 1946 constitution. Article 24 proposed the improvement of women's status in the post-war era due to the role women played during the Second World War. Women's role in the war proved to be of vital help for the socialist victory. It has been said that military

²⁰ Internet source : <http://www.womenngo.org.yu>

²¹ Internet source: <http://www.womenngo.org.yu>

victory could not be achieved without women's participation on the side of the communist forces (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 86). The 1946 Constitution of socialist Yugoslavia guaranteed equality of the sexes in Article 24:

“Women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of state economic and social life. Women are entitled to a salary equal to that of men for the same work, and enjoy special protection in the labor relationship. The state particularly protects the welfare of mother and child by the establishment of maternity hospitals, children's homes and day nurseries, and by ensuring the right to paid leave before and after confinement” (Ramet, 1999: 94).

These legal guarantees and official encouragement for women to participate more actively in the public sphere resulted in the increased participation of women in positions of power until the Economic Reform of 1965 (Ramet, 1995: 220). The state reorganized gender relations to some extent with the announcement of the industrialization program. There was a significant need for labour power for industrial production, which culminated in the employment of women in the public sector. As a result of this, relatively more women were employed as workers while their household duties were carried out by the elderly relatives or by the state facilities such as kindergartens, semi-prepared food, labor-saving devices etc. (Verdery, 1994). Even though more and more women were employed especially in the urban centers, women were still responsible for the household management (Wolchik, 1998: 289). Women's role was a public concern in every 8 March International Women's Day, when their contribution to founding socialism was commemorated (Wolchik, 1998: 292). However, this development lasted only until 1965. The 1965 Reform, which introduced market socialism, had negative and positive consequences. One of the consequences was the rising unemployment. The employment of women was limited: they were employed in certain sectors, such as health care, textiles and leather industry, tourism and education but they were underrepresented as journalists, academicians, administrators and judges (Ramet,

1999: 97). Despite unemployment, women seemed content with their improved legal status, which was a symbol of the socialist cadres' appreciation of women's role in public life.

With the 1965 Economic Reform, the number of women represented in political and managerial positions dropped significantly (Ramet, 1995: 220-221). It was exactly this time when a group of women tried to change the Croatian Conference for Women's journal, *Zena*, into a feminist periodical. This was only one civilian protest against the deterioration of women's position. Coupled with the protests in the Ninth Congress of the League of Yugoslavia in 1969, the women's participation in mid-1970s reached the numbers of early 1960s (Ramet, 1995: 221). However, the percentage of women employed in decision-making positions was still very low. Meanwhile, the economic reforms of 1970s and 1980s weakened women's status because more women were fired from jobs and left without a regular income (Cockburn, 1998: 158). Two thirds of Yugoslav women remained outside the work force by 1981 (Cockburn, 1998: 157). The feminist revival in former Yugoslavia began under these economic conditions.

A. Three Capitals of Women's Organizing in 1970s and 1980s: Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade

1. Ljubljana, Slovenia

The new Slovenian women activism was born as a reaction to socialist system in 1980s. It was a part of the broader civil society movement in Slovenia, which was influenced by the "East European ideas of anti-politics and civil society as an anti-statist parallel oppositional organization" (Jalusic, 1998: 113). New women NGOs were established. Some women groups were set up under the Communist Youth League. Their areas of interest were mainly nuclear power issues and peace

movements (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 330). However, Ljubljana became a center of feminist awakening.

The first women's groups in Slovenia, like its counterparts in Zagreb and Belgrade, were feminist groups. These feminist groups were founded in Slovenia with two purposes. The first one was to criticize the state's official policies about women, which denied the existence of women's issues and feminism as subversive thoughts (Jalusic, 1998: 113). The second purpose was to open a space for a separate women's identity and consciousness by sharing experiences, knowledge and criticisms of the patriarchal system (Jalusic, 1998: 113).

In 1984, the first women's group, The Women's Section at the Sociological Society, was founded. It provided the first study of gender equality in the post-war Slovenia and tried to raise consciousness about feminism. Meanwhile in 1980s there was a large number of research and published material on women's studies, focusing mainly on women's initiatives (Jalusic, 1998: 113). The Women's Section of the Sociological Society organized the first public women's meeting since the Second World War. These meetings and lectures were called the Lilit Section and it was the extension of the academic discussions about women's identity, women in the media, domestic violence and abortion rights (Jalusic, 1998: 114).

In 1980s, there were two important public events, which gathered feminist women groups in Slovenia. The first one was the public demonstration against the obligatory military training for women. The demonstration was mentioned in the secret documents of the Yugoslav People's Army in 1985 (Jalusic, 1998: 115). The second event was the protest of nuclear power plantations in Yugoslavia. The Working Group for Women's Movement and Women's Studies and the Working Group for Peace Movement organized this protest in 1987. The feminist groups did

not join the nationalist civil society movement in the same era (Jalusic, 1998: 116-117). On the contrary, they expressed their concerns and criticisms against the national-cultural elites (Jalusic, 1998: 117).

The feminist groups in Slovenia were most active in 1987-1988, trying to take action against all problems. Two of the four Yugoslav feminist meetings also took place in Ljubljana in December 1987 and January 1991 (Jalusic, 1998: 115). They organized anti-abortion campaigns in late 1980s and during the 1990 multi-party elections. Although women groups had differences in their opinions, attitudes, ideology and structure, they were united in their protest of the proposal for the 1990 constitution to ban abortion (Jalusic, 1998: 120).

2. Belgrade, Serbia

As in all former republics, there were a number of political and social factors, which influenced the development of women's organizations in Serbia. According to Marina Blagojevic, the most important of these factors for Serbia were the war - because women's movement was obviously an initiator of the anti-war movement-, international WNGOs' network -supporting the development of women's organizing in Serbia- and the "strong theoretical grounding in feminist initiatives during the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia" (Blagojevic, 1998: 20). The feminist movement in Serbia began with the organization of the international feminist conference "Comerad-ess Women" in 1978 in Belgrade (Bagic, 2001).

The outcome of this conference was the establishment of "Women and Society" in Croatia and Belgrade in 1986. The mid and late 1980s witnessed the opening of the SOS Hotlines in Belgrade as well as Zagreb and Ljubljana. These groups were independent of the socialist state and were a member of the national and international feminist networks (Korac, 1998: 6). Several feminists who were active

in these organizations took part in the establishment of WNGOs during and after the war. Belgrade feminists met through friendship channels in order to continue their activities in the same framework. (Ramet, 1995:225).

3. Zagreb, Croatia

The emergence of feminist activism in socialist Yugoslavia took place earliest in Zagreb in mid-1960s. A group of feminist scholars attempted to transform the Croatian Conference for Women's Journal, *Zena*, into a feminist journal. They gave up this attempt by 1968 and withdrew from public activism for a decade (Ramet, 1995: 223).

Croatia was an important center of women activism during 1970s and 1980s. In late 1970s there was a circle of feminist scholars, who met regularly and exchanged the findings of their researches on the role of Yugoslav women. They published their essays and accentuated public awareness about feminism (Ramet, 1995: 222). The most important events were in 1970s were the 1976 conference of the Sociology Association and the establishment of "Women and Society" group in Zagreb in 1979.

Woman and Society was established by feminist scholars (Ramet, 1995: 225). The members were mostly sociologists and philosophers. Since the group was dominated by academics, they organized lectures, public talks and published articles in major periodicals covering feminist concerns (Ramet, 1995: 225). In 1985, a second group called "Vidovic" was established in Trnje, Zagreb. The number of the core activists changed from 20 to 30 and they were not academically interested in feminism. They worked to stir the public awareness about women's issues and to help battered women (Ramet, 1995: 225).

Another group to raise consciousness and help women was founded in 3 March 1988 as the initiative of Women's Group Tresnjevka: the SOS Hotline. It was the first organization to provide women with direct help. The SOS Hotline received a small amount of money from the state lottery. In 1989, Frauenhaus Mainz, a women's group from Germany, funded the Hotline (Bagic, 2001: 13). The Hotline activists supplied financial resources from the German women's group Frauenhaus Mainz through their personal contacts. This event was a signal of foreign women's groups' willingness to cooperate with the women's organizations in former Yugoslavia. The Hotline members started to put pressure on the Croatian government in 1990 to open a shelter house for refugees. The official authority reckoned this demand as civil disobedience and the women activists gave up trying to force the government on this issue. After the group began working with refugee women, it became apparent that they needed to work professionally and not on a voluntary basis (Bagic, 2001: 13). One of the SOS Hotline activists stated that the organization did everything by themselves at first without professional support from any foreign NGO. The women activists set up rules, regulations and controlled the operations of the group according to the rules they set up. Hence, women organized themselves on their own for issues important to them before the international NGOs and donors offered them training on NGO development (Bagic, 2001: 14). The foreign women grassroots groups' donations organizations funded the WNGOs to cope with women victims of violence. International NGOs, governments and foundations started to donate money much later (Bagic, 2001: 14). When the organization was disbanded in 1990, the activists did not stop their work. The SOS Hotline was a group where women activists learned how to work in a civil society

group. Consequently, almost all of the groups, which were formed after 1990, have a former SOS Hotline activist.

Summary

Women's movement in Yugoslavia was a politically neutralized movement until 1980s. The socialist rule took over the women's organization in parallelism with the socialist ideology. It incorporated the existing women groups into the socialist apparatus first as the Union of Women's Associations, then as the Conference for the Social Activity of Women (Cockburn, 1998: 157). In other words, the socialist leadership reduced the question of women's rights or gender equality to merely class inequality (Ramet, 1999: 103).

The political control mechanism of the various interest groups and women's lack of demand for an independent women's movement prevented the emergence of such a movement right after the foundation of the socialist Yugoslavia (Jancar-Webster, 1999: 87). These disadvantages prevented women to become active political actors to speak up for their own future. In the socialist period, the academic circles neglected the history of Yugoslav women's movement on purpose (Emmert, 1999: 33). Scholarly work concentrated on the socialist women's movement within the general Yugoslav women's movement in the inter-war period. Very little attention was paid to non-socialist women's organizations (Emmert, 1999: 33). Therefore, the history of women's movement was politicized, with the aim of informing people by the ideological propaganda that there were only socialist women seeking and receiving equal rights in the inter-war period.

When the 1980s feminist organizations were established, they functioned independently from the official socialist women's organization. The feminists challenged not only the representation of women's issues by a politically

subordinated women's organization but also the notions of gender, women in social and economic life, ethnic nationalism, homosexuality, political representation of women etc. The state institutions labeled independent feminist organizations as subversive movements targeting to weaken the Yugoslav state, which was already in decline.

Despite the nature of women's activism during the socialist rule, women established feminist organizations in the mid-1980s. This situation provided a base for the further development of women's activism during and after the war.

Chapter IV

Women Activism Before the War: 1990- 1991

This chapter is about the women's groups' activities just before the war. 1990-1991 was a time when the women in Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia engaged in civil activism through mothers' movement and the anti-war movement. In the other republics, women activism developed in different ways. The possible reasons will be discussed below.

In all successor states there was a dislike toward feminism and women's issues partly because they began to occupy social life during the former regime. The imposition of women's role from the socialist leadership and consequently the changing nature of this role during the socialist rule were identified with the socialist regime. Gender equality was outspoken by the socialist regime as a goal. When this regime collapsed, along with anything related to the former regime, people rejected to "give a lip service" to reaching that goal (Wolchik, 1998: 293). On the other hand, the public and institutional recognition of women activists of 1980s enabled them to introduce feminism as a worldview and paved the way for their important presence in the peace activism of 1990s.

There are some important events, which led women to organize themselves before and during the war. The nationalist state policies was the basic reason, which accelerated women's organizing. The state effort to legally restrict the reproductive rights of women was a state attempt to restrict individual rights. Women's reaction to this effort reflected their opposition to the nationalist policies. More importantly, the states' military aims and the war itself accelerated women's organizing. The military policies led women to express their ideas in the Mothers' Movement and the anti-war movement. Therefore, it is possible to say that the women became active

against nationalism and the nationalist policies of the states. It was their opposition to ethnic nationalism and state policies that motivated them to organize themselves. What gave them the strength and confidence in such a suppressed political environment? I think one reason was the effect of the relatively free political atmosphere of the socialist era, the legacy of speaking their minds. The second reason was the repression of the nationalist governments. This showed that the women challenged the authority and they were strong enough to *be active* in opposition to the state policies. McSpadden asserts that the women protest of war and violence has been ignored and less known within the Balkan context (Korac, 1998: *i*). Women's protest against nationalism, war and violence was the beginning of a mass grassroots movement, asserting their political stand against the nationalist authorities.

In this period, all women activism grew as a reaction to war and to rehabilitate the war victims. The women movement in each former Yugoslav republic started to follow a different path than the others in 1990s. There were two basic reasons: the women movements' legacy and the effects of political climate.

To understand the political climate, one needs to examine the events of 1980s leading to the women participation to mothers' movement and the anti-war movement in 1990-1991. The movement of 1980s was local in character and was influenced by the regional developments. In Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia the women organizations followed the legacy of the 1980s feminist activism. In contrast, Macedonian women organizations grew out of the socialist regime's official group, Conference for Social Activity of Women, but they claimed to be independent from political ideologies and parties. The Bosnia-Herzegovina case is unique because there was no legacy of women groups coming from the socialist years. Women

activism was initiated and developed by international organizations' programs (Bagic, 2001). Hence, the feminist legacy in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia made it possible for the emergence of local women groups while in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina international organizations were channeling women activism.

The second reason for the different development of women's movements in the successor states was the specific political conditions of each country, which are mostly shaped by war. Bagic argues that each successor states' political conditions and particular effects of war determined women's organization, goals and activities differently from one another (Bagic, 2001). Consequently, each country experienced the women activism differently at this period.

During the few months before the war broke out, the center of anti-war activism was Sarajevo. There, both men and women were involved in the anti-war movement. The war raised the anti-war consciousness among Bosnian women as well as men. While Bosnian women excessively organized themselves during and after the war, there was lack of a strong civil participation of women in Montenegro. There were few women in the country, who were involved in a women's group before the war.

In Slovenia, WNGOs were mostly occupied with the women's reproductive rights –abortion-, equal citizenship and “women-friendly state” issues (Jalusic, 1999: 109). The feminist groups remained precautionary against the “rush to independence” (Jalusic, 1999: 116). In the following years, this precautionary stand turned into “apolitical orientation” (Jalusic, 1999: 127). Thus, the Slovenian WNGOs kept a low profile.

Similar to their Slovenian counterparts, Serbian and Croatian women involved in protesting women's reproductive rights in the beginning of 1990s.

Nevertheless, women's participation in the Mother's movement and the anti-war movement became more and more obvious during the same period.

In Serbia, the feminist groups organized in 1980s were the roots of the women's organizations, which were established in 1990s. Korac states that these women's lobbies, parliaments and umbrella organizations were all established as a reaction to ethnic nationalism (Korac, 1998: 8). Feminists in Serbia intensified their opposition to ethnic nationalism between 1989- 1991 (Korac, 1998: 23). The women's groups emphasized that the ethnic nationalism's engagement based on territorial sovereignty and discrimination of the other, threatened civil rights and particularly women's rights. (Korac, 1998: 9). Nadezka Cetkovic, a founder of the Women's Shelter and a prominent women activist, states that the characteristic of women activism changed with -and as a reaction to- the nationalist state policies (Korac, 1998: 24). The feminist activism changed with the rise of ethnic nationalism. Before the rebirth of ultra-nationalist politics feminists used to organized roundtables, workshops and conferences to debate women's issues with a theoretical approach. After ethnic nationalism spread through the public, feminist groups realized the need to "defend concrete women's rights that were endangered both on political and individual level" (Korac, 1998: 24). Therefore, the women activism focused on two major issues: abortion and war.

Women's groups protested the notions of the new patriarchal values, which the neo-nationalist policies were built upon. These values reduced women to "mothers of the nation" and "bearers of the cultural values". The state increased the intensity of this propaganda with the advent of the Yugoslav National Army's (JNA) move to Slovenia in 1991. The emphasis on women's motherhood, the official pressure on women to give birth to more children, the attempt to ban abortion, as

well as the firing of women from the workforce were the consequences of neo-nationalist policies concerning women's role in the society.

Nadezka Cetkovic asserted that the Serbian regime started to promote nationalist population policies, which aggressively attacked women's rights in all former Yugoslav republics (Korac, 1998: 23). Women's groups organized and raised consciousness through various campaigns in their attempt to prevent the prohibition of abortion. Right after the JNA operation in Slovenia, a Serbian politician said that each Serbian woman has to give birth to 100 sons for each Serbian soldier casualty in Slovenia.²² In 1992, the Serbian Parliament proposed a new constitution, which eliminated the right to birth control and abortion. Women from different ethnic backgrounds protested the bill proposal and the republican parliament failed to pass it. The protest was a concrete success of women against the nationalist patriarchal values that restricted the individual rights of women. On this occasion, feminists began to defend women's reproductive rights. This meant that there were more and more reasons for activism (Korac, 1998: 23). Hence, the suppressive state policies against women urged them to organize themselves.

The first mass public demonstration against the war was the mothers' movement in Serbia. The protesters broke into the Serbian National Parliament in Belgrade during the JNA intervention in Slovenia in July 1991. Although this fact was mostly ignored by the western media, the movement spread later to Croatia and Bosnia. The mothers' protest was a movement who opposed their sons' recruitment in the JNA (Korac, 1998: 28). The Serbian political elites organized a counter-group of women to show their support for war as mothers. This group was called "Women

²² Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic: "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

in Fur Coats". Although a small number of women participated in this group, the original mothers' movement against the war was marginalized as a result of the funding problems and the state controlled media campaign against mothers' movement (Korac, 1998: 29-30). Drakulic and Licht claim that this protest was arranged to prepare the public opinion for the JNA's withdrawal from Slovenia because it was not possible to break into the parliament without permission. At the end of this demonstration, the women were promised the return of their sons at home. Some weeks later, instead of returning home, their sons were moved to Croatia and Bosnia. Drakulic and Licht assert that the protests starting after this placement were in fact genuine compared to the previous ones.²³

Mothers' movement had two characteristics. Some women protested their sons' recruitment in the army because they were sent away to fight for another country, which was no longer a part of "Yugoslavia".²⁴ Others rejected the idea of their sons' fighting against other "Yugoslavs". Therefore women were not united in their cause of protest. However, for whatever reason, they were united against the recruitment of their sons. The second characteristic was the emphasis on women's identity as *mothers* to give it less of a political identity. They avoided basing their anti-militaristic activism on their political stand –if they had any- and displayed their "apolitical" identity as mothers.

Mothers' movement was important because it was the first mass public reaction opposing the state policies. Such kind of a protest happened for the first time after the political uniformity of the socialist years. It was the mass participation of women, which caused several women to be engaged in a political-military matter.

²³ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht, <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/e-lib0021.html>

²⁴ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht, <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/e-lib0021.html>

They showed their discontent as women against the policy makers. The Serbian authorities first seemed to respond to the mothers' demands but later manipulated this movement because it spread from mothers' movement to an anti-war demonstration. They used media to present these mothers as traitors to the nation's higher goals. The state officials worked to contain the effects of such a peace movement.

The development of Croatian women activism followed a similar path with Serbian women activism. There were two issues in early 1990s, which mobilized women for expressing their ideas in Croatia. The first one was the militarization of politics and a coming war. The second issue was the return of the extreme patriarchal attitudes encouraged by the state and the Catholic Church, which endangered women's rights guaranteed during the socialist rule.

Croatian women criticized their nationalist government's attitude toward women, just like their Serbian counterparts. They were against the "mother of the nation" role given to them. Their role was composed of raising sons for the army, taking care of the family and continuation of the national culture with the next generation. Just like in Serbia, the Croatian nationalists decided to abolish the right to abortion. The Croatian women, foremost the feminists who had been active since the beginning of 1980s, protested this effort. Their reaction gave birth to "Women's Parliament" in 1990, which was established to prevent the government's proposal to ban abortion. A two-day meeting was organized for this aim. 600 women from Croatia, Belgrade, Ljubljana and Sarajevo participated (Korac, 1998: 25). The women's protests in November 1991 succeeded in removing or modifying Articles 21 and 63 implying a ban on abortion. Women also demonstrated the decision to ban abortions in a large Zagreb hospital. As a result of this pressure, the government

officials annulled the hospital director's decision to deny abortion operations (Lily, Irvine, 2002: 109-137).

As the war approached, the psychological pressure on individuals intensified. Many Croatian feminists left the country. The remaining feminists had severely criticized each other, which further led to the fragmentation of women's groups in Croatia (Ramet, 2002: 261). In this disintegrated state of women's groups, the anti-war protests took over Croatia in 1991. The most famous of all was the Croatian Mother's movement, a mass demonstration of 100.000 women in Zagreb, in 29 August 1991. This protest was organized a month after the Mothers' Movement in Serbia. The majority of the protestors were Croatian and few were from Bosnia. Women were divided in their cause for protesting the war (Cockburn, 1998: 167). The demonstrators were against their sons' recruitment to the Yugoslav National Army to be sent for fighting in Croatia. Some mothers were against the war for its own sake while some mothers protested their sons' fighting against other Croats. Although it aimed to protest the war, this movement could not ease the inter-ethnic tensions. It showed the disintegration and polarization of the society along ethnic lines.

Macedonia is the case where women activism started with the Yugoslav war but increased with the Kosovo conflict. Women organized themselves massively especially after mid-1990s. The inter-ethnic conflict was a determining factor in the development of women activism in this country. This development will be explained in Chapter VI.

Summary

The nationalist policies and the war brought up issues, which forced the women activists to speak up their minds. Late 1980s and early 1990s was a time of chaos and political turmoil for the Yugoslav citizens. In this painful period, the women groups were faced with the ethno-centric and militaristic nationalist politics and a challenge from the public opinion about women issues, such as abortion.

Women activism for peace preceded the actual break out of the 1991 war and speeded up with the Yugoslav National Army's (JNA) intervention in Slovenia. The feminist groups founded in 1980s turned their attention to the military aims of their nationalist governments. They engaged in anti-war politics and joined the anti-war groups to express their political stand as civilians. Yugoslav people participated in anti-war demonstrations. Some of these demonstrations were organized by foreign influence while others were local initiatives. The Yugoslav branch of the "Helsinki Citizens Assembly" (HCA) and "War Resistance International" (WRI) were two of the international NGOs, which helped to coordinate several peace activities (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 212). Some of the other local peace groups were "Citizens Action for Peace" (GAMA) in Belgrade, "Anti-War Campaign/Green Action" (ARK) in Zagreb, "Citizens' Forum" in Sarajevo and "League for Democracy" in Skopje (Allock, Milivojevic, Horton, 1998: 212). All of these groups emerged in 1991. This anti-war movement, along with the mothers' movement in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia, witnessed women's massive participation. Three women's organizations, Women's Parliament, Women's Lobby and Women's Party organized the first *anti-war* protests in spring and summer of 1991 (Hughes, Mladjenovic, Mrsevic, 1995). In 2 June 1991, the

mothers' movement participants in Serbia organized their first public meeting in Belgrade to protest their sons' fighting in the Yugoslav Army (JNA), which intervened in Slovenia (Hughes, Mladjenovic, Mrsevic, 1995). In the following months, Croatian and Bosnian mothers organized themselves for the same purpose: the return of their sons from the army.

These two movements included women who did not consider themselves feminists. However, the feminists' role should not go unnoticed. They performed an important role: they were the first to organize anti-nationalist and anti-war *women* activism (Korac, 1998: 3). Hence, the feminist opposition to war was a part of the broader anti-war women movement. The feminist organizations were marginalized but constituted the root of the women's lobbies, parliaments and groups that were established in 1990s (Korac, 1998: 8).

With women's experience about civil activism during 1980s –in the form of feminist groups-, many women –not only feminists- initiated the mothers' movement and joined the anti-war organizations particularly in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. Women activism during the war in the former Yugoslav republics started from different levels. With the war, women's experiences took a diverse direction in each country. Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia turned to be the forerunners of women activism.

Chapter V

Women Activism During the War: 1992 -1995

The fourth period is the feminist opposition to war from 1992 to 1995. Several women organizations were established in this period to heal the wounds of the war in especially Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. Women continued to take part in the peace demonstrations/activities, which were initiated earlier. They also set up new organizations because there was a need to help war victims and women's experience in civil life gave them self-confidence to start humanitarian assistance to people.

What were the problems women faced in general when the war started? Women started to experience difficulties with Yugoslavia's disintegration. They were first to be fired from their jobs and could only find new jobs for the lowest wages. The social services such as paid maternity leave and kindergartens stopped functioning. There was an increase in domestic violence and the number of battered women. The war added up the problem of refugee influx to these troubles.

What about the women organizations? What were the effects of war on WNGOs? As the war intensified, more WNGOs were established. However, the rise in the number of WNGOs was not the only effect of the war. A major consequence of the Yugoslav war happened to be the fragmentation of women's groups. Some of the groups concentrated on serving for women of a specific ethnicity, such as "Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina" and "Pearl" working for Muslim refugee women or "Bulwark of Love" and "Cherry Tree", working for Croatian women. Some other women's groups worked for women without regard to their ethnicity, such as the "Autonomous Women's House" in Zagreb, the "Center for Victims of War and Women" or "Women's Lobby" in Belgrade (Ramet, 2002: 261).

Hence, the nationalist policies and rhetoric based on ethnic discrimination divided some women's groups along ethnic lines, segregating themselves from inter-ethnic communication of women. The war politicized women's organizations by forcing them to choose between serving women of the same ethnicity or serving women from all ethnicities.

In the following section women activism during the war in Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina will be explained.

A. Serbia between 1992- 1995:

There was an explosion in the number of women's groups during and after the Yugoslav war in Serbia. These groups worked on non-violence and humanitarian help, economic improvement of women, human/women rights, improvement of minority women, education and peace activism. Although each group concentrated on one of these issues, they also offered other services. For instance, the minority women worked to prevent domestic violence, train women to provide them an occupational skill, educate them about their rights and help the refugee women of their ethnicity. By 1994, the number of women's groups increased rapidly, each designing different projects. The "Women's Network" was founded as an umbrella group to provide communication and cooperation among several women's groups, which focus on anti-militarism, violence against women, anti-nationalism, feminist education and publishing. The women's groups in Zagreb and Belgrade have been in contact thanks to this network.²⁵

In order to have a better understanding of the structure and functioning of women's groups and the nature of women participation, major organizations will

²⁵ Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

from each category of working area will be presented. All of the following groups presented were formed during the war.

1. Peace Activism

Women in Black

One of the earliest women's groups founded after the dissolution of the Yugoslav Federation was Women in Black. Although Women in Black has other offices outside Yugoslavia and they all have a local characteristic. For instance, Women in Black Yugoslavia was formed as a reaction to the militarization of the Yugoslav state. Women who opposed the coming war were influenced by the Women in Black organization in Jerusalem and established their own organization in 1991. Each Women in Black country office works independently, with close cooperation among the offices in the former Yugoslav republics.

Women in Black, Belgrade was the active women's group, which openly declared its political nature of agenda in Serbia, so to say, peace activism. Staja Zajovic, a founder of the group, states that the men in the anti-war movement had a wrong perception of the Women in Black. They assumed that women participated in the anti-war movement because of their traditionally peace-seeking, emotional role of mother/sister. However, Zajovic states that most women attended the anti-war movement not because they were mothers but because they were humans against the war (Korac, 1998: 31). It was beyond their identity of "woman". Instead it was a political choice to protest the war. The group's weekly meeting in the Republican Square in Belgrade every Wednesday introduced women as visible actresses in the peace movement (Korac, 1998: 30). The Women in Black was a politically organized group and they publicly condemned the Serbian regime and its repressive institutions for being responsible for the wars in Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. This

was the result of a change in the Women in Black activists' approach: it became more "analytically feminist, overtly political and anti-nationalist".²⁶ Radmilla Zarkovic, a Bosnian Serb activist of the group, explained why she joined the Women in Black:

"I have joined the Women in Black because they are the only organization here in Belgrade which continually, for the last three and a half years, every Wednesday to protest on the street. There are other anti-war groups in Belgrade, not just women's groups, which are trying to do something against this war, but I think that it is very important to express your resistance to war publicly, on the street..." (Korac, 1998: 33).

The Women in Black protests were the only meetings regularly taking place from the beginning to the end of the war. The group not only demonstrated against the war but also maintained and developed contacts with women of other ethnicities from the other former Yugoslav republics. Women in Black has been organizing annual meetings to bring women together in their criticism of militaristic, nationalist and patriarchal state policies. They published more than a hundred statements accusing the Serbian authorities for the Yugoslav war and its consequences. The organization published 11 books and organized eight international meetings called "Women's Solidarity Against War" in Vojvodina and Montenegro. 1000 women participated in the meetings. 80 Women's Peace Traveling workshops in 12 different Serbian cities were organized. The group worked with 350 Bosnian and Croat refugee women.²⁷ It was completely dependent on international women organization donations for funding its projects until 1998. Stasa Zajovic, states that being financially dependent on the international organizations is a kind of "neo-colonialism" but they are waiting for the right time to start the self-funding of

²⁶ Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

²⁷ Internet source: <http://www.womeninblack.net/stats/wib2000.htm>

women's groups. The Women in Black members are working on the idea of women's cooperative to finance themselves but the groups need time to run such a system (Korac, 1998: 68).

2. Non-violence and humanitarian help

Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence

This organization was born out of two other groups. The first group in Belgrade, which helped battered women, was the "SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of War". It was founded on 8 March 1990, on International Women's Day. Two years later, the Hotline formed the "Group for Women Raped in War" in 1992. The group helped women who suffered violence during the war and provided them with their psychological, physical and economic needs to reintegrate them into the society. The members of the Group for Women Raped in War established the "Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence" in 1993. It welcomed women survivors of -sexual- violence from war or domestic violence. The Center dealt with raped women, pregnancies and deliveries as the result of rape, psychological and humanitarian help for all women and their children. In 1994, both the SOS Hotline and the Autonomous Women's Center opened a shelter house for the battered women. These women were from different backgrounds: Serb, Muslim, Gypsy, refugee as well as women residing in Belgrade.²⁸

The group's works are based on help and education of women and children against violence. Some of the activities are therapy for violence-affected women, education of women about the use of violence from a feminist perspective and

²⁸ Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic. "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

women's human rights, the project of psychological, humanitarian and health services for displaced families and local populations in the Romany settlements, publishing of books such as "Women's Rights: Law Guide for Abused Women- Our Bodies, Ourselves", construction of databases, services such as the SOS Hotline against sexual assault.²⁹

The SOS Hotline is an important organization because the number of calls they received increased after 1991, which pointed to an increase in the war-related violence. The SOS activists confirmed that the war led to a rise in the number and types of male violence directed to women and children (Mladjenovic and Litricin, 1993: 117). There was an increase in the cases of war veterans' carrying guns, raping their wives, injuring the female household members. Violence in inter-ethnic marriages increased and men usually used nationalist rhetoric as an instrument of violence against their women (Mladjenovic and Litricin, 1993: 116). The SOS Hotline and the organizations, which grew out of it, took the issue of violence against women as a political and social issue. The Hotline activists worked to put this issue on the agenda of social and political institutions. However, the state agencies refused to spend time and energy on this issue. Seeing that they cannot receive help from the local institutions, the women victims of violence sought help from the women's groups.³⁰ The Hotline also formed Women's Rights Group in 1993 to analyze women rights in Serbia law and within the context of international human rights.³¹

²⁹ Internet source: www.womenngo.org.yu/sajt/english/index%20home%20page.htm

³⁰ Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic. "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

³¹ Internet source: Donna Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic. "Feminist Resistance in Serbia", <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm>

3. Women/ Human rights

Women's Lobby

Women's Lobby grew out of the "Women and Society" group, which was working on family violence. However, the SOS hotline of the group did not engage in the discussion of political issues because both the battered women they assisted and the activists had different political stands. Nadezka Cetkovic explains that they decided to form a separate platform to voice the political affiliation and discussions of women (Korac, 1998:24). This platform was named "Belgrade Women's Lobby".

The group first began asserting its political position by getting involved in anti-war actions. The members sent the first anti-war messages in Serbia. For this purpose, the group signed the appeal "Women for Peace" with the women's faction of the SDP of Slovenia before the short JNA intervention in Slovenia. It was a display of women's political belief from two "enemy" republics and their solidarity against war. During the war the Women's Lobby members supported all anti-war demonstrations, demanded demilitarization and an end to conflicts through press releases. One of the actions that the members undertook was the "Minimal Program of Women's Demands" which covered the demands for the improvement of women's right to equal chances for employment, non-sexist education, health care and the protection of reproductive rights as well as protection from violence (Mladjenovic, 1993: 115). One of the demands was "Ministry of Women", a shelter center for women and children victims of violence, a legal guarantee for a certain the percentage of female participation in the parliament and the political parties. Women's Lobby cooperated with other groups such as the Women's parliament and the Feminist Group in these efforts (Mladjenovic and Litricin, 1993: 115). The lobbyists protested the Serbian Orthodox Church's (SPC) and Serbian Academy of

Arts and Sciences's (SANU) attacks against women's reproductive rights. The Lobby advanced the government authorities seven times to amend the constitution and laws to protect women's right to abortion. However, the proposed changes were turned down. The Lobby pointed out the poor conditions of refugees in the refugee camps and the abuse of their rights. Women's rights against family violence, discrimination at work and at home, sexual harassment are other topics which the lobbyists are concerned with. Major activities of the Women's Lobby were:

- petition concerning family planning and population politics in Serbia in June 1990,
- protest against the representation of women in the 1990 census,
- demand to demilitarize Yugoslavia in August 1990,
- support for the Mothers' Movement in Serbia and Croatia in August 1990,
- protest against the nationalistic, patriarchal and sexist discourse in the textbooks in December 1990,
- protest against the discrimination of homosexuals in the political discourse in August 1991,
- protest against the Serbian Academy of Science document in 1992 which condemned the high birth rate of Albanians,
- protest against the sexist behaviour of parliament members and the use of sexist language in the independent media between 1991-1992.³²

4. Education

There are several local organizations dedicated to educate women. Indeed,

³² Internet source: <http://www.aimpress.org/dyn/trae/archive/data/199709/70929-022-trae-beo.htm>

all local groups offer education for women along with some other service. For instance, all non-violence and humanitarian help groups in Serbia aim to educate women about their legal rights against violence. Some groups focus on educating women about their social, individual and political rights while others support women with occupational trainings so that they can start working to earn their livings.

Center for Women's Studies

The Center was established in 1992 to promote tolerance to differences by investigating gender, ethnicity, race, class and other issues. It offers a teaching program equivalent of a university level certificate and interdisciplinary lecture series on eco-feminism, violence against women, minority rights, human rights and peace studies. 135 students attained the General Certificate since 1992 and 29 students obtained Special Certificates for the last three years. The Center supports independent research. It also publishes books and a journal called "Genero". There is a documentation-information center and a library of the organization. The library includes about 2500 titles in eight languages and 120 journals. It is financed by donations. The Center has a branch in Croatia as well.

The Center took part in the peace movement and political resistance activities. The members worked in partnership with several women's groups such as Association for Women's Initiative (AWIN), Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence, Feminist Publishing Group "94", Incest Trauma Center, Roma Children Center, SOS Phone and Center for Girls, SOS Phone for Women and Children Victims of Violence, Voice of Difference, Women in Black, Women's Lobby, Women's Rights Group of European Movement in Serbia, Women's Section UGS "Independence", Working Women Association), civil movement groups and free media -ANEM, Radio/TV B-92, Belgrade Center for Human Rights, Belgrade

Circle, Center for Anti-War Action, Center for Cultural Decontamination, Civil Initiatives, Peace Studies Belgrade, etc-. It was also engaged in cooperation with other regional women's studies centers in Serbia and Montenegro. A result of this cooperation the Alternative Academic Educational Network AAEN was established in 1997- 1998.³³

B. Croatia

To understand the development of women activism in Croatia during the war, I interviewed Nena Sudar, a Croatian woman activist from the organization B.a.B.e (Be active Be emancipated). B.a.B.e is a feminist group, which works for the recognition and implementation of women's human rights. The group lobbies for the improvement of the status of women by ensuring the right to live free of violence in private and public life, the right to participate equally in decision-making bodies and the right to preserve women's reproductive rights, and the strengthening of civil society. Nena Sudar affirms that there were only women's groups which aimed to keep company to each other and women's hobby groups. She asserts that women's NGOs, which are systematically organized and operate professionally, emerged during and after the Yugoslav war. The majority of the women's groups established during the war were feminist organizations, which tried to work on women's condition with a feminist perspective (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003). The most powerful public women figures cooperated and formed women's groups before and during the war. The women's organizations helped the women victims of war, the refugees and the victims of violence during the war. They kept contacts and cooperated with women's groups offering the same help from other former republics because the victims of war and violence face the same problems regardless of their

³³ Internet source: <http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu/eng/introduction.htm>

ethnicity (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003). She states that the women's organizations have never been burdened or limited by nationality. Sudar argues that the nationalities of women were intentionally ignored (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003). When it became the issue, women's organizations emphasized their reason for existence: to show that human/women condition in war should be dealt with and improved regardless of women's ethnicity, religion or beliefs.

Since women's groups were mostly established during and after the war, I expected that the number of women who engaged in civil activism increased during and after the war. Sudar confirms that there is an increase in the number of women who participated in civil activism during and after the war compared to the socialist era. According to Sudar, the main reason for the absence of women's activism in civil society before the war was people's lack of awareness and knowledge about participation in the civil society. When asked if the war changed how women perceived themselves, she answered that there was no change but the war forced women to realize that they had to do something on the personal level to improve women's situation. Sudar explains that the women's groups achieved this purpose with the help of funds received from abroad during the war. It was after the war that the state offered considerable financial support (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003).

Information about some of the major women's organizations, which were established during the war in Croatia, are represented to familiarize the reader with the formation and functioning of women's groups in general.

1. Peace Activism

Association for Peace and Human Rights "BARANJA"

BARANJA was founded as "Peace Initiative Baranja" in 1994 as a non-governmental, non-profit and non-party organization in Bilje. The primary concern

is to re-establish trust among people from different ethnic groups. The major activities are legal advice, education and training courses. The main projects are legal assistance office (1996-1999), sewing and tailoring project (1996-1999), computer training (1998-2000), healthy food cultivation (1999-2001), nursing services for the elderly and the sick (1999) and info clubs (1999). The group also organized a public advocacy seminar. Through its work, BARANJA urges people to develop their communities while respecting and peacefully coexisting with other ethnic groups.³⁴

2. Non-violence and Humanitarian Help

The Center for Women War Victims (CWWV)

CWWV was founded in 1992 to help women refugees who fled to Zagreb. Its area of operation covers all of the former Yugoslav republics and even further locations like Albania. The group provides psycho-social help and legal advice in the Counseling Center for Women and the Rosa House for refugee women and women victims of violence. The CWWV published a collection of data about its work in 1994, information about the organization and leadership of self-help groups in 2000 and a book called "Sexual Violence" in 2001. The Center focuses on family violence, sexual abuse, war and post-war trauma issues. Trainings, workshops, campaigns, conferences, researches and documentations for women's groups and women's sections of political parties are organized to protect and develop women's rights. The CWWV supports the newly founded women's initiatives to organize themselves and strengthen their functioning especially in the war-affected areas. It works jointly with other local and international NGOs active in the region to fight

³⁴ Internet source : <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brochure/adresar.zenskh-grupa/baranjaEng.htm>

intolerance toward ethnic groups, militarization and all kinds of discrimination against women. Cooperating with several NGOs, the Center is a member of the European Women Against Violence Network (WAVE), Anti-War Campaign Croatia, Women's Network Croatia and Coordination of Women's Groups SEKA.³⁵

3. Human/Women Rights

The Council For the Equality and Affirmation of Women

Founded in 1994, the association aims to strengthen women's role in the family, public and political life by ensuring equal participation of women to the workforce and social life. Central for this aim is supporting women to achieve decision-making positions. The members are from different professions (psychologists, physicians, lawyers, pediatricians, economists, etc.) and they offer assistance and advice concerning their own professions and working conditions. The group makes research on the position of women in all aspects of life, lobbies with governmental, legal and executive state institutions for the protection and enhancement of women's rights. Three projects were designed to form three groups, each with a different purpose: a group to lobby for women's rights in the political institutions, a second group to watch over the protection of women victims of violence and a third group for the association's public communication.³⁶

³⁵ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brochure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/czzrEng.htm>

³⁶ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/oraEng.htm>

4. Education

Along with the Center for Women's Studies Croatian office and the Center for Education and Counseling of Women, the "Women's INFOTEKA" is one of the major organizations working in this field.

Women's INFOTEKA

Women's INFOTEKA was founded in 1992 as one of the first information and document centers on women's issues in Eastern Europe. The aim of Women's INFOTEKA activists was to collect documentation and information about the women's movement and history as well as to promote and urge women activism in Croatia. It has an archive of various sources: documents, groups' programs, books, magazines, leaflets, brochures, posters, press-clippings, photos and films. An international seminar is held each year with the participation of many women from the Eastern European countries to exchange information and opinions on women's activism. INFOTEKA organizes education on media and electronic communication for other Croatian women's groups. There are four major projects of sociological research: the research on the female students of Zagreb university about their views on feminism, the research on women in politics to find out their ideas and attitudes toward women's treatment in political life, the analysis of feminist dictionaries and the analysis of informative political TV and radio programs and newspaper articles before the 2000 elections.³⁷

³⁷ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/zinfoEng.htm>

5. Economic Empowerment

International Conference of Free Unions of Central and Eastern Europe (ICFTU) and The Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (UATUC)- Women's Section

ICFTU and UATUC women's sections are the two major groups working to improve women's position in the economy. UATUC Women Section focuses on the social status of women, women's employment and their working conditions. The group published the book "Discrimination of Women in Croatia" in 2001.³⁸ ICFTU conducts research on the position of women within the society, within the workforce and within the Central and East European trade unions. The organization cooperates with the unions' women sections in 15 Central and East European countries. ICFTU publishes a Network Bulletin since 1999.³⁹

6. Minority Women

After the Yugoslav war, the major minority, which organized itself in civil society organizations, was Roma. Some of these groups are Roma women's groups, which aim to educate and improve the status of Roma women. There are two registered Roma women's groups in Croatia. This study will examine the work of Bibija Roma Women's Group operating in Serbia in Chapter VI. Instead of taking another Roma group, The Union of Jewish Women of Croatia, an interesting case, is examined.

³⁸ Internet source: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/sindikati.htm>

³⁹ Internet source: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/icftuEng.htm>

The Union of Jewish Women of Croatia

The Union was initially established in 1887 as the "Israeli Ladies Society". The name was transformed into Women's Zionist Organization in 1926. Twenty five years later, its name was changed to Women's Section of Jewish Council Zagreb and it became a member of the Coordinating Committee of Women's Sections of Former Yugoslavia in 1958. Hence, it continued existing under the socialist state control. Today's Union was founded (or revived) in 1991. The center of the Union is Zagreb but it has members in Split, Slavonski Brod, Rijeka, Osijek, Dubrovnik. The main activities are centered around humanitarian and charity work to promote Jewish women's health and rights. The Union released four publications by Melita Svob: "Jews in Croatia", "Women's Organizations/Chapter IV", "Development of Women's Organizations" and "Two Centuries of Jewish History and Culture in Zagreb and Croatia".⁴⁰

C. Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992-1995:

Bosnia-Herzegovina is where the women suffered most from the Yugoslav war. Women of Islamic faith are believed to have been the most disadvantaged women in the former Yugoslav territories. Radmilla Zarkovic, a Bosnian Serb refugee and an activist in the Women in Black Belgrade and a Bosnian Muslim refugee and a volunteer in the Autonomous Women's Center in Belgrade state that a feminist movement or an awareness did not develop in Bosnia before the war (Korac, 1998: 55).

Sarajevo was the center of anti-war activism a few months before the 1991 interventions started. The mothers' movement in Serbia and Croatia was followed

⁴⁰ Internet source: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/unijazidovskihzenaEng.htm>

by Bosnian and Croatian mothers' visit to Belgrade. The mothers demanded the release of their sons from the army. They stayed in Belgrade protesting for a day and returned home without making any connections with the Serbian mothers' movement.

Just like the war itself, the events leading up to the war were most divisive in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Initially the anti-war movement was the strongest in Bosnia than in other republics. Hundreds of thousands of people regardless of ethnicity were united in their peace movement and publicly demonstrated in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banjaluka and other cities.⁴¹ While Bosnian Muslim and Croat mothers protested the JNA interventions, the Bosnian Serbs supported the JNA. This division was manipulated by the Bosnian political leaders to justify their opposition to the Serbian authorities. Drakulic and Licht argue that Alija Izetbegovic supported Bosnian Muslim and Croat mothers but condemned Bosnian Serbian mothers. It divided the mothers' movement of Bosnia-Herzegovina, increased the ethnic tensions among these three ethnic groups and prevented the emergence of a united mothers' movement across the former republics.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina there was no NGO sector before the war. The women's centers for humanitarian help and non-violence were not yet established when the war started (Cockburn, 1998: 165). People joined together to express their ideas on some occasions but it was not a systematically organized and continuous active structure. With the transition to the multi-party system in 1991, the first NGOs were established. The majority of the first NGOs were involved in peace and ecological issues. Selma Hadzihalilovic states that the first associations in Bosnia with aims to improve the general good of the whole community emerged at the

⁴¹ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. www.wgsact.net/e-library/e-lib0021.html

beginning of the war. It was in 1993 when the first association for helping the war victims was established and the flow of NGOs to Bosnia began.⁴²

The Yugoslav war introduced the issue of systematic violence against women to the international community. Bosnia-Herzegovina was the country where, among all former Yugoslav republics, the systematic (sexual) violence against women was most widely used as a political tool for ethnic cleansing. Women had to face the unwanted pregnancies, sexual diseases and social disgrace as a result of rape. These experiences make women victims of war. Furthermore, they have problems in seeking help. The rejection of a raped woman by the society and/or the legal prohibitions stand in the way of raped women if they want to ask for remedy. Hence, a strong necessity grew in Bosnia for the establishment of women's centers against violence and offering legal assistance for the victims of violence. Many international and foreign organizations established NGOs, which focused on the women's issues, particularly violence, humanitarian help and women's rights. Several of these local women's and humanitarian help groups in Bosnia were religious, extremely patriotic or obviously nationalist (Cockburn, 1998 :189). Another problem, which concerned raped women, was access to medical help. Several women's organizations could not receive basic products for women from the donors due to the general lack of gender sensitivity in humanitarian help. Although some international donors and local NGOs hired locals to distribute aid, local women were left out of the decision-making posts in this process. Hence, most aid projects could not meet women's safety and health concerns (Mertus, 2000: 35).

⁴² Internet source: Selma Hadzihalilovic. "Non-Governmental Organizations in B&H",

www.aimpress.org/dyn/trae/archive/data/199909/90928-004-trae-sar.htm

Despite these difficulties, women enrolled in NGOs to help others. Some international organizations recruit local women for their offices in Bosnia. These women assert that their work experience in the NGOs changed their ideas and attitudes (Mertus, 2000: 36). Some women were involved in raising public awareness to demand legal recognition of rape as a war crime. They pressed the international community to bring the perpetrators of sexual violence during the war to the Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia. More and more women started to work on local matters, which required immediate attention, like domestic violence, reuniting families and reconstructing communities (Mertus, 2000: 36). However, the emergence of civil society groups affected women differently because the majority of activists are still male in Bosnia. Some women avoided taking part in civil activism because they still regarded it as a controversial role for women.

There were two forms of local women's groups formation in Bosnia: they were either formed by local women spontaneously to deal with local problems or by women, who were engaged in an international or a foreign organization's projects in Bosnia (Mertus, 2000: 31). Most international/foreign NGOs first aimed to find a local partner NGO to work together with. As the number of women in a local group increased, the international organizations had a tendency to cooperate with that particular group because women were educated and could speak foreign languages (Mertus, 2000: 31). They preferred to employ locals to have a better understanding of what the Bosnians needed. Unfortunately, some international NGOs neglected the local needs and implemented what they deemed necessary without investigating the local circumstances. They tried to shape the local women activism in Bosnia according to the women's movement experiences in their own countries (Mertus,

2000: 37). The humanitarian aid NGOs have been outside this influence because they were "home-grown".

Among these women's groups, Medica Zenica deserves special attention. Founded by foreign funding and assistance, the organization was first established in 1993 for the psychological rehabilitation of women. The employees were local women and the success of this initiative paved the way for the establishment of two other Medica Zenica branches.

Medica Zenica:

Medica Zenica is a unique women's group, which managed to work with women from all ethnicities. The women involved in Medica succeeded in coexisting peacefully and most of them chose to be identified first as women and later with their ethnicity. Medica was founded by an Italian gynaecologist, Monika Hauser, living and working in Köln, Germany. Hauser tried to contact women's groups and humanitarian organizations in former Yugoslavia but there was no response at first (Cockburn, 1998: 174). The coordinator of German women's anti-war network Sheherazade provided contact with the Croatian women's groups working with the women refugees (Cockburn, 1998:174). After Hauser raised money through donations in Germany, she bought the equipment for a gynecology clinic and came to the town of Zenica in Bosnia in 1993. A team of Bosnians and a building were ready to operate. Three months later Medica Women's Therapy Center was opened.

The Center has a feminist profile. There is no special education of women about the theory of feminism but Medica is feminist by its work. Rada, the Bosnian Serb translator of Medica, states that they could not think about feminism and democracy at first because they had to work on how to help people survive during the war. She continues:

“Feminism and democracy seemed funny for us, crazy, a luxury. We wanted something practical and quick. Democracy was exhausting, it took so much energy” (Cockburn, 1998: 190).

Both the Medica staff and the women patients found out that rape, abuse and violence against women -the specialization of Medica- were issues closely related to feminism. The nature of these issues was a matter of human and women rights. Hence, both the “patients” and the staff acknowledge that they were engaged in the feminist approach through Medica Zenica.

The Center provided women victims of violence with psychotherapeutic and medical help by women in a “womanly environment” (Cockburn, 1998: 175). Except the drivers, guards and the warehouse keepers, the Center staff is composed of women because the core of the team agreed that a staff of women would sympathize better with the women victims’ problems. In return, the women patients would trust the Medica therapists and doctors more (Cockburn, 1998: 188).

The women who come to Medica are ethnically mixed: Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims. They regard surviving the war as an empowering experience (Cockburn, 1998: 185). In fact, it is not only the war itself but their involvement in Medica which empowered them. Mirha affirms this argument:

“ I think that this work involves all of me for the first time, I feel more human... War is one of the worst things you can experience in your life. But there is this other side, the war is drawing the best from me” (Cockburn, 1998: 185,186).

In Medica Zenica, the women who receive assistance regain their self-confidence and improve their relations with women of other ethnicities. According to the Medica staff, sharing their similar experiences give women a commonality, which sometimes (but not always) transgress ethnic divisions. They share common experience at home, their vulnerability to rape and the nurturing skills revealed by

the work of the Center (Cockburn, 1998: 196). These commonalities help them to “celebrate (ethnic) differences without overemphasizing them” (Cockburn, 1998: 199). In May 1996, Medica staff showed its willingness for inter-ethnic cooperation by taking a trip to meet with a non-nationalist women’s group, DUGA, in the Republika Srpska (Cockburn, 1998: 197). Medica Zenica members exchange their opinions and knowledge with the Women’s Support Network and Bat Shalom from abroad. The alliance focuses on the women’s identity and coexistence (Cockburn, 1998: 224).

D. Macedonia between 1992-1995:

Macedonia was one of the former Yugoslav republics, which was least affected from the Yugoslav war. Unlike Slovenia and Montenegro, Macedonian society includes different ethnic groups: Albanians, Turks, Vlachs, Serbs and the Roma. The inter-ethnic tensions had an impact on the emergence and the development of women’s groups. Although there was no continuous serious fighting among the ethnic groups in Macedonia, the existence of tensions among ethnic groups and the Kosovo Albanians fleeing to Macedonia in 1999 caused women’s groups to involve in both humanitarian help and on women’s rights in Macedonia. The Macedonians started engaging in civil society after the collapse of the Yugoslav federation. However, the Kosovo war in 1999 and the following domestic tensions accelerated the civil activism in Macedonia.

With the collapse of the socialist system, Macedonians chose to transform the one-party system into a multi-party system. The need to separate the Organization of Women from the state apparatus emerged. The post-socialist authorities aimed to separate women from political issues and use women’s groups as a political propaganda tool. That is why most of the existing women’s groups were formed out

of the official women's organization and mobilized women in accordance with the traditional women role, mainly in childcare and humanitarian work (Bagic, 2001).

Aureola, a women' group in the town of Struga in Macedonia, worked to accommodate and reunite the divided Albanian families whose members fled to Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro. Nurije Zhaku is a woman activist of Aureola. Zhaku states that before the war the women's groups existed only symbolically (Interview with Zhaku, 25.6.2003). Their major activity was to organize different activities to celebrate the Women's Day on 8 March each year. Between 1990 and 2000, Macedonia was called the "oasis of peace". It appeared to be peaceful only at the surface because in reality the Albanian minority's demands for equal participation and widening of the institutional rights started to increase the tensions in the society.

The lack of actual fighting in Macedonia did not necessitate an active civil organization structure to help the survivors immediately. After mid-1990s, Macedonian women started to organize themselves for different purposes rather than humanitarian help: to improve women's rights, minority rights or political rights. Nurije Zhaku confirms that in Macedonia there was a rise in the number of both the Albanian and the Macedonian women activists during the war compared to the pre-war years. According to Zhaku, the main reason was that the women realized they were a part of the conflict, lived in it and could not isolate themselves from the consequences of it. Zhaku states that the motivation of most women to involve in the civil society organizations in Macedonia was their belief that they had to do something about it. She argues that women realized that through their work they were successful in conflict resolution. Women did not consider themselves useless unlike in the pre-war era. They worked with the weakest and the largest part of the

population, the women, children and elderly. In other words, women gained self-confidence because their work in conflict resolution contributed to peace (Interview with Zhaku, 25.6.2003).

Mirjana Dimovska, an activist from the Union of Women's Organizations of the Republic of Macedonia (SOZM), states that there is an increase in the number of women activists in Macedonia in the post-socialist era. Previously women were organized only within the socialist structure in the socialist era. After 1991, the development of the civil society gave more opportunity for women to organize themselves freely. She states that the women's groups were active before the war but were not working very efficiently. These groups did not receive any finance or sometimes even recognition from the state during the war. They were mostly involved in certain issues: violence against women, political representation of women etc. However, women were mobilized during the war and they engaged in all peace activities including protesting armed conflicts and supporting peaceful negotiations of conflicts. Dimovska informs that everyday there were demonstrations on the streets, trainings, lectures and tribunes in Macedonia. Women participated in all activities. They also organized humanitarian help especially for women and children in danger and contacted with other women NGOs regardless of their ethnic origin. According to Dimovska, women proved that they have more tolerance and understanding than men in their inter-ethnic relations (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003).

Dimovska argues that there is a significant increase in the number of women's organizations after the war because women wanted to make a difference in the society and they believed that women should be equally included and integrated into the society (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). They understood that

powerful women can change things for the better and contribute to the empowering of women in society. Another reason for the rise of women activists was that the civil sector did a lot to solve the problems and there was a public discontent with the political institution's failure to function properly. Ismailovska from Roma Women's Group DAJA states that the majority of women are participating in public life after the Yugoslav war due to the works of women NGOs. Dilbera Kamberovska, another woman activist from DAJA, asserts that the women activists in Kumanovo, where DAJA is centered, have always shown tolerance and respect to each other during and after the war. The women are more active after the war and they support each other (Interview with Kamberovska and Ismailovska, 21.7.2003).

E. Slovenia and Montenegro:

The Slovenian women's activism in the late nineteenth century continued during the First World War as humanitarian work for war-affected people and as anti-war demonstrations (Jalusic, 1998: 55). Throughout the last decade of the socialist rule women reorganized themselves. Hence, 1990s was not the first time that Slovenian women organized themselves to work for demanding peace and helping with the humanitarian disaster of wars. The women organizations in Slovenia were established during late 1980s and were concentrated in Ljubljana. They have been anti-political and seek to resolve social problems without engaging in political discussions. The small number of women in the political offices is responsible for the lack of support for women's issues in the political agenda (Jalusic, 1998: 127). Contrary to the development of women's groups in the other former Yugoslav republics, the war did not enhance the women activism in Slovenia. It was partly due to the general Slovenian attitude to isolate itself from the other former Yugoslav republics. The other reason is that most women's groups in

Slovenia were excluded from the women organizations networks because of the false assumption that Slovenian organizations possess enough financial resources and do not need systemic help (Jalusic, 198: 127). These disadvantages left Slovenian women NGOs to work in a country without the women's issues on the political agenda and without women representatives to cooperate with women's groups to influence the decision-makers (Jalusic, 1998: 127). Additionally, there was a duality in Slovenia when the war started. On the one hand the civil society was the most developed compared to the other socialist Eastern European countries but on the other hand there was no peace movement in Slovenia when the war started. The leaders of the civil society groups were the officials of the League of Communists of Slovenia. The civil society movement was mobilized and managed not by the alternative groups but by the former socialist cadres.⁴³

In Montenegro, women activism was almost non-existent at the end of the war. Unlike the other former republics, where the anti-war movement was directed and composed mainly of women activists, the peace movement was dominated by men in this republic. There are two basic reasons why the women's movement in Montenegro -although a part of Serbia- did not develop similar to the development of Serbian women activism. The first reason is the exceptionally strong patriarchal values, which restrict women to the domestic sphere. In this respect, Kosovo and Montenegro are considered as the most strict and "underdeveloped" parts of former Yugoslavia.⁴⁴ The second is the extreme mobilization of politics along ethnic and national issues. There are two political wings: the separatist Montenegrin Liberal Party versus the two pan-Serbian political parties, the Serb Radical Party and the

⁴³ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

⁴⁴ Internet source: Slobodan Drakulic and Sonja Licht. <http://www.wgsact.net/e-library/elib0021.html>

People's Party. Every civil initiative has been stuck in the middle of these two sides and their policies. Therefore, the attempts to mobilize women for civil activism have failed for years.

Overall, both Montenegro and Slovenia have an important commonality: they were relatively less affected by the Yugoslav war than Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia and did not experience serious conflicts within their communities as in Macedonia because of demographic and political circumstances. Hence, there was less need to review the role of women in society as well as less occasions where women would organize themselves. This is the main difference separating Montenegro and Slovenia from the other former republics. The women activism in the form of feminist revival in 1980s continued as women participation in the mothers' and anti-war movement during 1990-1991 and finally the establishment of WNGOs during the war.

Chapter VI

Women Activism in the Post-war Period: 1996- 2003

Women formed organizations during the war not only to solve the problems created by the armed conflict. They continued to establish organizations in the post-war period, especially concerning women's issues. In addition to the violence-related problems, the women's groups focused on the improvement of women's rights as the country was reconstructed after the war. Their experience and success in coping with the consequences of war within the civil society organizations encouraged other women to join them.

A. Serbia between 1996-2003:

In Serbia there were more than 60 women's organizations established and working efficiently since 1991.⁴⁵ The importance of their existence lies in their success to function in a non-democratic political environment before, during and after the war. Ariene Brunet confirms that the Milosevic regime exerted pressure on the civil society groups but the women's groups continued to function.⁴⁶ Women's resistance to war, militarism, ethnic-national policies and the repressive regime created a legitimate ground for the development of women's groups within the civil society in Serbia.

There are two streams of women's mobilization in Serbia. The first stream is called the old feminist anti-war resistance, which aims to improve women's rights, to

⁴⁵ Internet source: Liljana Cickaric, "Women's Advocacy and the Building of Civil Society in Serbia", http://www.philanthropy.org/GN/KEN/gntext/fullview_politicalrights_women_advocacy_liljana.ht

⁴⁶ Internet source: Ariane Brunet. Field Report, <http://www.babe.hr/Burnetreport.htm>

support anti-nationalist and anti-war movement.⁴⁷ This group holds together the network of women's organizations, which work on violence against women. The second stream is composed of women who aim to "change the system within".⁴⁸ This second group of women formed their organizations fairly recently, especially after the war. They are concerned with political participation, training for women candidates for political positions, legal enactments for sexual abuse, marital rape, sexual discrimination at workplace etc. Brunet believes that the old anti-war feminists and the new group "mutually reinforce each other".⁴⁹ The organizations in the first group have a history of activism, which contribute to their organizational capacity. Their experience can help the relatively new second group. Additionally these two groups' works are beneficial to each other. These are the reasons why women's organizations in Serbia prioritize cooperation today.

In the post war efforts to establish democracy in Serbia, women organizations experience several problems. The most acute problems are financial. Women cope with the effects of economic repression and poverty not only at home or at work but also at civil society organizations. The financial difficulties restrict their ability to manage projects. Facing such problems, women worked in solidarity and "opened up a space for the rethinking of gender perspective in the future society development".⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Internet source: Ariane Brunet. Field Report, <http://www.babe.hr/Burnetreport.htm>

⁴⁸ Internet source: Ariane Brunet. Field Report, <http://www.babe.hr/Burnetreport.htm>

⁴⁹ Internet source: Ariane Brunet. Field Report, <http://www.babe.hr/Burnetreport.htm>

⁵⁰ Internet source: Liljana Cickaric. "Women's Advocacy and the Building of Civil Society in Serbia", http://www.philanthropy.org/GN/KEN/gntext/fullview_politicalrights_women_advocacy_liljana.ht

The women's groups below are a part of the initiative of Women's INFOTEKA and Open Society to establish a database of women's groups and enhance communications among them.

Table I⁵¹: Women's organizations in Serbia, 1990-2003

Name of the organization	Place	Year	Employment/Membership	Main working area
1. Women in Black Against War-part of Women in Black International Network	Belgrade, Nis, Cacak	1991		<i>Peace activism</i>
2. Women Peace Group	Panceva	2000	5 employees 20 members	Peace Activism
3. SOS Hotline for Women and Children Victims of Violence	Belgrade, Vlasotince, Leskovac Kraljevo Nis	1990- 1993-30 employees,	25 employees 30 employees, 50 members	<i>Non-violence and humanitarian</i>
4. SOS Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence-Grocka	Belgrade	2000	5 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian
5. SOS Telephone Association Kraljevo Sub-group: Counselling Center for Victims of Violence	Kraljevo Kraljevo	1990 1999		Non-violence and humanitarian
6. Autonomous Women's Center Against Sexual Violence (AWCASV)	Belgrade	1993	9 employees 18 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
7. Women's Center	Belgrade Leskovac	1993 2001-	2 employees, 22 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
8. Association of Single Mothers	Belgrade	1993	15 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian
9. Future of Women	Kragujevac			Non-violence and humanitarian
10. Shelter for Women and	Belgrade Vlasotince		3 employees 8 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian

⁵¹ This table includes organizations in central district of Serbia and the Vojvodina district.

Children Victims of Violence				
11. Novosadski Zenski Centar	Novosadski			Non-violence and humanitarian
12. SOS Telephone Center for Girls	Belgrade		10 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian
13. Victimology Society of Serbia-part of: World Victimology Society			1 employee 85 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
14. Vidra				Non-violence and humanitarian
15. Counseling Center Against Violence in Family	Belgrade	1996	12 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian
16. Counseling Center for Victims of Violence				Non-violence and humanitarian
17. Lastavica Houses for Krajina Women				Non-violence and humanitarian
18. Astra Anti-Sex Trafficking Action-part of: AWIN	Belgrade		5 employees	Non-violence and humanitarian
19. Center for Tolerance				Non-violence and humanitarian
20. Safe Women's Houses				Non-violence and humanitarian
21. Association of Citizens "Osmeh" Vrbas	Vrbas	1997	14 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
22. Women's Right Center in Vrsac	Vrsac	2000	6 employees 40 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
23. EVA	Novi Sad	2001	15 employees 21 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
24. Women's Forum Irig	Irig	2001	30 employees 50 members	Non-violence and humanitarian
25. ZABA-Women's Autonomous Cooperative Action				<i>Economic improvement of women</i>
26. GEA-Group for Economic Strengthening of Women				Economic improvement of women
27. TERA-Creative Women-	Belgrade		5 employees	Economic improvement of

part of: Women's Network				women
28. Union of the Unemployed of Belgrade	Belgrade	1990		Economic improvement of women
29. Women's Society Baric	Baric Obrenovac		16 employees	Economic improvement of women
30. Zegrin Women's Initiatives	Kraljevo			Economic improvement of women
31. Women at Work	Belgrade	1996	6 employees 10 members	Economic improvement of women
32. Women Section of Trade Union	Nezavisnost			Economic improvement of women
33. Association of Business Women	Belgrade Vojvodina	2000		Economic improvement of women
34. Femina Creativa		2000		Economic improvement of women
35. Anima-Women's Active Center	Kragujevac			Economic improvement of women and women's rights
36. Union of the Unemployed of Belgrade: part of Union of Unemployed of Serbia	Belgrade	1990	10 employees	Economic improvement of women
37. Business Women's Club	Kikinda	2001	1 employee 21 members	Economic improvement of women
38. Women's Initiative for Self-Employment	Becej	2001	5 employees 25 members	Economic improvement of women
39. Association of Business Women Paz	Novi Sad	2000	10 employees 30 members	Economic improvement of women
40. Association for the Economy Empowerment of Women "Femina Creativa"	Subotica	2000	30 employees 150 members	Economic improvement of women and women's rights
41. Multiethnic Group Seleus	Seleus	2001	25 employees 75 members	Economic improvement of women
42. Women's Lobby	Pancevo	1990	10 members	<i>Human/women rights</i>
43. Women Rights				<i>Human/women rights</i>

Section of the European Movement in Serbia	Belgrade	1994	1 employee 7 members	
44. Women's Initiatives Valjevo	Valjevo	2000	10 employees	Human/women rights
45. LABRIS-Group for Lesbian Human Rights	Belgrade	1995	11 employees 11 members	Human/women rights
46. DEVE-Center for Homosexual Affirmation	Belgrade		4 employees 5 members	Human/women rights
47. Women's Rights Center	Vrsac			Human/women rights
48. Justicia Women's Legal Group-part of: AWCASV	Belgrade	2000	5 employees 5 members	Human/women rights
49. Women's Rights Center	Vrsac			Human/women rights
50. Pozega's Action of Women	Pozega	1998	21 employees	Human/women rights
51. Women's Space	Nis	1997	14 employees 120 members	Human/women rights
52. Women's Center Uzice	Uzice	1998		Human/women rights
53. JUCA-Committee for Women's Human Rights	Bor	2000	15 employees 40 members	Human/women rights
54. White Dove Women's Association	Kragujevac		10 employees 10 members	Human/women rights
55. YUCOM-Yugoslavia Committee of Lawyers for Rights (Subgroup: Center for Women's Human Rights)				Human/women rights
56. Women's Club	Kragujevac		8 employees	Human/women rights
57. Women in Action	Belgrade, Velika Plana			Human/women rights
58. Forum of Women of AFITU: part of Association of Free and Independent Trade Unions	Belgrade	2000		Human/women rights

59. Women's Center Novi Sad	Novi Sad	1999	10 employees 21 members	Human/women rights
60. Women's Studies Center	Subotica	1997	3 employees 30 members	Human/women rights
61. Women's Active Association	Novi Sad	2000	10 employees 15 members	Human/women rights
62. Women Economic Association	Novi Sad	2001	15 employees 21 members	Human/women rights
63. Women Center for Democracy and Human Rights	Subotica	2002	5 employees 12 members	Human/women rights
64. Center for Women's Studies	Belgrade Novi Sad	1992		<i>Education</i>
65. Women's Research Center for Education and Communication	Nis	1997	10 employees 25 members	Education
66. Psihofon-Center for Girls "Mila"				Education
67. Lastavica Association of Citizens	Belgrade	1996	12 employees	Education and humanitarian
68. Vote of Difference (Group for Promotion of Women's Political Rights)	Belgrade	1999	8 members 8 employees	Education and human rights
69. Center for Girls		1998		Education
70. Association for Women's Initiatives				Education
71. Women's Center Uzice	Uzice	1998	12 employees	Education
72. The Feminist '94	Belgrade	1994 2 employees		Education
73. Women's Center Prijepdje: part of Puella	Prijepdje	2000	7 employees	Education
74. Education Center Zrenjanin	Zrenjanin	2002	10 employees 15 members	Education
75. Women's Initiatives of Banat	Pancevo	1999	18 employees 53 members	Education
76. Women's Studies and Research	Novi Sad	1997	4 employees 135 members	Education

77. Women's Alternative Workshop	Kikinda	1998	2 employees 60 members	Education
78. Nandi-Art Research Station	Vrsac	2000	5 employees 10 members	Education
79. Bibija-Romany Women's Center	Belgrade	1998	10 employees	<i>Minority Women</i>
80. Children's Romany Center-part of: Women's Network	Belgrade		9 employees	Minority Women
81. Roma Information Center	Kragujevac	1999		Minority Women
82. Women's Roma Group-part of: Human Organization "New Way"	Kragujevac	1996	8 employees	Minority Women
83. Association of Roma Women-Amarilis	Novi Sad	2002	2 employees 15 members	Minority Women
84. Roma Women of Banat	Novi Becej	2003	2 employees 10 members	Minority Women
85. Out of Circle-Group to support disabled women, children and their families	Belgrade	1997	9 employees	Women's Health
86. Incest Trauma Center	Belgrade	1994	10 employees	Women's Health
87. Horizons	Vlasotince		8 employees	Women's Health
88. PROMA	Novi Sad	2002	8 employees 24 members	Women's Health and Education

Internet sources:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeW.asp?zem/ja=Serbia&grad=&ktijec=&submit=Submit> and
www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeW.asp?zem/ja=Serbia+-+Vojvodina&grad=&ktijec=&submit=Submit

59 organizations stated their number of employees and the year of establishment. 595 people are employed in 59 organizations. 38 organizations stated the number of their members. The total number of members in 35 initiatives is 1303. There were only five organizations founded in 1990. 10 out of this 59 organizations were formed during the war. However, the majority of the organizations were

formed after the Yugoslav war (Table 2). These organizations mostly focus on women's rights, economic empowerment and education issues.

Table II: The number of the organizations in Serbia according to their year of establishment, 1990-2003

1990	5
1991	1
1992	1
1993	4
1994	3
1995	1
1996	4
1997	6
1998	6
1999	5
2000	14
2001	7
2002	4
2003	1
	Total number: 59

Here are two examples of the women's organizations, which were founded after the war: Association of Business Women and Bibija Roma Women's Center.

1. Association of Business Women, Belgrade

Association of Business Women was established in 30 July 1998 by women owners of small and micro private businesses and professional women. The members do not only live in Belgrade but they are widespread in the other smaller cities in Serbia. The association aims to improve the conditions of local private business owned by women. Some of its activities are workshop and roundtable cycles to train business women's professional skills such as how to write a business plan to be accepted by bankers, training to update women's knowledge about information technologies, organizing the Third Regional Conference of Central European Network (CEBWA) in October 2001. The association cooperates with local and regional women's associations. In addition to the CEBWA meeting, the

association met with GIZ Prodjnost, the Slovenian businesswomen's organizations, women's NGOs from Romania and Serbia as well as the KARAT Coalition member organizations from 12 different Central and East European countries. The association has branches in Novi Sad and Vojvodina and works with local groups like Femina Creativa and Vizija. The main donors of the association are the Open Society Foundation, the Star Network of World Learning, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Freedomhouse and King Bodouin.⁵²

2. "BIBIJA" Rroma Women's Center

"BIBIJA" Rroma Women's Center was founded in 1998 in Belgrade. The goal of the center is to eradicate prejudices against Romany women by educating them in health, legal issues and occupational skills. The working area of the Center is the Romany community settlements within the Republic of Serbia. The Center carries out education projects for Roma women to help them find jobs and discussion forums such as the "Family Project" in which men and women shared their ideas about the relationship between the two sexes. In the past years, the Center worked in cooperation with 15 women's groups from Serbia and Vojvodina to educate women on health issues.

The group provides counseling service and workshops about women's legal rights and protection of women from violence and discrimination. Around 1500 Romany women from 25 Romany settlements in Serbia were engaged in these activities between 2001 and 2003. The BIBIJA activists also educate themselves by participating in various training seminars. In November 2002 the Minority Rights Group International conducted one of these training seminars; the Advocacy and Rights Training Seminar in Budapest, Hungary. 30 minority rights activists from

⁵² Internet source: <http://www.poslovneze.org.yu/e/info/index.htm>

Southeast Europe attended the training, including BIBIJA activists. BIBIJA cooperates with local and regional women's groups. "The Meeting of Romany Women and Access to Health Care" drew several Romany women's groups together, which enabled them to exchange information about their fieldwork. The Center also cooperates with other Romany women's groups in Serbia, such as the Autonomous Women's Center in Belgrade. For instance, the "Women's World Anti-Sex Trafficking Campaign" was a joint project of BIBIJA and Roma Information Center Kragujevac. It was applied in 15 municipalities in Serbia and Montenegro and 400 Romany women participated. BIBIJA members also train Romany women activists to establish their local organizations. The center receives funding for the projects from donors like Open Society in Belgrade and NOVIB.⁵³

B. Croatia 1996- 2003:

In Croatia the 1995 elections was an event, which spurred up women activism to accentuate women participation in politics. The Women's Network of Croatia, a coalition of women's groups was formed in that year, to monitor and influence the 1995 elections in Croatia. Within this network more than 60 groups exchanged their experiences and knowledge through informal gatherings (Bagic, 2001: 12).

The table below is a list of some of the women's groups in Croatia. The exact number is not known. However, these 67 groups came together for the Women's INFOTEKA-Open Society project to form a women's group database from the Eastern European countries.

⁵³ Internet source: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkanhr/message/5517>

Table III: The women's organizations in Croatia , 1990-2002

Name of the organization	Place	Year	Employment/membership	Main working area
1. Mothers for Peace	Varazdin	1991	517 members	<i>Peace activism</i>
2. Association for Peace-Baranja	Bilje	1994	42 members	Peace activism
3. Women's Help Now	Zagreb	1988		<i>Non-violence and humanitarian help</i>
4. Association of Women-Pula	Pula	1991		Non-violence and humanitarian help
5. Center for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights-Osijek – Women's Group Femina	Osijek	1992	12 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
6. The Center for Women War Victims	Zagreb	1992	25 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
7. Women's Club- Pakrac	Pakrac	1993	13 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
8. Women's Group- Split	Split	1993	14 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
9. SEKA House Membership	Splitska na Bracu	1996	6 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
10. Club for Women Treated for Breast Cancer	Split	1997	2570 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
11. Women's Group Nada-Knin	Knin	1997	14 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
12. Association for Women and Children- "Duga"	Zadar	1999	30 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
13. Organization for Protection	Ilok	2001	12 members	Non-violence and

of Women and Motherhood				humanitarian help
14. Association of Women-Rijeka	Rijeka		28 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
15. ONA	Ploce		15 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
16. Association BROD	Slavonski brod		14 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
17. O-ZONE	Zagreb			Non-violence and humanitarian help
18. Women 's Organization « Spring »	Terja	2001	34 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
19. Autonomous Women's House	Zagreb	1990	12 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
20. Organization for Protection of Women and Motherhood	Ilok		12 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
21. Network of Multicultural Help		1998	50 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
22. Women's Association Dalj	Dalj		2 employees 56 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
23. Women's Center for Sexuality and Prevention and Combatting Sexual Violence		2002	3 employees 21 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
24. Mirta Association	Split	1994	38 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
25. Women's Association Batina			30 employees 13 members	<i>Economic improvement of women</i>
26. Business and Professional	Pula	2001	40 employees 74 members	Economic improvement

Women: First Croat Club				of women
27.Artea	Zagreb		26 members	Economic improvement of women
28.LOBI-Association for Development and Organization of Local Community	Samobor	1988	64 members	Economic improvement of women
29.ICFTU	Zagreb			Economic improvement of women
30.The Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia-Women's Section	Zagreb			Economic improvement of women
31.Women's Association IZVOR	Tenja	2001	13 members	Economic improvement of women
32.Center for Civil Initiatives Porec	Porec	1992		<i>Human/women rights</i>
33.Dalmatian Solidarity Committee	Split	1992	40 members	Human/women rights
34.Women's Action Rijeka	Rijeka	1993		Human/women rights
35.B.a.B.e	Zagreb	1994	500 members	Human/women rights
36.The Council for Equality and Affirmation of Women	Split	1994	47 members	Human/women rights
37.Women's Group Losinj	Mali Losinj	1996	20 members	Human/women rights
38.Lesbian Group KONTRA	Zagreb	1997	12 members	Human/women rights
39.Women's Group:Non-violence and Tolerance	Sesvete		10 employees 15 members	Human/women rights
40.Serbian Women's Forum-Women Initiative Zagreb		2002	5 employees 70 members	Human/women rights
41.Gender Task Force	Zagreb	1999	3 employees 17 members	Human/women rights

42. Lesbian Association Rijeka LORI	Rijeka	2000		Human/women rights
43. Association of Women Homo	Donji Lapac	2000	6 employees 30 members	Human/women rights
44. Women's INFOTEKA Library	Zagreb	1992	275 members	<i>Education</i>
45. Women's Association-Stvarnost	Osijek	1993	246 members	Education
46. Association of Women-Vukovar	Vukovar	1994	63 members	Education
47. Center for Women's Studies	Zagreb	1995	38 members	Education
48. Center for Education and Counseling of Women	Zagreb	1997	25 members	Education
49. Women's Group Vojnic	Vojnic	1998	30 members	Education
50. Women's Group Korak Karlovac	Karlovac	1998	5 members	Education
51. Women's Group Non-violence and Tolerance	Sesvete		15 members	Education
52. NICE	Zagreb		197 members	Education
53. Public Advocacy Society (also for men)	Zagreb		10 members	Education
54. DESHA-Dubrovnik	Dubrovnik		60 members	Education
55. Association of Citizens-Steps of Hope	Split, Benkovac, Drnis, Obrovac, Kistanje, Donji Lapac			Education
56. Croatian Advocacy Team	Zagreb		10 members	Education and media
57. Association of "Roma Heart"	Jagodnjak	2001	36 members	<i>Minority women</i>
58. Union of Jewish Women of Croatia	Zagreb	1887/ re-established	300 members	Minority women

		in1991		
59. Association of Croatian Roma Women	Zagreb	1998	400 members	Minority women
60. Women Association of Croatian Roma Union	Zagreb	1999	45 members	Minority women
61. Women's Initiative Gvozđ-SDF			30 employees	<i>Women's Health</i>
66. Club for Women Treated for Breast Cancer-GEA	Pula	2001		Women's Health
67. Center for Women Vukovar: a part of "Steps of Hope"	Split	1998	11 members	Women's Health

Internet source:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeW.asp?zem/ja=Croatia&grad=&krijec=&submit=Submit>

Table 3 shows that the number of women organizations in Croatia increased during the war. Out of 45 organizations, 16 were formed between 1991-1995. Before the war, there were only two organizations. They were set up in 1988. Three organizations were formed in 1990 and 1991.

Table IV: The number of organizations in Croatia according to their year of establishment, 1990-2002

1990	1
1991	3
1992	5
1993	5
1994	4
1995	1
1996	2
1997	4
1998	5
1999	3
2000	2
2001	6
2002	2
	Total number: 45

Among the 67 organizations in the list, 52 organizations listed their number of members. The total number of members in these women groups in Croatia is 6240. Although 6240 is a big number, not all of these members are active participants in the work of their organizations. There is a lack of systematically collected information and a willingness to claim a large number of members on the part of some of the organizations. The information is obtained from the "Regional Directory of Women's Group" project of Zenska INFOTEKA (Croatia). It is a database containing information about women's groups from the following 15 countries: Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Azerbaijan, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Montenegro, Slovakia and Ukraine.⁵⁴

Two of the groups, which were founded after the war in Croatia are Association Brod and Women's Group Korak Karlovac.

1. Association Brod – the Group for Women's Human Rights

Brod was established in 1998. The association declares two goals: helping women in the post-war period and contributing to the development of civil society. For these aims, the group forms self-help groups for the women victims of war and violence. The association also offers free legal and psycho-social assistance to these victims as well as counseling sessions to prevent sexual abuse and use of violence against women and children.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/education/INDOC/project.htm>

⁵⁵ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar-zen...udrugabrodEng.htm>

2. Women's Group Korak Karlovac

Korak Karlovac was founded in August 1998 with the support of the Human Rights Committee Karlovac. Its aim is to promote women's status in the Karlovac county by protecting women and children rights. The group provides lectures twice a month about different subjects concerning women, such as the labour law, family law, women in the labour market, women's health etc. Korak Karlovac runs an SOS telephone line to help women and children victims of domestic or war-related violence. For this cause, a shelter for women victims of violence was opened in 1999. The organization gives a hand to the returning women refugees in the ignored areas of Karlovac county.⁵⁶

The focus of women's groups was violence, war and gender stereotypes during the war. Nena Sudar, the Croatian B.a.B.e group's activist provides even a closer observation to the women's groups after the war in Croatia. Nena Sudar asserts that the role of women changed after the war, when women's groups started to lobby for the improvement of women's conditions (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003). Women's groups broadened their areas of activism and focused on other issues such as employment, pensions and domestic violence. In Croatia, the most influential women's groups deal with all problems of civil life but women's issues remain their priority. Sudar states that the number of women activists increased after the war because women's groups, their goals and activities occupied the media. People were informed about their activities and success, which urged other women to participate in civil activism. Women's groups were especially successful in educating women on human/women rights and mobilizing more women to work in

⁵⁶ Internet source: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar-zeenskih-grupa/zengrkarlovacEng.htm>

civil society organizations. Sudar states that Croatian women's role became more significant in public life. Women's groups and international NGOs' pressures resulted in the legal changes protecting and advancing women rights. Bill proposals are introduced or amended with a women's perspective and gender equality (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003). Women's groups also undertook many projects that the state should have done, such as the shelters for women victims of violence. The state supports and encourages women groups to implement such projects. Since they have achieved considerable success in improving women's condition, Croatian women activists believe that they are essential for restructuring the country and the recognition of women's issues by the public and the authorities (Interview with Sudar, 12.6.2003)

The most recent development in Croatia is the foundation of the feminist groups, which sustain their informal structure and legal status. The members of such groups avoid registering their organizations and prefer to remain as "radical" groups. Anarchofeminist Action (Anfema) and NEO AFZ are two of these groups (Bagic, 2001: 12).

C. Bosnia- Herzegovina between 1996-2003:

Cockburn argues that the war in Bosnia was a gendered issue, foremost because of the military goal of destroying the symbols of civilian life, such as gardens, houses, farms, local economies and concepts held sacred, such as domesticity, family and women.⁵⁷ After the war, two-thirds of the Bosnian population and the majority of the family leaders were women.⁵⁸ The destruction of health and welfare services was an obstacle to help women. This situation

⁵⁷ Internet source: Cynthia Cockburn, <http://www.utoronto.ca/iwsgs/we.mag/bosnia.pdf>

⁵⁸ Internet source: Cynthia Cockburn, <http://www.utoronto.ca/iwsgs/we.mag/bosnia.pdf>

necessitated women initiative to run local humanitarian and other groups during and after the war. Cockburn argues that this movement provided a basis for the development of Bosnian civil society.⁵⁹

After 1996 September elections, the stabilization period for the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords began. Walsh states that in this period the people came into terms with the consequences of war.⁶⁰ One of these consequences was the renegotiation and the redefinition of gender.⁶¹ The war demanded reliance on women participation in some areas, which are not typically included within women's responsibilities, such as community mobilization, wage labor, security of the family. When the war ended, the number of men dropped and the rest of them were mostly unemployed. Hence, women continued to achieve these untraditional roles attached to them by the war realities. By 1996, there were over 50 women's initiatives operating on several different issues.⁶² Walsh states that these groups "constitute a solid base for the civil society" and the state or international institution should support their activities.⁶³ She also argues that the diversity and

⁵⁹ Internet source: Cynthia Cockburn, <http://www.utoronto.ca/iwsgs/we.mag/bosnia.pdf>

⁶⁰ Internet source : Martha Walsh,

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>.

⁶¹ Internet source : Martha Walsh,

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>.

⁶² Internet source : Martha Walsh,

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>.

⁶³ Internet source : Martha Walsh,

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>.

number of these initiatives show that women commit themselves to be active in the emerging Bosnian civil society.⁶⁴

Although the first NGOs appeared in Bosnia during the Yugoslav war, the majority of them were formed after the end of the war. There was a growing number of NGOs starting to work with women in Bosnia starting from 1996, symbolizing the idea of “social change through civil community”. The priorities of civil groups changed from victims of war, refugees to returnees, human rights, reconstruction, economic recovery, culture etc. Though there were more than 600 international and local civil associations registered in Bosnia, there has not been a law on clarifying the status of the NGOs and civil society by 1999.⁶⁵ The same year there were 112 local organizations, which stated that their target group was women while only 56 of them defined their priority as women’s issues (Bagic, 2001). Half of them are estimated to be operating while the other half was established to attract and make use of the foreign donations. Unfortunately, there are no statistics about the number of women involved in the NGOs. Bagic asserts that

“the general impression is that women are in majority and many of the organizations are led by women” (Bagic, 2001).

Below is a table constructed by the information from the Croatian women’s groups Women’s INFOTEKA and Open Society joint project of women’s initiatives database from former communist states in Eastern Europe. The exact number of the active women’s organizations is not known because some organizations are not registered while some registered organizations appear only on paper.

⁶⁴ Internet source : Martha Walsh,

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>.

⁶⁵ Internet source: Selma Hadzihalilovic. “Non-Governmental Organization in B&H”

www.aimpress.org/dyn/trac/archive/data/199909/90928-004-trac-sar.htm

Table V: Women's organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1989-2002

Name of the organization	Place	Year	Employment/ Membership	Main working area
1. Section of women-Former Prisoners of Concentration Camps	Sarajevo	2000	3 employees 1000 members	Peace and anti-war activism
2. ADL Barcelona	Sarajevo	1996	14 employees	<i>Humanitarian help and non-violence</i>
3. Bolje Sutra	Glamoc	2000		Humanitarian help and non-violence
4. EHO	Ljubuski	1999		Humanitarian help and non-violence
5. IZVOR	Sanski Most	1996		Humanitarian help and non-violence
6. Sabina Jamakovic	Olovo	1997	60 members	Humanitarian help and non-violence
7. Women's Association of Municipality Celinac	Celinac	1997		Humanitarian help and non-violence
8. Vive Zene	Tuzla	1994	20 employees 25 members	Humanitarian help and non-violence
9. Women from Srebrenica	Tuzla	1996		Humanitarian help and non-violence
10. Anima	Gorazde	1996	30 employees 60 members	Economic improvement of women
11. Mi-Bospo	Tuzla	1996	5600 members	Economic improvement of women
12. Brezanke	Breza	1999	30 employees 65 members	Economic improvement of women
13. Nada	Derventa	1996		Economic improvement of women
14. Our Bridge	Zenica	1994		Economic improvement of women
15. Oaza	Trebinje	1999		Economic improvement of women
16. Starovitezanke-Women for Vitez	Vitez	1994		Economic improvement of women
17. Sunce	Bugojno	1999	10 employees 400 members	Economic improvement of women
18. Zdravo da ste Municipality	Derventa	1997		Economic improvement of

				women
19. Women for Women-International	Sarajevo	1993	7 employees 1800 members	Economic improvement of women
20. Women's Forum Tesanj	Tesanj		8 employees 243 members	Economic improvement of women
21. Gracija	Rudo	1996		Economic improvement of women
22. Amila	Kljuc-Sanica	1997	20 employees 265 members	Economic improvement of women
23. Women's Forum-Alternative	Kakanj	1998	2 employees 96 members	<i>Human/Women Rights</i>
24. Astra	Bijeljina	2001	50 employees	Human/Women Rights
25. Biser International	Sarajevo	1992	60 employees	Human/Women Rights
26. Future	Modrica	1996		Human/Women Rights
27. Centar for Legal Support for Women	Zenica	1996	18 employees 30 members	Human/Women Rights
28. Center for Informative Legal Aid	Zvornik	1998	35 employees 412 members	Human/Women Rights
29. Duga	Banja Luka	1995	1 employee 70 members	Human/Women Rights
30. Women's Movement	Sarajevo	1989		Human/Women Rights
31. United Women	Banja Luka	1996	12 employees 420 members	Human/Women Rights
32. Health	Foca	1998		Human/Women Rights
33. Women BiH	Mostar	1994	44 employees	Human/Women Rights
34. Women Today	Novi Trovnik	1996		Human/Women Rights
35. Women and Family	Gnadska	1994		Human/Women Rights
36. Women of Nemila	Zenica	2001	60 employees 126 members	Human/Women Rights
37. Women from Una	Bihac	1994		Human/Women Rights
38. Women from Mostar	Mostar	1997	5 employees	Human/Women Rights
39. Women's Forum	Mostar	1998	3 employees 376 members	Human/Women Rights
40. Women's Forum Bratunac		1999	9 employees 128 members	Human/Women Rights
41. Lara	Bijeljina	1998	6 members	Human/Women Rights

42.Li Leoman	Livno	1996	20 employees 40 members	Human/Women Rights
43.Life Center Konjic	Konjic	2000	8 employees 100 members	Human/Women Rights
44.Spring	Mostar	1999	10 employees	Human/Women Rights
45. Women for Europe Mostara	Mostar	2002	5 employees	Human/Women Rights
46.Amica Educa	Tuzla	1996	7 employees	<i>Education</i>
47.Angelina	Vlasenica			Education
48.Biser	Travnik			Education
49.Bosfam	Tuzla	1994		Education
50.Child and Mother	Zavidovici	2001	7 employees	Education
51.The Valley Remains Mine	Nevesinje	1998		Education
52.Nada	Prijedor	1996	35 members	Education
53.Friends	Tuzla	1996	18 employees 300 members	Education
54.Women's Strength	Tuzla	1999		Education
55.Sumejja	Travnik	1993	85 employees 120 members	Education
56.Women's Association Vidra	Banja Luka	1997		Education
57.Wish	Srebrenica	1999	2 employees 200 members	Education
58.Woman to Woman	Zavidovici	1998	25 employees	Education
59.Zene Zenema	Sarajevo	1997	10 employees 83 members	Education
60.Fenix	Sanski Most	1997	4 employees	Education
61.Vesta	Tuzla	1998	26 employees	Education
62.Interaktiv	Bijeljina	1996		Education
63.Mary Steps	Mostar	2001	20 employees 200 members	Education
	Nevesinja	2000		
64.Tears of Karajina	Sanski Most	1995	8 employees	Education
65.League of Women Voters	Sarajevo	1997		Education
66.Lotosice	Tuzla	1997		Education
67.Center for Women "Zar"	Sarajevo	1997		Education
68.Medica INFOTEKA	Zenica	1993	9 employees 9 members	Education
69.Medica 2- Women's Education Center	Zenica	1993	12 employees 70 members	Education
70.Women's Association Tuzla	Tuzla	1993	8 employees 2000 members	Education
71.Anima	Donji Vakuf	2000	4 employees 70 members	Education
72.Peony	Celinac	2002	60 members	Education

73.Horizon	Tuzla	1994	25 employees	Education
74.Mothers of Handicapped Children	Tuzla	1996	14 employees 300 members	Education
75.Bright Future for Women	Velika Kladusa	1999	3 employees 53 members	Education
76.Women's Association	Tomislavgrad	2000	3 employees 57 members	Education
77.Vita	Laktasi	1998	14 employees 25 members	Education
78.Women 47	Prvar	1998	20 members	Education
79.Women's Strength	Tuzla	1999		Education
80.Medica 1-Women's Therapy Center	Zenica	1993	36 employees 70 members	<i>Women's Health</i>
81.Medica 3-Psychosocial Counselling for Women and Children	Visiko	1993	4 employees 70 members	Women's Health
82.Women's Center Breza	Breza	2001	10 employees 150 members	Women's Health

Internet source:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeW.asp?zem/ja=Bosnia+and+Herzegovina&grad=&krijec=&submit=Submit>

According to this table, the total number of employees in 48 organizations is 838. 39 organizations declared their number of members. The number sums up to 8366. 80 organizations stated their year of establishment. One of them was formed before the war. 18 were set up between 1992-1995. 61 groups were established after 1995.

Table VI: Women's organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the year of establishment, 1989-2002

1989	1
1990	-
1991	-
1992	1
1993	7
1994	8
1995	2
1996	17
1997	11
1998	10
1999	10
2000	6
2001	5
2002	2
Total number: 80	

In Bosnia, men dominated business and the state institutions after the war. Hence, women had more chance in participating in the non-governmental sector. The major motivation for women's involvement in the NGO sector was their belief that there was not much space left for them to work. Among the WNGOs, some of them were established to cope with the local problems by using foreign NGO funding while other groups were founded as the continuation of the international NGOs' projects, which were formulated to resolve the local problems (Mertus, 2001: 31). Beginning with applying internationally formulated projects, these women later devised their own plans and established their own organizations. In this post-war period, women in Bosnia-Herzegovina set up organizations, which helped improving women's status by providing the educational programs to mobilize them in economic and political life. Zene Zenema from Sarajevo; Bosfam, Mi-Bospo, Friends, Women's Association Tuzla, Horizon, Amica Educa from Tuzla; Women From Mostar, Forma F, Women for Europa Mostara from Mostar are some of the local women's groups working on educating women for their participation in economy and

politics.⁶⁶ Some women's organizations are regarded as financially and organizationally the strongest within the NGOs.

What was the social environment for women activism in the post-war Bosnia? Women took active part in the anti-war demonstrations in Bosnia right before the war. Women took on roles, which were traditionally ascribed to men, during the war. The society accepted this change. It was a necessity and an outcome of the war conditions. The NGO sector in general, and the peace and human rights movements in particular, are women's movements in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although it is not the majority of the female population participating in the NGOs, the women who are active have been receiving successful results in peace, human/women rights and humanitarian help issues. The active role of women adds some characteristics to the women's organizations and to the NGO sector in general: women's organizations have a more moderate approach, non-aggressive and conciliatory attitude, easier communication and cooperation with different interest groups.⁶⁷ The involvement of international and foreign donors and organizations should be mentioned as a factor, which speeded up the formation of the civil society groups, including women's initiatives. Their technical and financial assistance to several local WNGOs contributed to the development of women activism in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

D. Macedonia between 1996-2003:

The Macedonian NGOs generally have a small number of active members and a large number of activists on paper. There are many NGOs established and funded by the international and foreign institutions especially in the second half of

⁶⁶ Internet source :

<http://www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeWasp?zem/ja=Bosnia+and+Herzegovina&grad=krijec=&submit=Submit>

⁶⁷ Internet source: Rajner, Branka. <http://www.international-alert.org/women/confrep.pdf>

the 1990s in the country. Although there was no actual fighting in Macedonia during the Yugoslav war, the ethnic structure and the Kosovo problem with its humanitarian aspect gave birth to women's self-organizing. The notion of the NGOs in Macedonia was introduced by the work of women's groups in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia as well as the foreign organizations. The foreign NGOs either opened their own offices in Macedonia or supported women's groups by providing financial assistance or training.

There are two types of women's organizations in Macedonia: the first group consists of the groups, which function as the continuation of the socialist Organization of Women and the second group includes the new organizations founded independently from the state and its institutions. The new groups were formed because there was a need to protect women's issues from being used as a political tool of populism by the social organizations and the political parties. This difference in the formation WNGOs according to their ethnicities is a factor with a serious consequence: the women's groups lack a harmonized approach to carry out their projects and to cooperate. The academician members of the Center for Gender Research do not consider the women activism in Macedonia as a consciously organized women's movement because most of the associations are organized after the socialist model with a strong hierarchical structure (Bagic, 2000: 7). The access to information and resources are also unequally distributed among women's groups. The organizations in Skopje are utilizing most of the information and resources while the groups in the rest of the country lag behind (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 3).

The Zenska INFOTEKA-Women's Regional Directory lists 85 women groups in Macedonia.

Table VII: Women's Organizations in Macedonia, 1990-2001

Name of the organization	Place	Year	Employment/membership	Main working area
1. Aureola	Struga			<i>Non-violence and humanitarian help</i>
2. Women's Organization Kriva Palonka	Kriva Palonka		15 employees 500 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
3. Municipal Women's Organizations Sveti Nikole	Sveti Nikole		25 employees 750 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
4. Women's Organization Kavadarci	Kavadarci		20 employees 320 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
5. SOS Telephone for Women and Children Victims of Violence	Kumanovo		6 employees 15 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
6. Veteranki	Skopje		5 employees 2000 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
7. Association for Emancipation Solidarity and Equality of Women in the Republic of Macedonia	Skopje	1994		Non-violence and humanitarian help
8. Organization of Women's Organizations Prilep	Prilep		800 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
9. Kumanovo	Kumanovo	1991	720 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
10. Women's Organization Negotino Munic	Negotino	1994		Non-violence and humanitarian help
11. Union of Social and Human Initiative Vesta	Kocani	2001	8 employees 200 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help

12.Orhideja	Prilep		19 members	Non-violence and humanitarian help
13.Mother Kumanovo			15 employees 30 members	<i>Economic improvement of women</i>
14.Cvet	Krusevo		200 members	Economic improvement of women
15.Women's Citizen Initiative Klea	Bitola		5 employees 83 members	Economic improvement of women
16.Horizont	Krivogastani		15 employees 300 members	<i>Human/Women rights</i>
17.Women's Organization of Kicevo Municipality	Kicevo		200 members	Human/Women rights
18.Femina	Kumanovo			Human/Women rights
19.Kumanovo	Kumanovo		20 employees 385 members	Human/Women rights
20.Mojka Self-Supporting Mothers Organization	Sveti Nikole	1994	5 employees 500 members	Human/Women rights
21.Women's Organization	Struga	1995	30 employees 2000 members	Human/Women rights
22.Aurora	Stip		500 members	Human/Women rights
23.Open Gate-La Strada Macedonia	Skopje	2000	5 employees 10 members	Human/Women rights: Anti-Trafficking
24.Prestiz Women's Organization Bitola	Bitola	1995	10 employees 105 members	Human/Women rights
25.Women's Organization of Veles Municipality	Veles		570 members	Human/Women rights
26.Women's Organization Pehcevo	Pehcevo	1995	25 employees 200 members	Human/Women rights
27.Women's Organization Strumica	Strumica		1 employee	Human/Women rights
28.Zena	Samokov			Human/Women rights
29.Perspektiva	Skopje		500 members	Human/Women rights
30.Bisera Women's				Human/Women rights

Association for Humanitarian and Cultural Activities	Ohrid		45 employees 250 members	
31. Women's Organization Rosoman	Roj		13 employees 120 members	Human/Women rights
32. Women's Organization Kriva Palanka	Kriva Palanka	1990	25 employees 1500 members	Human/Women rights
33. Woman 21 Century	Kumanovo	2000	1 employee	Human/Women rights
34. Women's Center Gostivar	Gostivar	1999		Human/Women rights
35. Organization for the Protection of Women's Rights	Delcevo	1999	190 members	Human/Women rights
36. Organization of Women's Organizations of Krusevo Municipality	Krusevo	1991	198 members	Human/Women rights
37. Union of Women's Organizations of Macedonia	Skopje	1994	15 employees	Human/Women rights
38. Women's Organization Kriva Palanka	Kriva Palanka	1991	15 employees 500 members	Human/Women rights
39. Women's Organization of Makedonski Brod Municipality	Brod		150 members	Human/Women rights
40. Women's Organization of Kicevo Integra	Kicevo		20 employees 20 members	Human/Women rights
41. Gender Information and Documentation Unit	Skopje	2000	2 employees	Human/Women rights
42. Research Center for Gender Studies	Skopje	1999	3 employees	Human/Women rights
43. Jehona Independent Women's Associations	Kumanovo		15 employees 300 members	<i>Education</i>
44. Nadez Association of Self Supporting Parents	Kocani		12 employees 270 members	Education
45. Women's				Education

Organization Makedonska Kamenica			20 employees 380 members	
46.Piramida	Kumanovo		45 members	Education
47.Romani Aswin	Kratovo	1999	305 members	Education
48.Women's Association of Dracevo	Skopje	1996	103 members	Education
49.Women's Organization Novo Selo	Strumica	1998	6 employees 30 members	Education
50.Women's Organizaiton Gostivar	Gostivar	1995	530 members	Education
51.Women's Organization of Kocani	Kocani		1240 members	Education
52.Women's Organization of Gazi Baba Municipality	Skopje	1995	4720 members	
53.Women's Organization of Cair Municipality	Skopje	1995	540 members	Education
54.Women's Organization of Kocani Municipality	Kocani	1993	25 employees 500 members	Health education
55.Women's Organization of Kratovo Municipality	Kratovo	1993	800 members	Education
56.Women's Organization of Macedonia Bitola	Bitola	1990	2200 members	Education
57.Women's Organization of City of Skopje		1995	800 members	Education
58.Women's Organization of Valandovo	Valandovo	1994	22 employees 60 members	Education
59.Women's Organization Skopje	Skopje	1995	800 members	Education
60.Antiko	Skopje	1999		Education
61.Eco-Women	Bitola		62 employees 23 members	Environment education
62.Women's Center Debar	Debar		7 employees 80 members	Education
63.Esma	Skopje			<i>Minority women</i>
64.Hajat Turkish				Minority

Women's Organization Struga	Struga		10 employees 50 members	women
65.Daja Roma Women's Organization	Kumanovo	1995	11 employees 11 members	Minority women
66.Albanian Women's Forum	Tetovo	2001	60 employees 5000 members	Minority women
67.Association of Vlach Women in the Republic of Macedonia	Skopje		10 employees 40 members	Minority women
68.Organization of Albanian Women	Kicevo		11 employees 160 members	Minority women
69.Cerenja	Stip			Minority women
70.Albanian Women's Union of Macedonia	Tetovo	1993	5 employees 12 members	Minority women
71.Union of Albanian Women	Tetovo	1992	1 employee 10000 members	Minority women
72.Deja Turkish Women's Organization	Skopje	1999	25 employees 300 members	Minority women
73.Humanitarian and Cultural Roma Association	Bitola		15 employees 30 members	Minority women
74.Union of Vlach Women "Stela"	Bitola		30 members	Minority women
75.Iskra, Women's Association of Bitola	Bitola		20 employees 100 members	<i>Women's health</i>
76.Association for Fighting Against Malignant Diseases of the Women's Breast	Stip		5 employees 275 members	Women's health
77.Roza	Rankovci		15 employees 500 members	Women's health
78.Poraka Help Center for Mentally Disabled Individuals	Kratovo	1995	5 employees 300 members	Women's health
79.Zivotna Iskra	Skopje	1993	250 members	Women's health
80.Women's				

Organization Tetovo	Tetovo	1950	2000 members	Women's health
81.New Life: Union for Fighting Against Malignant Breast Diseases	Stip	2000	20 employees 240 members	Women's health
82.Women's Organization Iskra-s.Bistrica	Bistrica/ Bitola		10 employees 15 members	Women's health
83.Women's Organization Stip	Stip		10 employees 200 members	Women's health
84.Women's Organization Iskra-s.Trnovo	Trnovo/Bitola		10 employees 50 members	Women's health
85.Municipal Women's Organization of Sveti Nikole	Sveti Nikole	1990	30 employees 700 members	Women's health

Internet source:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/indoc/PretrazivanjeW.asp?zem/ja=Macedonia&grad=&krijec=&submit=Submit>

Half of the groups, which stated their year of establishment, were formed during the first half of 1990s: 26 out of 42 organizations were established between 1990-1995. The number of employees in 49 organizations is 790. The number of members in 38 organizations is 47329.

Table VIII: The number of women's organizations in Macedonia according to the year of establishment, 1990-2001

1990	3
1991	3
1992	1
1993	4
1994	5
1995	10
1996	1
1997	1
1998	1
1999	6
2000	4
2001	2
	Total number: 42

There is a hierarchical structure of women's groups in Macedonia. Not all women's groups operate independently. Several women's organizations are either members of the "Organization of Women's Organizations of Macedonia" (OWOM, also called SOZM), or of the "Association of Albanian Women" (Bagic, 2001: 6). Some others are the members of the "Union of Women Organizations of the Republic of Macedonia" (UWOM). Since these networks are comprised of the women's groups in Macedonia, information about OWOM and UWOM will be represented. The minority women's groups will be explained separately.

Organization of Women's Organizations of Macedonia (OWOM)

OWOM affirms that it is the continuation of the Anti-Fascist Front of Women, the first women's organization founded in Macedonia during the Second World War. It has individual as well as collective members -other associations-. The group claims to have more than 65,000 male and female members.

Union of Women Organizations of the Republic of Macedonia (UWOM)

UWOM presents itself as the network of all ethnic groups living in the country, including the Serb and the Vlach women (Bagic, 2001:7). It was founded in 1994 and includes individuals along with 64 women's groups as collective members (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). UWOM is a member of the International Council of Women, European Women's Lobby and the Karat Coalition (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). It is a non-profit and non-political WNGO aiming to strengthen women's rights and women's consciousness to defend and improve these rights. The major activities of UWOM are: education and training about women's rights and health care; self-improvement; psycho-social support for women victims of violence, refugees and prisoners; humanitarian and social aid for women in

poverty and social risks; increasing the presence of women in the media; preparing proposals and projects about women's issues; publishing women's magazine KISS-JANA, a bulletin and books; study and research on women. Most recently, the group organized demonstrations, lectures, trainings, tribunes and round tables for peaceful resolution of the 2001 crisis in Macedonia. UWOM members assert that they are willing and open to work with all women from all different ethnicities (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). UWOM manages funding through projects (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). Although UWOM has a potential to reach and mobilize women organizations throughout the nation, the hierarchical structure of the organization is an obstacle for UWOM in exchanging information and advancing cooperation among the network members (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 4).

Minority Women's Organizations

Contrary to Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, there are several minority women's groups in Macedonia, which are active. While the majority of the minority women's organizations in the other former Yugoslav states are Romany women, women from all minority communities organized their groups in Macedonia. The Albanian WNGOs are the most numerous. Although some of the WNGOs are members of the Association of Albanian Women, some work independently. Among the women's organizations, which are mostly organized along ethnic lines, the "League of Albanian Women" is important. The group has a central office in Tetovo and has 12 branches in other cities. The members are mostly Albanian, who work to improve the education and health conditions of women. Some members broke off from the League and formed the "Women in Development". Albanian women's group "JEHONA", centered in Kumanovo and the "Women and the Family" in Skopje are two independent minority women's groups (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 4). The

women in other minority groups also organized themselves. The Turkish women's groups are being recently formed. They enjoy more access to public participation than their Albanian counterparts (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 3). DERJA, a Turkish women's organization, which is centered in Gostivar, claims at least 1500 members nationwide. The Turkish women are becoming more active currently in Macedonia. Additionally, there are Roma women's organizations. The most important of them are ESMA in Skopje, DAJA in Kumanovo, CERENA Women's Branch in Stip and PHURT Women's Branch in Delcevo (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 4).

A successful minority women's group is the "Roma Women's Group Organization"(DAJA). DAJA is the association of women, which aims to emancipate Roma women and integrate them into society by providing them with education, legal support and other services. During the war, DAJA supported the refugees with humanitarian help. The organization is financially dependent on donations and receives funding on the basis of the realization of projects. It has a strategic partnership with NOVIB, a Netherlands foundation. The organization has been operating since 1993 with six branches in Bitola, Vinica, Delcevo, Pechevo, Berovo and Kriva Palanka. Ismailovska states that their first experience with the state institutions was disappointing: the NGOs were not accepted and appreciated during the first years after Macedonia's independence (Interview with Ismailovska, 21.7.2003). As the NGOs carried out successful projects, the state attitude changed toward women's groups. Today, DAJA cooperates with the local authorities, the Macedonian ministries and other institutions to improve Roma women's status in the society. (Interview with Ismailovska, 21.7.2003).

One of the latest developments in the women's organizations front in Macedonia is the formation of informal networks, which bring together Roma, Albanian, Macedonian, Turkish, Serb and Vlach women. The women work together in education, health, politics, social and economic advancement projects. These networks are unique in the sense that they establish horizontal and not hierarchical links among women who have been active in the Macedonian branches of international and foreign NGOs (Bagic, 2000: 8). One such network is Antiko. Antiko has two important goals: to improve the multi-ethnic relations and the position of women in society. They emphasize and utilize the cooperation of women from different ethnic groups in carrying out their projects (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: Appendix C). Geography is a factor, which determines the cross-ethnic cooperation. The women's organizations in the smaller cities show more willingness to work with women of other ethnicities than the groups in the big cities (Greenberg, McDonald, 2000: 3). In general, the local groups have been gaining strength since 1990s. The "Nations in Transit" report in 2000 defined the SOS Hotlines in Skopje and Kumanovo, DAJA and MAJKA, Roma women's organizations in Kumanovo, Samohrani Majki- Association of Single Mothers in Stip and the Organization of Macedonian Women in Gostivar as the real voluntary local women's groups (Bagic, 2000: 8).

The attitude of women, who engaged in civil activism during and after the war, the impact of feminist network and the public opinion about women's groups are important factors in changing role of women in Macedonia. Mirjana Dimovska from UWOM confirms that the attitude of women changed after the war. She states that:

"It is more than sure that women as well as all other people after finishing of the war are changed and they see different on the life and their own survival. Going

through all the bad moments and conflicts during that period, there is no chance to be the same. Women who were direct victims in the war will never be the same (like they were before that).”

Aureola member Nurije Zhaku affirms that the feminists encouraged women to participate in civil activism (Interview with Zhaku, 25.6.2003). They organized different educational programs, offered scholarships and trainings to empower women activism in all former Yugoslav republics. Seeing that the women's groups are doing serious work, the public opinion also changed in an environment where foreign NGOs lead the formation of civil society organizations, including the women's groups. Mirjana Dimovska confirms that the public opinion also changed in the past ten years. People support women, who are participating actively in public life because they are trying to improve the status of Macedonia (Interview with Dimovska, 21.7.2003). Today, women's organizations in Macedonia are regarded as the most active part of civil activism in the country.

Summary

It is obvious that women experienced war differently in each former Yugoslav republic. The differences of war experience and heritage of women's organization caused women's activism to develop in diverse forms in the former republics. However, there was clearly an increase in both the number of women's groups and the women participation in civil society especially during and after the war in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Macedonia. Women initiated organizations to protest the war and to provide war victims with humanitarian help during the war. WNGOs, which were established after the war, mostly focused on the improvement of economic, social and political rights of women. All WNGOs own their establishment to the women activism in the feminist revival of 1980s, the mothers' movement and the anti-war movement of early 1990s.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

The feminist movement in 1980s had a positive influence on mobilizing women for the anti-war movement in 1990s. Their involvement in the Mother's Movement and the anti-war movement provided a basis to take action for the most urgent social issue: the war and its consequences. It was partly the war and its impact on the society, which mobilized women and urged them to organize themselves. Several women first began their activism before the war broke out. They protested the ultra-nationalist politics, which signaled increasing militarization.

In the beginning of 1990s, women started their mobilization by organizing first anti-war demonstrations, later groups to help the war victims and then associations to make women's economic, social and political integration a reality. Their activism sometimes gave fruit as in the case of abortion rights protests in Serbia and Croatia in early 1990s.

During and right after the war, the women activists were mostly engaged in solving the problems caused by the war. The majority of these groups worked to help women. The number of women's groups increased with the war. Though it would be wrong to claim that women in all former Yugoslav states organized themselves massively or engaged in civil society, the war-affected republics witnessed a rise in the women's mobilization and organization. As previously stated, there are 364 women's organizations from Serbia (126), Croatia (62), Bosnia (84), Macedonia (88) and Montenegro (4) registered to the Regional Directory of Women's INFOTEKA in 2003. This number excludes the organizations in Slovenia. Thus, there was a rise in the number of organizations established during and after the

war in particular in the most ethnically mixed places, where inter-ethnic frictions turned into armed conflict.

It would not be wrong to say that the 1992-1995 Yugoslav war, as the Second World War, triggered women mobilization and participation in the public issues. The difference in the 1990s experience was that women's success in organizing themselves to help the war victims turned their attention to learning or adopting feminist principles. Once again, the Yugoslav war of 1992-1995 proved that women activism increases in times of such crisis.

In the post-war period women's participation in public life was significantly more apparent compared to the 1980s. Women activists started to turn their attention to the problems of women during peace. Today the fact that women are still underrepresented in the economy and politics, especially in the key decision-making positions, is the current concern of all women's groups. In addition to the psychotherapy projects for the victims of violence, projects to enhance women's participation to politics and economy, to educate women about health, business, legal rights, feminism have been implemented. Women activists gained their self-confidence and continued their work for a better society.

The development of women activism in Yugoslavia began in late 1970s. Feminist groups started to emerge in 1980s. Their members formed the backbone of the women's organizations established during and after the war. The early 1990s witnessed the participation of women in civil activism in the form of mothers' movement and the anti-war movement. The majority of these women took part in the establishment of WNGOs during the war. These WNGOs, and new initiatives, strengthened their existence in the public space after the war. Today, there is a civil society development fostered by women's organizations in the former Yugoslav

republics. Women's groups represent a serious part of the third sector in these countries and had a positive impact on the development of the civil society.

In a time when the third sector is considered as vital for democracy, it is important to understand how women are mobilized.

Appendix

Interviews:

Interview 1

Interviewee: Neda Sudar from the women's organization Be Active Be Emancipated (B.a.B.e) in Croatia. Interview Date: 12.6.2003

Interview 2

Interviewee: Nurije Zhaku from the women's organization Aureola, Macedonia and Kosovo. Interview Date: 25.6.2003

Interview 3

Interviewees: Jasmina Ismailovska/ Dilbera Kamberovska from the women organization Roma Women's Group Organization (DAJA). Interview Date: 21.7.2003

Interview 4

Interviewee: Mirjana Dimovska from the Union of Women's Organizations in Macedonia (UWOM), Macedonia. Interview Date: 21.7.2003

Interview I

Interviewee: Nena Sudar, B.a.B.e, 12.6.2003

1. What is the name of the institution you are working for?

B.a.B.e., Be active. Be emancipated, Women's Human Rights Group, Zagreb, Croatia

2. What is the purpose of the organization?

B.a.B.e. is a strategic, feminist group working for the recognition and implementation of women's human rights. We lobby for improvement of status of women with a focus on: right to live free of violence in private and public life, the right to participate equally in decision-making bodies and for the reproductive rights, as well as advancement and strengthening of civil society.

3. What is the participation of women in the organization?

I am not sure I understand what you mean by this question.

4. Is the organization you are working completely independent? Is it totally a local organization? Does it have any organic bond with an international organization or the state? How does your organization manage funding?

projects through education, disseminating information and lobbying activities. B.a.B.e. is situated in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, but many of our projects are regional (including ex-Yugoslavian countries as well as South-Eastern European countries). B.a.B.e. is a member of many national, regional and international networks. For every project we raise funds through proposals with international and national funders.

6. What kind of differences are there between the women in women's groups and the women working for the NGOs in terms of believing that they can contribute to the restructuring of their country?

Women's groups in Croatia are convinced that their activities are essential for restructuring our country and they've done a lot of work which resulted in substantial changes of recognition of women's issues. They also contributed a great deal with their lobbying to the improvement of women's status in Croatia, to changes of public perception of women's role in society, to putting on agenda women's issues and to establishment of national mechanisms for protection of women from violence.

7. What is the public reaction toward women taking active role in public life? Is there a change in the public opinion on this issue between the 1990s and post-war periods?

Croatian society is still a very patriarchal society, but efforts of women's groups have succeeded in changing, however slowly, public reaction towards women taking active role in public life. The representation of women in politics has risen from 7% to 23% in the last decade. The violence against women has become a public, rather than private issue and the state started to take responsibility for protection of women within legal framework. Women's groups became more and more visible with their campaigns and have been gaining trust of the public especially when working through educational workshops and public appearances to remove the prejudice against their work.

8. Are the women organizations in your country only engaged in women's issues? Do women primarily take part in women's organizations or do they engage in civil society for all issues?

The strongest and the most influential women's organizations take part in all civil issues not just women's, although they always remain their priority.

9. Have you ever been a member of a women's organization before the war? If so, in what capacity? Did your organization have any formal contacts with a state institution or any foreign institution? How did you finance the activities? How strong were women's groups before the war?

Before the war there were no women's organizations apart from associations based on keeping company to each other or being engaged in common hobbies. Women's NGOs appeared during the war and in the post-war period and grew gradually in their strength and influence.

10. What kind of a role did you play during the war?

During the war women's organizations focused on helping women victims of war, refugees, victims of violence etc. They managed to establish and maintain cross-border networks on the presumption that victims of war and violence anywhere face the same problems. Women's organizations have never been burdened or limited by nationality.

11. Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war compared to the socialist era? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?

Yes, there is an increase in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war and in aftermath compared to the socialist era, predominantly because the conception of the civil society and its efforts and activism was not known in socialist era.

12. Do you think the war changed how women perceived themselves?

I don't think that the war changed how women perceived themselves but it contributed to the feeling that something has to be done on the personal level and that joined efforts have a better chance to change the situation for women generally.

13. Why and how did women get organized during the war? What was the motivation? What kind of organizations did women form during the war?

The most powerful women who were public figures before and during the war (feminists, journalists, professionals) joined together in order to establish women's organizations which will deal with problems during the war. As I said before, they wanted to help other women regardless of their nationality or beliefs which was the main focus during the war. Even their nationality became the issue during the war and women's organizations were established to show that human condition during the war, especially women's, should be dealt with and improved regardless of their nationality, ethnicity or beliefs.

14. How did the role of the NGOs change during the war?

During the war it did not change, because war imposed certain priorities that women's organizations had to deal with. The role changed after the war, when women's organizations started to deal with and lobby for the changes of women's status concerning other priorities – employment, pensions, domestic violence rather than rape in war, laws, education, media stereotypes etc.

15. Did women in your country receive institutional support for organizing themselves during the war? (i.e support from the state institutions; foreign funds or completely independent) What were the sources of funding?

During the war the sources of funding were mainly international. No support from the state institutions. Such support became noticeable in aftermath.

16. Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism after the war, compared to the 1990-1995 period? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?

Yes there is a change. Once women's organizations started to gain reputation and space in the media to present their missions, goals and ideas, and after they travelled all over to introduce other women with their work and educate them on women's human rights and international standards of protection of women's human rights, more and more women became empowered to start something on their own, to join the same fight and to do something on their own.

17. Why is there a boom in the number of women's organizations after the war?

I explained that in question 15.

18. Did civil participation make a difference in inter-ethnic dialogue after the war? Can you say that the women participation in society alongside men, both from different ethnicities, helped to improve mutual respect/tolerance toward each other?

Yes, it helped although it is still far from satisfactory. Civil society is doing a great job in inter-ethnic dialogue, but it still does not have enough influence to change people's views or state policy.

19. Do women participate into public life more than they did before? If so, why?

It is obvious that their participation in public life is more visible. Women have been appointed on many posts that were previously reserved for men. Laws are changing to include women's perspective, gender equality has been put on agenda etc. It is

partly so because Croatia signed certain international documents according to which Croatia has to obey certain standards especially since it wants to be a part of EU, on the other hand, women's activism itself contributed to changes and provided resources as well as conducted many things that the state should have done – for example the first shelter for women victims of violence in Croatia has been managed by the women's NGO, the state is happy that it exists and is more prone to help it to continue that work than to establish shelters on its own. The same is with monitoring laws from gender perspective. A lot of such work with proposals of amendments has been done by women's organizations, also education in women's human rights and human rights in general has been conducted by women's organization and other civil groups etc.

20. Did the feminist groups' activism have an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war? If so, in what way?

Yes of course. The majority of women's groups established during the war were feminist organizations and whatever they did they always tried to introduce feminist perspective to things which was not hard since in patriarchal society like Croatian there is a lot of material feminists could work on.

Interview II

Interviewee: Nurije Zhaku from Aureola , 25.6.2003

1. Have you ever been a member of a women's organization before the war? If so, in what capacity? How strong were women's groups in the region before the war?

The women groups before the war were existing only in a symbolic way, just for gathering the women for celebrating different feasts as the 8th of March is. Regarding Macedonia the Women Albanian league was founded since 1994.

In Kosova the women group were little bit more active than in Macedonia, there were many more organizations than in Macedonia, the situation in Kosova was different since 1990 in Kosova the Albanians that were more than 90% of the population were outside the institution. The Serbs were the ones to be in charge for everything. That's why, it arises the question and the necessity of the self-organizing at the Albanian nation. This is why the NGO-s in Kosova were more active comparing to the NGO-s in Macedonia. Macedonia during the period of 1990-2000 was the so called "the oasis of peace". This was only in surface because deep in reality the Albanian nation waited so that the questions related to equal participation in the institutional life be solved. The armed conflict in Macedonia between the Albanians in Macedonia and the Macedonian army was caused after 10 years patient waiting. The society in Macedonia consists of mixed nationalities, which has its negative and positive effects. The positive effect is that this people add something more to this country, but the negative effects are many more. Each of the nationalities ignores each other. The Albanians pretend to be more in number and they say that 34% of the population are Albanians from 2400000 inhabitants and the official statistics where Macedonians as a nation are all in charge says that 23-25% of the whole population are Albanians. This is one of the problems, which cause many other problems after that.

2. What kind of a role did you play during the war?

During the war in Kosova (there live nearly 3- million inhabitants, and the other nationality the Serbs were 200000 inhabitants, but they, the Serbs took over everything from 1990-1999. Nothing was functioning in Kosova even primary and

secondary school, the university of Prishtina kept going in with its activity in private houses. People were in solidarity with each other and were very helpful. This helped the Albanians to remain in life up to 1999 when the Kosova people made an uprising named UCK, and supported also by NATO they manage to bring back their dignity and after all managed to be in decision taking places. Hope that Kosova will gain its final independence, which the Kosova people are asking for). In 1999 the Kosova people were expelled from the Serbs and they came in the western part of Macedonia, which mainly is populated with Albanians who opened their houses and sheltered their brothers from Kosova, for 3- months as far the Serbs resistance continued in Kosova and Serbia. Most of the Kosova people went in Albania, and also to Montenegro mainly in the towns populated with Albanians. This exodus that the Serbs did against the Albanians in Kosova will remain as one of the darkest part of the history that the Kosova people has ever gone through. So during this war our role was accommodation and reuniting the families who were splinted round the three countries(Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro).

3. *Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war compared to the socialist era? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?*

There is an increase of women activism since they faced the conflict in reality, they were part of it, they felt the war in their skin.

4. *Do you think the war changed how women perceived themselves?*

Up to that period the women thought that they are useless and than they realized that they play a good part in the conflict resolution, they feel that they are a factor that shouldn't be underestimated.

5. *Why and how did women get organized during the war? What was the motivation? What kind of organizations did women form during the war?*

The women organized the most weakness population during the war, they took care for the children and women and old people they win the war because they consist, they are the largest part of the population comparing to the men, who were fighting with guns the women fight with their patience.

6. *How did the role of the NGOs change during or after the war?*

The role of the NGO-s didn't change, it just was replaced from taking care for their life to taking care for keeping the population in life, with different therapies, reconstruction of the country and lots of other psycho-therapy programs.

7. *Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism after the war, compared to the 1990-1995 period? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?*

The women now looked toward a better future and they were activated in different life spheres just to contribute for the country and the population.

8. *Why is there a boom in the number of women's organizations after the war?*

The women realized that they are one of the peace factors and also they were the one to know better the field and the approach that the women do toward different issues is the realistic and more concrete one.

9. *Did civil participation make a difference in inter-ethnic dialogue after the war? Can you say that the women participation in society alongside men, both from different ethnicities, helped to improve mutual respect/tolerance toward each other?*

In this case there were rare the examples of mutual respect and tolerance, since the people that were involved in the conflict belong to different ethnicity's. In the concrete example the people from Kosova and Macedonia that are from those part that wasn't any war, were not involved in the conflict are more ready for help and

living together with other ethnicity, comparing with the people that were directly attacked.

10. Do women participate into public life more than they did before? If so, why?

Women are more active, because there are women NGO-s who encourage them and lobby for their women friend. There is an Albanian deputy for the first time in the Macedonia parliament. And the men side is convinced on the women qualities even it is so hard to accept, and women are in the lists for being voted only when the men side doesn't have any other choice. It is obvious that the women do not wait for the men's generosity any more, they know how to fight for their rights.

11. Did the feminist groups' activism have an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war? If so, in what way?

The women have been encouraged and empowered from the feminists groups. Different educational activities, scholarships and other activities on the women empowering direction do this.

Interview III

Interviewees: Jasmina Ismailovska and Dilbera Kamberovska, DAJA, 21.7.2003

1. What is the name of the institution you are working for?

Roma Women's Organisation of Macedonia "DAJA" from Kumanovo

2. What is the purpose of the organisation?

Daja is association of citizens (women's organisation) that exists with aim for emancipation of Roma women and integration of Roma population into society, through realisation and supporting activities for raising the level of education of Roma population, legal protection and improving of social status of Roma in Republic of Macedonia.

3. What is the percentage of women participation in the organisation?

It is 100 %.

4. Is the organisation completely independent? Is it totally a local organisation? Does it have any organic bond with an international organisation or the state? How does your organisation manage funding?

The organisation is financially dependent. It is acting on national level with 6 branches in the next towns: Bitola, Vinica, Delcevo, Pehcevo, Berovo and Kriva Palanka. The organisation is strategic partner with the Netherlands Foundation Novib. The organisation is financing through realisation and support of projects.

5. What kind of differences are there between the women in women's groups and the women working for the NGOs in terms of believing that they can contribute to the restructuring of their country?

The difference between women's groups and women that work in NGOs is that the women's groups place their priority and work on women's issues and problems, where the women from NGOs are mixed and they are more under the influence of men.

6. What is the public reaction toward women taking active role in public life? Is there a change in the public opinion on this issue between the 1990s and post - war periods?

In the past the public did not believed in the acts of women's association, but afterwards they considered that women through their work and results could do visible changes into society.

7. *Are the women organisations in your country only engaged in women's issues? Do women primarily take part in women's organisations or do they engage in civil society for all issues?*

Women's organisations usually work on this field.

There is number of women that are included in WNGOs, but there are also women that are engaged in civil society.

8. *Have you ever been a member of a women's organisation before the war? If so, in what capacity? Did your organisation have any formal contact with a state institution or any foreign institution? How did you finance the activities? How strong were the women's group before the war?*

Yes, we exist since 1993. Our organisation didn't contacted with state institutions in the first years of existing because we wasn't accepted and appreciated as NGOs, but in the following period they recognised that the NGOs really contribute toward society, and they gave as a hand of cooperation. Therefore we now cooperate with local authorities, with most of the ministries in Macedonia, and other institutions.

We finance our activities through international donors.

9. *What kind of a role did you play during the war?*

We were completely included in providing humanitarian help, beside our current activities in realisation.

10. *Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war compared to the socialist era? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?*

If we compare the socialistic era and now, there is a decrease of women activists and women participating in civil activism, because we saw that the women is not equal with the man, and that the women weren't included in public institutions because of domination of male population in socialistic era.

11. *Do you think the war changed how women perceived themselves?*

Yes, the attitude is definitely changed.

12. *Why and how did women get organized during the war? What was the motivation? What kind of organizations did women form during the war?*

The women organised them self for helping the jeopardised people, especially women and children, connecting in net with other WNGOs, regardless their ethnical origin, standing behind equal attitudes.

13. *How did the role of the NGOs change during or after the war?*

WNGOs created networks and centres where they gathered and act together in front the public.

14. *Did women in your country receive institutional support for organizing themselves during the war? (i.e support from the state institutions; foreign funds or completely independent) What were the sources of funding?*

The only sources of support were especially the foreign donors.

15. *Why is there a boom in the number of women's organizations after the war?*

Because we want to make change in the society, and the woman to be equally included and integrated in every spheres of society.

16. *Do women participate into public life more than they did before? If so, why?*

We can say that in Kumanovo all the NGOs, regardless their ethnic origin, during the war we had equal attitude of acting and existing, tolerance between us, during and after the war.

17. *Did the feminist groups' activism have an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war? If so, in what way?*

We can say that there is big percent of women that are included in public life, thanks to the total work of Women's NGOs.

Interview IV

Interviewee: Mirjana Dimovska, SOZM, 21.7.2003

1. What is the name of the institution you are working for?

Union of Women's Organizations of the Republic of Macedonia

2. What is the purpose of the organization?

Gender equality, development and peace

3. What is the percentage of women participation in the organization?

UWOM is a women's network of 64 independent organizations.

4. Is the organization you are working completely independent? Is it totally a local organization? Does it have any organic bond with an international organization or the state? How does your organization manage funding?

The UWOM is a non-governmental, non-party and non-profitable women's association, founded in October 1994. UWOM is a multiethnic network of 64 independent organizations, with members of various ethnic, national and religious groups, as well as different social, culture and educational action interests. Our organization manages funding via projects. UWOM has collaboration with international organizations and governmental organizations in Macedonia as well as is a member in International Council of Women, European Women's Lobby and Karat Coalition.

5. What kind of differences are there between the women in women's groups and the women working for the NGOs in terms of believing that they can contribute to the restructuring of their country?

Women who are working in our organization believe and they are actively involved in all the activities targeted towards peace and stability in our country. We had had a lot of tribunes, conversations and trainings with purpose to restore the ruined trust as a result of the war conflict that had happened in Macedonia. Restoration of trust was one of our most important tasks in the previous period.

6. What is the public reaction toward women taking active role in public life? Is there a change in the public opinion on this issue between the 1990s and post-war periods?

There is a change in the public opinion on this issues between the 1990s and now. The public opinion stands up for women who are taking active role in public life. The public opinion has confidence in these women who are involved in the process of improving the situation in our country.

7. Are the women organizations in your country only engaged in women's issues? Do women primarily take part in women's organizations or do they engage in civil society for all issues?

Primarily, UWOM is focused towards women's issues in the Republic of Macedonia. In the last few years, the individual participation of women via NGO in the civil sector is getting bigger for the issues about peace and safety in our country, disarming and increasing the level of democracy.

8. Have you ever been a member of a women's organization before the war? If so, in what capacity? Did your organization have any formal contacts with a state

institution or any foreign institution? How did you finance the activities? How strong were women's groups before the war?

Women's organizations were also active before the war but with smaller capacities. In other words, they had been treated the issues for violence over women, political strengthening of women and etc.

For more women's issues we have collaboration and partnership with the Unit for the promotion of gender equality.

We covered financial activities through projects.

Nearly all women's groups are strong in solving problems and conflicts, they were and they are still active in giving their contribution toward stability and safety in our country. They were rather strong before the war but now they are much stronger than before.

9. What kind of a role did you play during the war?

From the very first beginning of the crises in Macedonia in 2001, UWOM joint actively in finding different peaceful (non-violent) forms in resolving the momentarily situation and overcoming the crises. During the war period, UWOM had realized a lot of activities targeted toward building peace (peaceful demonstrations), stimulation of the democracy, negotiations and peaceful resolving of the conflicts (appeal to the international community to convict the terrorism and to work against all forms of terrorism's manifestations as well as a lot of lectures, trainings for alternative of violence and transformation of the conflicts). In that contexts UWOM had send letter to the NATO's civil representative in RM, Maria Tisane with an appeal for the prevention of violence on peaceful way as well as the support was given to the President of RM in his efforts for peaceful resolving of the conflicts. On the square "Macedonia" was held the protest under the motto "We all are peace volunteers" and many women with different ethnic and national background had enrol their messages for peace on the table set up on the square. UWOM had organized tribunes and round tables aimed towards peace and stability. During that period UWOM had made an action for collection and distribution of any kind of help (food, close, hygienic parcels...) to the displaced persons as well as meetings and conversations with internally displaced people, psychosocial support. We were with all women no matter if they are Macedonian, Albanian, Serbian, Turks, Roma, Vlachs, Russians, women of various age, social, status, religion, political vocation.

10. Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war compared to the socialist era? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?

Now, there is a bigger participation of women in civil activism and the reason for that is that during the socialist era women were organized in organizations that were part of the public structure. In the last ten years, the beginning and the development of the civil sector give bigger possibilities and chances for free organization.

11. Do you think the war changed how women perceived themselves?

It's more than sure that women as well as all people after finishing of the war are changed and they see different on the life and their own survival. Going through all the bad moments and conflicts during that period there is no chance to be the same. Women who were direct victims in the war will never be the same (like they were before that).

12. Why and how did women get organized during the war? What was the motivation? What kind of organizations did women form during the war?

Women were specially mobilized during the war and they were actively involved in all peace activities targeted towards peace and stability as well as peacefully resolving of the conflicts. They were volunteers in order to help and give their contribution during that period. During the war, women had made peaceful protests every day on the streets in the centre of the city. A lot of tribunals, trainings and lectures were held; the humanitarian help was distributed to the displaced people.

13. How did the role of the NGOs change during or after the war?

The role of the NGOs has been changed in way of organization in informal groups and putting the squeeze on the institutions for issues for which the citizens are concerned.

14. Did women in your country receive institutional support for organizing themselves during the war? (i.e support from the state institutions; foreign funds or completely independent) What were the sources of funding?

Women's organizations almost didn't have any support by the institutions during the war, but the state took care of the displaced people.

15. Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism after the war, compared to the 1990-1995 period? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?

It is evident participation of women in civil activism because the civil sector makes big efforts to protect the interest of the citizens and probably one more reason for that is also the disappointment in the political structures by the citizens.

16. Why is there a boom in the number of women's organizations after the war?

The reason for that is the confidence in the power of the citizens, especially women who are powerful and able to change the things in better and they can give big contribution in improving the position of women in the society.

17. Did civil participation make a difference in inter-ethnic dialogue after the war? Can you say that the women participation in society alongside men, both from different ethnicities, helped to improve mutual respect/tolerance toward each other?

The women participation was active all the time during the war and it was never stopped. We were with all women, no matter if they are Macedonian, Albanian, Serbian, Turks, Roma, Vlachs, Russians, women of various age, social, status, religion, political vocation. We were together in all activities in order to prove that we should have mutual respect and tolerance toward each other as well as to live together and have mutual understanding. It was proved that women have bigger tolerance and understanding than men.

18. Do women participate into public life more than they did before? If so, why?

Women are more and more actively involved in public life. They participate in the public life more than before because now they are more organized and they support each other. During this period UWOM have projects for bigger participation of women in decision-making processes and their strengthening and participation in public and political life.

19. Did the feminist groups' activism have an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war? If so, in what way?

Women activism have big recognition for bigger participation of women in the civil society because organized, all women together have big power and influence in changing certain things as well as state of affairs. Together we are stronger!

Interview V

Interviewee: Vesna Jankova, 21.7.2003

1. What is the name of the institution you are working for?

ORT- Association for Information, Training and Sustainable Development

2. What is the purpose of the organization?

ORT works on national level in Macedonia, while is collaborative with all organizations or persons nationally or internationally, whose programs and activities are compatible to its programs, and whoever will help ORT to develop and to reach its goals. In order to get closer to all entities or people ORT members are from various cities in the country. The difference from other national wide organizations is to has Headquarters is in Prilep (office 1), and to has representatives in Skopje (office 2) and in Kicevo (office 3). All offices have offices space of 7-20 m² in 2 separate working rooms one for the administration and another for meetings and workshops. Each office has 2 employed, 2 part-time and 2 volunteers. We have computers, printers, fax, telephone line, overhead projector, white table, as equipment for regular work.

3. What is the percentage of women participation in the organization?

60%

4. Is the organization you are working completely independent? Is it totally a local organization? Does it have any organic bond with an international organization or the state? How does your organization manage funding?

Yes, it is.

No, it is not.

It works on the national level. It is a member of ICDA, SEEENN, Ballet Network, WB ECA, ECMI, ect.

It contacts with foundations through projects, making projects for others.

5. What kind of differences are there between the women in women's groups and the women working for the NGOs in terms of believing that they can contribute to the restructuring of their country?

There are not any differences. Both of them are working for development of society, at all areas.

6. What is the public reaction toward women taking active role in public life? Is there a change in the public opinion on this issue between the 1990s and post-war periods?

The public reaction toward women taking active participation in public life is positive, because the time of non equality in gender is past in our country. Now, the percentage of women participation in the government is 17% after the last parliament elections in 2002.

7. Are the women organizations in your country only engaged in women's issues? Do women primarily take part in women's organizations or do they engage in civil society for all issues?

No, they are not. Besides in women's issues the women organizations are engage in protection of human rights and environment.

They do engage in civil society for all issues.

8. Have you ever been a member of a women's organization before the war? If so, in what capacity? Did your organization have any formal contacts with a state institution or any foreign institution? How did you finance the activities? How strong were women's groups before the war?

No, I haven't. My organization had and still has formal contacts with Local Government and foreign institutions, mentioned above. We do finance from donors.

The women's groups organized protests against war and crime.

9. *What kind of a role did you play during the war?*

My organization was engaged in a big campaign against war and crime called "DOSTA E" ("It's enough") which was organized by NGO through out the whole country.

10. *Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism during the war compared to the socialist era? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?*

I think that the number of women who participate in civil activism is increased after the war compared to the socialist era.

There is a decrease because the women want to help to prevent conflicts and refugees.

11. *Do you think the war changed how women perceived themselves?*

Yes, I do.

12. *Why and how did women get organized during the war? What was the motivation? What kind of organizations did women form during the war?*

The women get organized to help the refugees, and by humanitarian help to get the life easier in the crise region. They were motivated by their humanity and resistance against the war. They mostly formed humanitarian organizations.

13. *How did the role of the NGOs change during or after the war?*

The NGOs during and after the war mainly acted against the war and interethnic conflicts.

14. *Did women in your country receive institutional support for organizing themselves during the war? (i.e support from the state institutions; foreign funds or completely independent) What were the sources of funding?*

Yes, they did. The women's lobby enabled many problems to be solved. The sources were from humanitarian support and home and foreign foundations.

15. *Do you think there is an increase/decrease in the number of women who participate in civil activism after the war, compared to the 1990-1995 period? If there is a significant change, why is there an increase/decrease?*

Maybe a little, but their activities were determined bu the actual situation.

16. *Why is there a boom in the number of women's organizations after the war?*

Because the problem of interethnic intolerance has to be overcome.

17. *Did civil participation make a difference in inter-ethnic dialogue after the war? Can you say that the women participation in society alongside men, both from different ethnicities, helped to improve mutual respect/tolerance toward each other?*

No, it didn't. There were more activities in that direction.

Yes. I can. They continue improving mutual respect/ tolerance towards each other.

18. *Do women participate into public life more than they did before? If so, why?*

Yes, they do. Because the social conditions have changed and improved.

19. *Did the feminist groups' activism have an impact on women participation to civil society during and after the war? If so, in what way?*

Yes it did. The women lobby is very strong and succeeded to change and improve some positions of the women in the social life.

Bibliography

Allock, John; Milivojevic, Marko; Horton, John. (1998). *Conflict in Former Yugoslavia, An Encyclopedia*. Oxford: ABC-CLIO Publishing.

Benderly, Jill. (1997). Rape, Feminism and Nationalism in the War in Yugoslavia Successor States, in: Lois A. West (ed), *Feminism and Nationalism*, Routledge Publications. New York, London. p.184.

Blagojević, Marina. (1998). "Ženski pogled u Beogradu 1990-1997: Pogled iznutra/pogled spolja." "Women look inside Belgrade 1990-1997: Look from inside, look from outside."

Blumer, Herbert. (1969). "Social Movements" in *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspective*. MacMillan Press, New York. p.99.

Cockburn, Cynthia. (1998). *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*. Zed Books, New York. pp.174-221.

Della Porta, Donatella and Diani, Mario. (1999). *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Blackwell Publishers, UK. p.16.

Dougherty, James and Pfaltzgraff, Robert. (2001). *Contending Theories of International Relations- A Comprehensive Survey*. Fifth edition, Longman Publication. pp.168-172.

Emmert, Thomas. (1999). Zenski Pokret: The Feminist Movement in Serbia in the 1920s, in: Sabrina P. Ramet (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans*. Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania. pp.33-49.

Eyerman, Ron and Jamison, Andrew. (1991). *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach*. Penn State University Press, Pennsylvania. p.4.

Jalusic, Vlasta. (1998). Women in Interwar Slovenia, in: Sabrina P. Ramet, (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkan*. Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania. pp.51-66.

Jalusic, Vlasta. (1998). Women in Post-Socialist Yugoslavia, in: Sabrina P. Ramet, (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans*. Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania. pp.109-127.

Jancar-Weber, Barbara. (1995). Women in the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement, in: Sabrina P. Ramet (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans*. Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania. pp.67-87.

Korac, Maja. (1998). *Linking Arms: Women and War in post-Yugoslav States*. Life and Peace Institute, Sweden.

Lily, Carol and Irvine, Jill. (2002). "Negotiating Interests: Women and Nationalism in Serbia and Croatia 1990-1997". *East European Politics and Societies*. Winter 2002. v.16. University of California Press. pp.109-137.

McAdam, Doug, McCarthy, John D. and Zald, Mayer N. (1996). *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements, Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. pp.1-161.

Mertus, Julie. (1999). Women in Kosovo: Contested Terrains. The Role of National Identity in Shaping and Challenging Gender Identity, in: Sabrina P. Ramet (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans*. Pennsylvania State University Press. Pennsylvania. pp.172- 186.

Mladjenovic, Lepa and Litricin, Vera. (1993). "Belgrade Feminists 1992: Separation, Guilt and Identity Crisis". *Feminist Review*. no.45. pp.113-119.

Oberschall, Anthony. (1996). Opportunities and Framing in the 1989

Revolts, in: *Comparative Perspectives On Social Movements, Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings*. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald (eds). Cambridge University Press, UK.

Ramet, Sabrina. (1995). Feminism in Yugoslavia, in *Social Currents in Eastern Europe, The Sources and Consequences of the Great Transformation*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. pp.219-232.

----- (1999). "In Tito's Time", in: Sabrina P. Ramet (ed), *Gender and Politics in Western Balkans*. Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania. pp.89-105.

----- (2002). *Balkababel, The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milosevic*. Colorado: Westview Press.

Tarrow, Sidney. (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Second Edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Verdery, Katherine. (1994). "From parent-state to family patriarchs: gender and nation in contemporary Eastern Europe" in *East European Politics and Societies*. vol.8. no.2. pp. 225-231.

Wolchik, Sharon L. (1998). Women and the Politics of Gender in Communist and Post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, in: Sabrina P. Ramet (ed) *Eastern Europe: Politics, Culture and Society since 1939*. Indiana University Press, Indiana. pp. 285-301.

Zald, Mayer N. and McCarthy, John D. (1987). *Social Movements in an Organizational Society*. Transaction Books, New Brunswick, NJ.

Internet Sources

Bagic, Aida (2001), "International Assistance to Women's Movement: From Initiatives and Groups to NGOs", Available:

http://www.policy.hu/bagic/firstdraftfinal.htm#_Toc528252958

(Accessed : 23.7.2003).

Brunet, Ariane, (5-26 February 2000), Field Report for the Urgent Action Fund, Available: <http://www.babe.hr/Burnetreport.htm> (Accessed: 5.9.2003).

Cockburn, Cynthia. "Bosnia: The Post-War Moment:Lessons from Bosnia Herzegovina" Available: <http://www.utoronto.ca/iwsgs/we.mag/bosnia.pdf>

(Accessed: 5.9.2003).

Donna M. Hughes, Lepa Mladjenovic and Zorica Mrsevic (1995), "Feminist Resistance in Serbia" , *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 2, no 4, pp. 509-532, Available: <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/sos.htm> (Accessed: 30.7.2003).

Drakulic, Slobodan and Licht, Sonja. <http://www.wgasct.net/e-library/e-lib0021.html> (Accessed: 12.7.2003)

Greenberg, Maria and Kara McDonald, (August 2000), WIDTECH Report, Women in Development and Technical Assistance Project, "Women's Political Participation in the Republic of Macedonia: Opportunities to Support Women in Upcoming Elections-and Beyond", Available:

<http://www.widtech.org/Publications/Womens%20Political%20Participation%20in%20the%20Republic%20of%20Macedonia.pdf> (Accessed: 1.7.2003)

Hadzihalilovic Selma, (1999), "Non-Governmental Organizations in B&H",

Available: <http://www.aimpress.org/dyn/trae/archive/data/199909/90928-004-trae-sar.htm>

Licht, Sonja, (27-28.4.2001) "Occasional Paper from the WIIS Workshop: New Bridges to Peace- Enhancing National and International Security by Expanding Policy Dialogues Among Women, Women Searching for a New Paradigm in Southeastern Europe", Available: <http://wiis.georgetown.edu/Licht.pdf> (Accessed: 17.7.2003)

Nikolic, Olga. Belgrade Women's Lobby, "A Voice Against the Existing Order", (29.9.1997-last update), Available:

<http://www.aimpress.org/dyn/trae/archive/data/199709/70929-022-trae-beo.htm>

Vasic, Slavica. "BIBIJA: Rroma Women's Center From Belgrade: FCNM Alternative Report and NGO Information", (21.5.2003-last update), Available:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/balkanhr/message/5517> (Accessed:30.7.2003)

Walsh, Martha (1995), "ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict Post-conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina: Integrating women's special situation and gender perspectives in skills training and employment promotion programmes", Available:

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/skills/training/publ/pub12.htm>

(Accessed: 20.8.2003).

Web-sites

Association of Business Women Belgrade, Available:

<http://www.poslovnezene.org.yu/e/info/index.htm> (Accessed: 20.8.2003).

Association for Peace and Human Rights "BARANJA", (11.6.2001-last update), Available:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brochure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/baranjaEng.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003).

Autonomous Women's Center, Available: <http://www.womenngo.org.yu/sajt/english/index%20home%20page.htm> (Accessed: July 30, 2003).

The Center for Women War Victims (CWWV), (19.4.2002-last update), Available: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brochure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/czzrEng.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003).

International Conference of Free Unions of Central and Eastern Europe (ICFTU), (21.4.2002-last update), Available: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/icftuEng.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003).

The Union of Jewish Women of Croatia, (11.6.2001-last update), Available: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/unijazidovskihzenaEng.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003)

The Council For the Equality and Affirmation of Women, (11.6.2001-last update), Available: <http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/oraEng.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003)

The Union of Autonomous Trade Unions of Croatia (UATUC)- Women's Section, (21.4.2002-last update), Available: <http://zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/sindikati.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003)

Women in Black, (11.11.2002-last update), Available: <http://www.womeninblack.net/stats/wib2000.htm> (Accessed: 3.6.2003).

Women's INFOTEKA, (11.6.2001-last update), Available:

<http://www.zinfo.hr/engleski/pages/publishing/brosure/adresar.zenskih-grupa/zinfoEng.htm> (Accessed:3.6.2003)

Women's Studies Center, (22.10. 2002-last update).

Available: <http://www.zenskestudie.edu.yu/eng/introduction.htm>, (Accessed: 13.1.2004).