Berliner Blätter 88/2023, 79–94

Can We Fight Together? Contentions of Gender-Queer Scholarship and Activism in Southeast Europe

Bojan Bilić, Čarna Brković, Linda Gusia, Nita Luci, Diana Manesi and Jovan Džoli Ulićević

ABSTRACT: *This is a polyvocal paper exploring some of the debates which have shaped gender-queer scholarship and activism in Southeast Europe (SEE). Discussing four key themes — authors' backgrounds, situatedness in theory, understandings of Europe and notions of belonging (›we-ness‹) — the authors paint a picture of gender-queer scholarship and activism in SEE as a fragmented intellectual landscape fraught with multiple struggles and points of contention. The paper offers an overview of two key axes of contention. One has been the differential and racialized distribution of claims to progress, civilization or Europeanness within the SEE region. Another point of contention is the question of whether it is possible to articulate a joint struggle for social justice which would bring together the concern for the problems caused by unjust economic redistribution with those induced by unjust patterns of cultural recognition. With its theoretically nuanced reflections regionally situated within SEE, the paper also raises the question of what gender-queer scholars and activists in SEE are revealing about progressive politics beyond the Area Studies framework.*

KEYWORDS: *nesting orientalisms, coloniality, transphobia, grief, decentring Europe*

HOW TO CITE: *Bilić, B., Brković, Č., Gusia, L., Luci, N., Manesi, D., Džoli Ulićević, J.. (2023): Can We Fight Together? Contentions of Gender-Queer Scholarship and Activism in Southeast Europe. In: Berliner Blätter 88, 79−94.*

Introduction

By Čarna Brković, University of Mainz

This is a polyvocal paper co-authored by six gender-queer scholars working on Southeast Europe (SEE): Bojan Bilić, Čarna Brković, Linda Gusia, Nita Luci, Diana Manesi and Jovan Džoli Ulićević. It presents the conversations we had during the panel ›Can We Fight Together? Contentions of Gender-Queer Scholarship and Activism in Southeast Europe‹ organized during the ›Troubling Gender‹ conference held online in April 2021.[1] Our discussions within the framework of this panel made clear that there are two key foci of contention which have shaped gender-queer scholarship and activism in SEE to date.

One of these arises around claims to progress, civilization or Europeanness asserted within the region, often on the basis of ›nesting orientalisms [...] a tendency of each region

DOI: 10.18452/27998 |

[in SEE] to view the cultures and religions to its South and East as more conservative and primitive‹ (Bakić-Hayden 1995, 918). As Gusia and Luci discuss, the case in point here are the orientalizing attitudes of (post-)Yugoslav feminists towards those from Kosova, whose economic deprivation and suffering under systemic political violence remains largely invisible and undertheorized. There is a longer history of relationality at play here. A generation of self-declared feminists emerged in the 1970s and 1980s in socialist Yugoslavia, which attempted to develop a ›third way‹ and a Non-Aligned perspective situated between state socialism of the East and liberal capitalism of the West (Lorand 2018). ›Comrade Woman. The Women's Question: A New Approach‹ was one of the rare meetings of feminists from both sides of the Iron Curtain which took place during the 1978 conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, under the slogan ›Workers of the world — who washes your socks?‹ (Bonfiglioli 2008).

The organizers of this conference articulated a critique of existing socialism in their country from a feminist perspective, while staying within the framework of Yugoslav socialist ideals and values. In doing so, their feminist project was emancipatory and original. It was also shaped by an understanding of women from Kosova, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Roma and rural women from all over Yugoslavia as ›backwards‹, subjects whose ›mentality‹ and ›consciousness‹ needed to be emancipated in line with Yugoslav socialist modernity. As Gusia and Luci argue, echoes of the socialist Yugoslav colonially inflected assumptions about the distribution of ›civilizational progress‹ among women racialized in different ways are present today, too. They colour attempts to exchange knowledge and know-how across state borders. The continuous existence of such assumptions speaks clearly about the need to rethink the politics of feminist gender-queer solidarity in former Yugoslav countries from a critical anti-racist perspective (see also, Savić 2018).[2]

Another point of contention is the question of whether it is possible to articulate a joint struggle which would include both what Nancy Fraser (2000) calls the ›issues of economic redistribution‹ (class, economic and redistributive justice) and those of cultural recognition (cultural visibility, human rights and the social acceptance of various minorities). The fall of socialism in 1989 brought about a change in the grammar of political claims-making towards the vocabulary of cultural recognition. Injustices caused by economic redistribution have often been left unarticulated. This is a global issue, one which we can trace in SEE as much as in other regions of the world. After the fall of socialism, feminist activism was mostly ›NGO-ized‹, meaning it was pursued within the framework of non-governmental organizations who used the human rights discourse to demand the changing of the legislature, increased visibility and overall better recognition of women, gays, lesbians, bisexual and trans people in the cultural sphere (Hodžić 2014). However, postsocialist transformation also meant a profound economic change which left many of those same women, gays, lesbians, bisexual, trans and queer people in precarious living conditions, experiencing forms of suffering which were almost impossible to articulate — because the vocabulary of social justice and activism have been heavily oriented towards the axis of cultural recognition hitherto.

One important issue for gender-queer activist scholars in SEE — as elsewhere — is to figure out how to fight together across the line which divides injustices caused by economic redistribution from those induced by certain patterns of cultural (non-)recognition. Can we make claims to social justice in a manner which would be both critical of rigid identitarian lines and sensitive to the materiality of suffering? Working together across this distinction provides the means to go beyond both identity- and class-based politics and to forge political friendships and alliances across differences, as our authors show — both in this paper and in their own critical political praxis. In these debates, there are feminist and leftist actors who take transphobic and conservative standpoints, as Bilić and Ulićević problematize.

Other actors approach the question of how to articulate a joint struggle across differences from a queer and transformative perspective, turning grief as a shared affect into a political claim, as Manesi discusses.

The following represents a summary of the discussions we had during the panel; it is also informed by our pre-existing discussions, disagreements, collaborations and friendships. I had personally met and collaborated with all of the other five authors in some form or another during our earlier scholarly and activist work. Bilić, Ulićević and I were involved in an activist scholarly project called ›Queering Montenegro‹, supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Belgrade Regional Office).[3] Kalezić Danijel and I initiated this project between 2014 and 2016 as a series of conversations taking place between scholars and activists interested in gender-queer feminism and LGBTIQ activism in Montenegro. Ulićević participated in the project as a biologist and trans activist from Montenegro. Jovan is one of the founders of Association Spektra, an organization working on the advancement of the human rights of trans, gender diverse and intersex persons in Montenegro, for whom he works as a director — which he also does for the Trans Network Balkan, a regional trans and intersex organization wherein he is also a coordinator for regional capacity-building.[4] Bilić participated in the ›Queering Montenegro‹ conversations as a political sociologist doing research on LGBTQ activisms, LGBTQ-affirmative psychotherapy and the anthropology of non-heterosexuality and gender variance in the post-Yugoslav space. Bojan holds a PhD in Slavonic and East European Studies from University College London and is the founder of the Queering YU Network. With this network, he has established an informal collective of scholars and activists who explore the history and politics of (post-)Yugoslav anti-war, feminist, LGBT and queer initiatives and who have co-authored several edited volumes hereon.[5] Bojan, Jovan and I collaborated on the volumes dedicated to LGBTIQ and trans politics and activism in the former Yugoslav countries (2016, 2022).

I met Manesi, Luci and Gusia during the planning of the workshop ›Anthropology of Gender in the Balkans‹ which Sabine Hess and I organized at the University of Göttingen in 2019 (taking place with the support of the German Academic Exchange Service, DAAD).[6] Manesi presented a paper just after finishing her PhD in Social Anthropology at Goldsmiths, University of London, on queer and lesbian feminist politics, activisms and subjectivities in Greece. Her work on the latter, a European Union country, helped us to think about the possibilities and limits of ›the Balkans‹ as a framework.[7] Luci and Gusia both teach at the University of Prishtina (UP), in Anthropology and Sociology, where they have co-founded the Program in Gender Studies and Research. Luci obtained her PhD from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and currently works as Ambassador of the Republic of Kosova to the Kingdom of Norway.[8] Gusia obtained her PhD from the UP, currently runs the Department of Sociology and combines her research with pedagogy and social involvement through feminist theory and practice.[9]

This brief introduction illustrates that what brought the six of us together for the panel and this article is not a particular ideological or political standpoint or a certain theoretical approach but, rather, a shared set of concerns, an ethnographic sensitivity to everyday life and our continued work in the field of gender-queer feminist scholarship and activism in SEE. We originally met through various scholarly and activist projects and events which tried to intervene in the social and cultural frameworks of SEE, and which were sometimes organized in that region with the help of German funding bodies (such as the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung or DAAD) and other times in Germany itself. These connections between Germany and SEE reflect the dominant landscape of aid, but they have also been influ-

enced by my personal trajectory as a gender-queer anthropologist from Montenegro who has been living and working in Germany for almost a decade now.[10]

The project-oriented character of our mutual relations is a reflection of what Paul Stubbs has called the ›paradox of the semi-periphery‹ (2015, 87) — namely, the fact that in SEE »all manner of project interventions are possible in a flexible ›open space‹ but these rarely achieve what they set out to, precisely because of the same lack of ›thick‹ structures in which they can be implemented.« With this paper, we reflect on some of the issues raised by the lack of ›thick‹ institutional structures which could support sustainable and long-term social change (see also Graan 2022). We also want to present some of the key points of contention of gender-queer scholarship in SEE and to invite *Berliner Blätter*'s readership to consider the ways in which knowledge and theoretical arguments with a regional focus on SEE could be useful in understanding other places and conversations — both in Europe and elsewhere. Translating and moving academic, policy and cultural knowledge is never a unidirectional process with clear points of departure and arrival: rather, knowledge becomes interpreted, inflected and reworked as it changes location (cf. Clarke et al. 2015). Yet, hegemonic conceptualizations vis-à-vis the ›transfer‹ of knowledge assume that it necessarily moves in but one direction: namely, from the European centres of knowledge and policy production to SEE's peripheries. The theoretical nuance and complexity of gender-queer conversations in SEE complicate this picture, however.

This paper, with its regional focus on SEE, implicitly raises the question of how can knowledge about feminism and queerness there be translated to the rest of Europe? What can gender-queer scholars and activists in SEE reveal about progressive politics as such, and not just about how the latter is reconceptualized and translated in that part of the continent itself? There are many complex and sophisticated debates about how to fight together across differences, ones which deserve significant theoretical attention — and which could perhaps be used to understand gender-queer struggles and experiences in other parts of Europe, too. Whether or not these kinds of situated perspectives and embodied knowledges about feminism and queerness in SEE remain read as ›area studies‹ or as ›theoretical knowledge‹ crucially depends on how we understand ›Europe‹. We would like our readers to think with us, then, about how to disturb the conventional ways of imagining ›Europeanization‹ and its accompanying processes.

The paper was written after our panel, as a reflection on the four key themes which emerged in the course of our conversations. The first theme we call *the background*, meaning a particular issue or set of issues relevant in one's gender-queer scholarly and activist work. The second theme is *situatedness in theory*, which gives an overview of how the individual authors locate their scholarly and activist work in the broader context of theoretical conversations about gender and sexuality in Europe. The third theme is *Europe*, which charts different visions of Europe, Europeanization and of its south-eastern periphery. The fourth theme, *›we-ness‹*, encompasses an understanding of belonging and subjectivity which makes it possible to speak about gender-queer scholarship and activism in SEE.

Behind the Veil of Feminist Solidarity

Linda Gusia and Nita Luci, University of Prishtina

Background: In Kosova, the consolidation of a women's movement came about in the early 1990s in mobilizing identity politics based on intersecting national, regional and transna-

tional alliances. The emergence of the movement coincided with Kosova's political-independence project, often conditioning and shaping the strategies adopted in its activism. During this time, most feminists from former Yugoslav spaces forged alliances through anti-war activism and were often deemed traitors to their nations as a result of their anti-military stance. Women activists in Kosova shared this anti-war sentiment but became uninterested in preserving the Yugoslav Federation and a common Yugoslav identity (Gusia et al. 2016). The ambiguities and paradoxes of the emergent women's movement unfolded in a terrain which was and continues to be shaped by discourses and practices of ethnicization and racialization marking Albanian women as the ultimate Other (Krasniqi 2021). However, the post-war landscape of women's activism and NGOs was significantly transformed by international funding streams of neoliberal and post-conflict interventions. On the one hand, it has been critical for mainstreaming gender within post-war state-building while it has also aimed to become inclusive in the kinds of actions and discourses mobilized (alliances with ethnic minorities, the working poor, LGBTQI). On the other, largely due to the material and symbolic makeup of this activism, it has failed to address the structural disempowerment of Others (Luci/Gusia 2018).

Feminist and LGBTQI activism once again places protest at the forefront of mobilization, both as a tool to express indignation and publicly unravel institutionalized sexism and racialized violence. The most recent case of the rape and trafficking of an eleven-year-old Roma girl led thousands to the streets of Prishtina, also joined in solidarity by protestors in neighbouring Albania and North Macedonia. Angered by the systematic negligence of the entire institutional chain (police, prosecution, courts and social services) which has consistently failed victims and survivors of violence, protesters are increasingly mobilizing more radical strategies to express their dissent and make demands.

This new wave of activism also aims to create linkages with, and reflect on, the experiences of the marginalized and the struggles of women, queer, transgender and racialize movement.

Situatedness in theory: Our research has focused on the multiplicity and complexity of women's activism in Kosova within the shifting ideological paradigms of the late 1980s and 1990s. Drawing from Black feminist thought and intersectional feminist approaches, we look at the negotiated experiences of Albanian women in socialist Yugoslavia and the situatedness of racialized and gendered inequalities formative of the emerging women's movement. We argue that the interplay between state socialism and nationalism was undercut by a recurrent veil concealing Albanian women's experiences and producing a lack of recognition, there with creating ontological blindness to the racialization of Albanian subjects. This blindness, predicated upon misrecognition and absence, produced a view whereby women's lives were treated as indicative of their ›subjugated position and oppression‹ under a particular cultural patriarchy (Albanian tradition), undermining recognition of the deep structural inequalities shaping their lives. The approach was more of an attempt to save and emancipate them rather than engage with the micro and macro politics of their struggles (Mujica Chao/Gusia 2022; Stavrevska et al. 2022).

In this particular space, feminist theory and methodology, postcolonial theory and race theory all travel well. In allowing the intersections, structures of inequality and agency to surface, feminist theories around racism are crucial in understanding the complexities of violence and provide the necessary vocabulary and framework to understand structural racisms in other spaces, locales and times. Du Bois's concepts of the ›veil‹ and ›double consciousness‹ can apply in social contexts beyond the United States (Itzigsohn and Brown

2020). At the same time, we have come to think of dominant geographies of scale and power (North/South, East/West, democracy/authoritarianism and similar) from the position of feminist inquiry accounting for dependencies of the past (the apparatus of state socialism) and current crises (liberal capitalism) as we grapple now with environmental degradation, authoritarianism, sexism, homophobia and racism. Understanding the interconnections of current crises with other gender and LGTBIQ injustices and violence, and aligning those with other forms of structural injustice, can create and redirect new points of mobilization against systems of oppression.

Europe: The continent holds a venerated position in the social and political identifications and collective imagination, appearing in the policy prose of legal acquis as well as in politically charged and affective historical imaginaries. In the Global North, Kosova holds a precarious position in both popular and academic texts.[11] In our research fields, this required us to return the gaze from our location on the semi-periphery and engage with a critical epistemic feminist positionality (bell hooks, 1992). The traps of persistent binaries — un/developed, centre/periphery, hetero-/homosexuality, minority/majority, sex/gender — include common juxtapositions of insider and outsider positions. They must not be avoided, but rather persistently recognized if we are to make new ground for uncovering the complexities of embodied knowledge and emerging solidarities.

From our location, a view on the axes of difference is about looking back in a way which uncovers the blindness to hierarchical relations between imagined margins and provinces, on the one hand, and the centres of progress, on the other. That is, in the past years Kosova has appeared internationally — including in Europe — first through violence and forced dislocation, then military intervention and thereafter processes of state-building. The view from the inside is different, and it requires us to locate and recognize the complexity of experiences and knowledges, and to find a new entry point to what has been considered a very troubled and conflict-driven location. Our focus has gone to intersecting matrices of oppression and the inequalities created by particular patriarchal historical, political and cultural contexts, giving rise to diverse feminist encounters. For example, we have pointed to how feminists from other parts of Yugoslavia failed to recognize certain oppressions and produced a contentious relationship with Albanian feminist activists. Women activists in Kosova foregrounded their positions by confronting the violence which came about with the dismantling of their rights as citizens under a new nationalist-authoritarian regime during the 1990s. The interplay between state socialism and nationalism was undercut, as noted, by a recurrent veil concealing Albanian women's experiences, thereby producing a lack of recognition which created ontological blindness to the racialization of Albanian subjects.

›*We*‹: The subject positions we aim to understand rely on us excavating a social history of the interactions between macro political restructurings and agential mobilization in order to render visible the positions of marginality — and often isolation — which inspired a generation of activists. Any ›we-ness‹, then, should begin, we propose, with analysis, reflection and discussion of the histories marking differences and solidarities in such contexts of change. Marginality, agency and solidarity were and are thus not only slogans; rather, they are very much categories of action too. They serve as the means through which common grounds are built, through which learning as well as embattled collisions and confrontations take place. Whether defined as ›waves‹, ›genealogies‹ or ›communities of action‹, gender equality and feminist organizing are not and have never been homogenous.

In Kosova, unaccounted-for inequalities along ethnic and socio-economic lines created uneasiness and tensions in choosing political belonging, but also made gendered identity a point of mobilization against state power and patriarchy. Mobilizing from a place where suppression, violence and conflict were ongoing required continued political engagement and often led to negotiated strategies and positionalities — whether within the movement itself or with ›outsiders‹.

Activist, academic and political contentions with patriarchy have produced varied and multiple strategies, responses and actions, rendering visible hereby the layers of entangled oppression within structures of inequality. For some it has meant contending with heteronormativity, for others securing a place at the decision-making table — and for many more besides, challenging the gendered status quo or liberal-capitalist violence. The choices made by women's rights advocates, feminists and LGBTIQ activists thus point to a diversity of political and ideological (as well as other) tensions and conflicts in these negotiated belongings.

What the trajectories of the women's movement in Kosova have taught us is the relevance of paying attention to tensions and contradictions. Specifically, this led us to situate and discern the politics, epistemologies and strategies of the movement by looking beyond the dominant feminist inquiry on nationalism to instead wider relations of power based on racialization and heteronormativity. Reflecting on our positionality as researchers, we have realized the necessity of producing practices, research and knowledge relevant to the realities we inhabit. Questions around epistemologies and systems of knowledge production can thus become translated and/or mobilized into concrete practice. Thinking through past lineages and genealogies of ›we-ness‹, we find that misrecognition of experiences and persistent structural inequalities stifles the possibilities for finding common ground; once acknowledged, however, new webs of connection can emerge. By bringing politics into what are otherwise instrumentalized identity politics, diversifying ›we-ness‹ and forging alliances which recognize and resist structural inequalities, new forms of activism and mobilization can take shape.

Ambivalences of Togetherness

Bojan Bilić, University of Vienna

Background: For me as a sociologist/ethnographer of socialist Yugoslavia and its various lives and afterlives, the question has been what and how we, as (former) Yugoslavs, could learn about our (multiple and often incompatible) selves, our erased pasts, the promises and potentials silenced — or opened up — by the discourses of ethnic homogenization. How could we as activist scholars and theoretically informed activists find a language which would acknowledge decades of destruction, while at the same time helping us to articulate possibilities of sharing and being together? How could we create a language which would situate itself in the interstices of the domineering, usually Western paradigms which delimit our (self-)understandings (Blagojević 2009)? When we manage — always temporarily and fragilely — to wriggle out of the forces of neoliberal scholarly hyper-production devoid of substance or reflexivity, our experiences of loss finally regain their affective, burning layers. In such instances, we may find ourselves restoring two crucial aspects of Social Science scholarship: On the one hand, our research/engagement re-emerges as a critique not only of the corrupt ›political elites‹ and their long-term abuses of power, but also of the discrimi-

natory regimes — like patriarchy, authoritarianism, transphobia and similar — which operate within ›our own‹ academic-activist circles supposedly committed to social change. On the other, such research/engagement re-establishes both the Social Sciences and activist initiatives as therapeutic undertakings, as a Bourdieusian ›martial art‹ (Bourdieu/Sapiro 2010) which helps us to get a grip on the world through thinking-acting both individually and collectively.

Situatedness in theory: For me, more than anything, theory is a map for navigating the vicissitudes of the social world and finding a politically active place within a labyrinth of interactions shaped by racial/ethnic, class, gender, sexual and other interlocking axes of power. In this regard, our collective work on intersectional sensitivity within post-Yugoslav LGBT activist initiatives (see Bilić/Kajinić 2016; Bilić/Radoman 2019; Bilić et al. 2022) stems from the wish to establish discursive affinities between our scholarly and activist engagement as queers in (and from) aggressively neoliberal postsocialism, on the one hand, and the impressive intellectual effort of Black feminists which has underpinned and accompanied Black people's struggles against racial (and, concomitantly, Black women's struggles against gender) subordination, on the other. This parallel rests on the idea that both post-Yugoslav and, more generally, East European people — and especially the segments of these populations who do not partake in the patriarchal/nationalist canon — have often been treated as objects rather than subjects of knowledge (Bilić/Kajinić 2016). Therefore, we try to situate our sociological/anthropological work in the broader set of transnational conversations — not by replicating what is being done in the Western ›centres of academic excellence‹, but by making it harder for them to ignore us, in transforming our own space from a mere repository of empirical data into a domain of reflection and scholarly production.

Europe: In his *Barikade*, Boris Buden claims that »Europe's presence in us [from the post-Yugoslav space] is experienced just as powerfully as its absence. [Europe] is a territory of the most sublime values of justice, liberty and equality, but at the same time the place where these values are perverted. It is as much the object of our adoration and desire as the object of disillusion and abomination.« (1996, 139)

In our collective work on Europeanization and LGBT activisms in the post-Yugoslav space (Bilić 2016), we thought about what it meant for us as queer people that such an ambivalence got caught up with our non-heterosexual sexualities both in the framework of the EU's conditionality policies which insist on the protection of gay rights and the region's (declarative) wish to join the Union. In this regard, we approached ›Europeanization‹ not as a linear, unidirectional or unproblematic expansion of EU territories and ›European values‹, but rather, as a complex, dynamic and troubled ›translation‹ process reproducing asymmetrical power relations in which gays, lesbians and other non-heterosexuals become a measuring stick for progress to the point of embodying Europeanness, as surely inseparable from its (neo)colonial and capitalist dimensions. Such a nexus between Europeanness and homosexuality, which hereby makes gays the supposed ›carriers‹ of modernity, is then superimposed over long-term, power differentials within the (former) Yugoslav space — which used to be, and indeed still is, traversed by currents of racism along its North—South axis. Therefore, the question for us as activist scholars has often been about how to take recourse to our by no means unambiguous socialist heritage in a way which would help us sever the link between our sexual desires and Europe as a supposed beacon of democracy.

›*We*‹: On the one hand, this polymorphous ›we‹, often mobilized in activist narratives and discourses throughout the region, embodies a desire for belonging in a world of ›gay loneliness‹,[12] an urge not only for opening up but also for sustaining a common front of feeling and practice against the surprisingly resilient regimes of oppression. This ›we‹ — our imagined community, a place of safety — is a vital illusion energizing our movements, pushing us forward and occasionally offering a glimpse into more feminist futures. It is a fragile catalogue of all those ›Is‹ and ›Wes‹ which have been exasperated and permanently marked — or perhaps even damaged — by the experience of struggling for acknowledgement. Ours is a ›we‹ of those without a ›we‹, of those who have been long ostracized from the comforting collectivities of the family or the nation and could therefore consider alternative, more inclusive forms of being together. On the other hand, it is also a ›we‹ constantly collapsing under the burden of our insurmountable differences, smashing against the walls of social structure or dissipating through personal ambition, our idiosyncrasies and the contradictory forces of everyday life which we cannot reconcile. It is a ›we‹ of disappointments, perpetual tensions and conflicts through which our visions and undertakings are disfigured, our minds and bodies exhausted.

Europe Without a Periphery

Jovan Džoli Ulićević, Spektra, Podgorica

Situatedness in theory: I cannot say that I have written my own scholarly work yet, or that I have engaged extensively in academic conversations about gender and sexuality to date. This despite the fact that I have been in love with theory and actively discussed the topic on many occasions in different feminist and/or leftist circles. This is, I think, the case with the majority of trans persons I am in contact with from SEE. I would love for this to change. I believe that it is crucial for trans people (as well as many other marginalized groups) to be an active part of theoretical discussions. But, for this, we need to change how we frame the spaces in which these discussions occur. We need these theoretical spaces to be explicitly positioned not only as trans inclusive, meaning ones where trans people are welcome, but also as spaces whose integral components are marginalized people themselves. We need theoretical spaces which are both non-violent and unpatronizing towards those who are underprivileged, as well as ones which are welcoming of diverse forms of knowledge — including that coming from local communities, as well as that empowering the breaking down of the illusionary division between theory and practice.

I am one of the more privileged trans people I know in my country, Montenegro (in this regard, we always speak about ›conditional privilege‹ — a term used by Janet Mock in her 2014 book *Redefining Realness*). By this I mean I have the passing privilege: I managed to get educated, I am publicly out in my hometown and similar (this privilege is also dependent on context, so outside of the European ›periphery‹ it loses its significance). However, I have the experience of mostly talking about ›trans rights‹, rarely in regard to broader conversations concerning social justice — whether in activist or academic circles (the rarest spaces are the ones merging the two). This paper is, then, a precious opportunity to engage with scholars, share experiences and knowledge and to transform each other hereby.

Europe: Being based in Montenegro, an EU-accession country, the word ›Europeanization‹ is closely connected to this process. When I think about ›Europeanization‹, however, I can-

not help but think also about colonization, a practice still not overcome by Europe. In my context, ›Europeanization‹ is a process which involves the introduction of the rule of law, the respecting of human rights and learning how to accept each other — as promoted by both state institutions and civic NGOs. I have a problem with this concept, which I feel is quite patronizing and is a residual of colonial practice, as the clear opposite of it is ›Balkanization‹ — a notion invoked both by European politicians as well as liberals from the ex-Yugoslav region to describe the lack of ›civilised‹ society found there. I believe that a concept which upholds justice, equity, and human rights as a part of cultural, local and regional heritage would benefit both Montenegro as well as Europe, helping promote the narrative that countries joining the EU also contribute to it — and thus do not just take from it via their membership. I envision a Europe which does not have a periphery, in which borders are not guarded by barbed wire and guns, in which I am not racially profiled in the supermarket or the street because I am not white, and in which nobody asks me ›Is it so hard to live as a trans person in *such a patriarchal country as Montenegro*?‹ — as if patriarchy does not exist and does not kill in other parts of Europe or the world, too.

›*We*‹: The first thing which comes to mind here is the distinction between ›feminists‹ and ›LGBTIQ‹ activists, not only in SEE but also in many other places where I have had the chance to engage. The distinction is also evident in the title of our paper. I feel this distinction both as a place of connection and of division, a space where diverse backgrounds and experiences meet, merge, permeate each other but still remain separate. However, in this transformative process ›we‹ lose ourselves, we transition and ultimately change form. ›Can we fight together?‹ is a question which can be posed also as: ›Can we transform, can we transition, can we change form and shape and emerge as something new after this metamorphosis?‹. I feel this has happened in working with my writing comrade Čarna, and I must say that the ›we‹ in this transformative process has not been easy (Ulićević/Brković 2020, 2022). But knowing very well the experience of transition(s), it was illusory to believe that any (re)birth might be painless. (Re-)imagining the ›we‹ is the necessary precondition for answering the question of whether we can actually fight together — namely, what it means to engage together, to imagine and then actively create spaces nurturing of both individual and collective care.

I would also like to emphasize here the importance of the art of argument and conflict. I find practices and skills of active listening and polite conversation useful, but I also think that there is a certain value in their opposite: namely, those which create conflict. The latter can also be a space for growth and connection. I think that we should also talk about the opportunities heated discussion can provide, rather than just about the divisional nature of argument and conflict. Maybe that would change the lines of differentiation in the ›we‹: rather than making them disappear, they could manifest in diverse ways and help multiply the effects of the constellations they create herewith.

Agonistic Poetics of Queer Subjects

Diana Manesi, Athens

Background: In the last few years, Greece has witnessed a twofold antagonistic discourse: On the one hand, the rise of an anti-gender one which purports to tout the importance of preserving ›traditional family values‹ along patriarchal lines and perceives feminists and

queers as threats to the social order. On the other, the discourse of a vibrant feminist and LGBTQI movement which puts forward legislative changes (law on same-sex civil unions in 2014, the Gender Recognition Act in 2017) and pursues equality and social justice (the Greek #MeToo movement and demonstrations against femicide, LGBTQI demonstrations against homophobia, reacting to transphobia and police brutality). In all the latter cases, the differential distribution of mourning, grief, loss and survival appears to articulate a collective commitment to continued resistance against the normalization and naturalization of sexist/homophobic/transphobic necropolitics.

In this context, queer and feminist activists gather to contest the differential terms of socially situated and distributed vulnerability, articulating claims for social justice and creating affective registers which enable the mourning of lost, disavowed others and the struggling for spaces to exist. The latter enable ›touching‹ the other, namely in being spaces of ›air and tenderness‹. I am referring here to the anti-nationalist feminist organization Žene u Crnom or ŽuC (Women in Black) and their silent stand-in protests, performed throughout the years across the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere; also, the LGBTQI+ demonstrations springing up in Greece in the aftermath of the murder of gay HIV activist and drag queen Zak Kostopoulos / Zackie Oh. On Friday 21 September 2018, Kostopoulos, a young LGBTQI activist, was brutally beaten to death by a mob of civilians and by the police, in broad daylight, on a busy pedestrian street near Omonia square, in central Athens. Dozens of passers-by paused to observe a group of men violently attacking Kostopoulos, who found himself trapped inside a jewellery shop owned by one of the perpetrators. When the police arrived, Kostopoulos, already seriously injured, was violently apprehended, pinned him to the ground by nine police officers and beaten again. Kostopoulos arrived at the hospital handcuffed, and dead. Queer demonstrations following his murder deployed the agonistic slogan ›We are full of st-orgi‹.[13]

I am also referring to the anti-rape/anti-femicide demonstrations following the Greek #MeToo movement (2020). The latter gathered momentum after the allegations of rape made by former Olympic champion Sofia Bekatorou against a senior member of the Hellenic Sailing Federation. In the twelve months after Bekatorou went public, scores of women in the sports and entertainment industries in Greece would come forward to file complaints about their own experiences of sexual assault. The public sphere was fuelled with feelings of rage, as voiced by women in different social and political settings — from mainstream media outlets (television and print) to social media channels; from rape trials to street demonstrations; to the emergence of feminist grassroots collectives across the country. The agonistic slogan ›No woman left alone (to violence)‹ encapsulated women's anger against patriarchal violence and represented an affirmative gesture of solidarity among them.

My work focuses on the agonistic poetics of queer and feminist subjects and the communities they formulate in relation to affects (mourning, tenderness) and performativity. In this direction, I find Judith Butler's (Butler et al. 2016, 12—26) reflection on vulnerability and resistance particularly relevant in my work, which revolves around the following questions: How do forms of embodied resistance against gender violence and police brutality entail a politics of the performative which potentially brings about a collective vulnerability? How do the demonstrations against the racialized, gendered and police brutality which kills women and queers consist of political actions disrupting the certainty and violent truth-value of heteronormativity, and through mourning, grief and tenderness open up alternative horizons for non-sovereign action? I am interested in addressing these questions by exploring vulnerability and affects (mourning, tender rage, *st-orgi*) in the formation of non-sovereign agonistic agency and collective communities of resistance.

Situatedness in theory: My work on non-normative sexualities and genders and the LGBTQI community in Greece is well-informed by Butler's theory of performativity as well as post-structural (Althusser 1971; Foucault 1982) and feminist readings [Crenshaw 1991; Braidotti 2006b; Butler 2005, 1990, [2011] 1996; Cavarero 1997 (2000); Anzaldúa 1987] on subjectivity, subjectivation and identity formation. I am also driven by queer anthropological (Boellstorff 2005; Leap/Boellstorff 2004; Graham 2016; Morgensen 2011; Dutta/Roy 2014) and postcolonial frames (Stoler 1995; Morris/Spivak 2010; Mohanty 2003) which unpack the different geotemporal, historical and discursive lines of thought and activism between Western and Eastern Europe and between Western/Anglo-American and Southern/South-eastern countries. An ongoing debate in feminist philosophy concerns affirmation and vulnerability. On the one hand, Rosi Braidotti (2006a, 2006b, 2008), drawing from Gilles Deleuze's ([1980] 1987); see also, Massumi 1995) rhizomatic analysis of emotions and Baruch Spinoza's (1994, [1677] 2001) thinking on passions, purports to be an ethics of affirmation involving the transformation of negative into positive passions (resentment into affirmation, pain into compassion, loss into a sense of bonding) which will accelerate the subject's capacity for self-knowledge, awareness, connection to others and quest for change. On the other, Butler (2004, 2009; Butler et al. 2016), alongside Athena Athanasiou (Butler/Athanasiou 2013), positions vulnerability as being inextricably embedded in (affirmative) agency and argues for a notion of ›complicity‹ (with power) being found at the heart of subject formation and a language of aporia — as the ›not yet‹ central to the political's very existence. My ethnographic work on queer and lesbian communities and subjectivities in Greece is well-situated within this debate, whereby I argue that non-normative subjectivities and queer/LGBT community-building are both experienced as deconstructive gestures activating forms of ›self-estrangement‹ and ›not-at-homeness‹ — as all at once vulnerable and affirmative, active and passive.

Europe: Undoubtedly, the recognition of same-sex unions (2015) and the passing of the Gender Recognition Act (2017) were the outcome of a rights-based rhetoric of being European values in the Greek political context, while also resulting from the long-term internal struggles of the LGBTBQI community in Greece since the early years of the new millennium. My analysis of LGBTQI activism in Greece stretches beyond the dichotomy between pro-EU/LGBTQI rights and anti-EU/anti-LGBTQI rights, respectively. As suggested by scholars critiquing the Western-centred approach to LGBTQI rights (Mizielinska/Kulpa 2011), the pitting of a modern/pro-gay society versus a backwards/homophobic one is problematic — being deeply rooted in Western exceptionalism and orientalism (Weiss/Bosia 2013). Furthermore, the ›Europeanization‹ of LGBTQI issues in Greece is complicated by the latter's ›crypto-colonial status‹ — a term employed by Herzfeld to describe countries with a curious alchemy (Greece and Thailand), namely buffer zones between colonized lands and those yet untamed which ›acquired their political independence at the expense of massive economic dependence‹ (2002, 900).

In this context, Greece in Western eyes is seen as the spiritual ancestor of European civilization and as the political pariah ensuing from Europe's fast-tracking — an ambivalent cultural positioning which resurfaced with the austerity measures employed under the direction of the troika formed by the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The relationship between Greece and the ›West‹ as compared to between the ›West‹ and the ›Orient‹, a comparison reflected on in works addressing ›homonationalism‹ (Puar 2007; Rao 2020), brings to the fore important differences between the discourses at play here. Greece is portrayed as the building block of European

civilization, as being easily incorporated in universal European values yet also as lagging behind and stigmatized for being ›patriarchal‹ and ›backwards‹ — all while not being sufficiently far away from Europe to be discursively framed as a ›cultural Other‹. My approach to Europeanization is well-informed by the literature (Todorova 2009; Binnie 2004; Mizielinska/ Kulpa 2011; Rao 2020) critiquing and decentring a Western, linear and progressive framework when looking at sexuality and nationalism on the local and global scale.

›*We*‹: The politics of vulnerability in Southern and South-eastern Europe brings to the fore non-sovereign forms of political action, which could be seen as points of departure and differentiation in our discussion of LGBTQI activism and community-building in SEE and other parts of the world. Let me turn to two social movements here: the Women in Black one in Serbia and elsewhere and the LGBTQI movement after Kostopoulos's brutal murder in Greece, respectively. In her ethnography on Women in Black, Athanasiou (2017) discusses the movement's non-sovereign action as a form of ›response-ability‹, whereby those involved in such practices preserve their ability/capacity to respond and develop a form of reflective relationality towards the dead — who find themselves being disavowed and displaced within the dominant matrices of national memorabilia. In a similar context, the unbearable burden of grief which took hold after Kostopoulos's murder was shared and lifted up by hundreds of fellow queers in Greece who felt the response-ability to rage against this act on a national scale (Athanasiou et al. 2020). In both cases, we witness the development of a community without consistency, without clear identity and without finality (thus, not a conventional form of solidarity as objectified enclosed community) — one which strives to continue moving forward through a never-ending process of healing, mourning and grief, and remains open to the Other and to mobilized political responsiveness and collective protest.

The approach of Jean-Luc Nancy (1991) to community as a kind of ›being with‹ the Other without a consistent cause for being together is particularly useful if we are to better understand the kind of ›we‹ emerging out of queer feminist struggles and residing within the agonistic slogans ›We are full of *st-orgi*‹ and ›No woman left alone‹. The ›we‹ taking shape in the aforementioned public protests and demonstrations does not depend on preconceived forms of togetherness; it does not lead to or spring out of a unifying process from the perspective of an autonomous, rationale and invulnerable subject of resistance. It is, rather, a performative, fragile ›we‹ of ›being together‹ with no clear substance, finality or consistency.

Notes

1 https://troubling-gender.eu/events/can-we-fight-together-contentions-of-feminist-and-lgbtiq-activism-in-southeast-europe/, accessed on 15.11.2023.
2 https://www.academia.edu/43717065/Romani_womens_movement_in_Serbia_through_generations, accessed on 15.11.2023.
3 https://rosalux.rs/rosa-publications/kvirovanje-crne-gore/, accessed on 15.11.2023.
4 Jovan is also a member of the Organisational Board of Montenegro Pride, and co-chair of the Board of Transgender Europe. He studies International Relations and Diplomacy at the University of Donja Gorica, Montenegro. His work is focused on equality and social justice, using feminist, intersectional and community-based perspectives.
5 Bojan edited the following volumes: ›LGBT Activism and Europeanisation in the (Post-)Yugoslav Space: On the Rainbow Way to Europe‹; ›Resisting the Evil: (Post-)Yugoslav Anti-War Contention‹

(with Vesna Janković); ›LGBT Activist Politics and Intersectionality: Multiple Others in Serbia and Croatia‹ (with Sanja Kajinić); ›Sisterhood and Unity: Lesbian Activism in the (Post-)Yugoslav Space‹ (with Marija Radoman); and ›Transgender in the Post-Yugoslav Space: Lives, Activisms, Culture‹ (with Iwo Nord and Aleksa Milanović). He is the author of monographs *We Were Gasping for Air: (Post-)Yugoslav Anti-War Activism and Its Legacy*, and *Building Better Times: Trauma, Violence and Lesbian Agency in Croatia and Serbia*. Bojan is a Lise Meitner Fellow at the Research Unit Gender Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Education, University of Vienna, an Adjunct Professor of Gender and Social Movements in South East Europe at the School of Political Sciences, University of Bologna, and a visiting lecturer at the University of Sarajevo Center for Interdisciplinary Studies.

6 https://genderinthebalkans.wordpress.com/, accessed on 15.11.2023.

7 Diana later worked as a researcher in the field of gender-based violence among the refugee and migrant population in Greece (Centre Diotima), as a postdoctoral fellow in Gender, Science, and Technology at the Open University of Athens, at the Gender Equality Observatory of University of Athens and as an activist who co-organized the first Lesbian Feminist festival in Athens (2022). Manesi has published works in academic journals in Greek (like *journal feministiqa*) and English (such as *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*).

8 Nita is an Assistant Professor, feminist scholar and an activist. She is currently on leave from the UP, where she headed the Department of Anthropology, and taught at the Departments of Sociology, Philosophy and Conceptual Art. Her scholarship has focused on the intersection of nationalist cultural politics, manhood, violence and political movements. She has published on topics of masculinity, contemporary and critical art practice, digital heritage, corruption and the state. In 2013 she co-founded the University Program for Gender Studies and Research, Faculty of Philosophy. She has received numerous research grants and fellowships and led teaching and research projects at the UP. She was also a Fellow at the Gender Research Institute of Dartmouth College in 2013. As co-investigator on the UK-AHRC GCRF Changing the Story projects, she has worked at the intersection of arts, heritage and human rights education in support of technological innovation in youth-centred approaches to sustainable social justice.

9 Linda is a sociologist, feminist scholar and activist. She heads the Department of Sociology and also teaches at the Faculty of Arts at the UP. Her research has focused on topics of gender, feminism, activism, space, memory and violence. She co-founded the University Program for Gender Studies and Research at the UP, where she co-organizes an annual school on gender and sexuality.

10 Čarna is Professor in Cultural Anthropology / European Ethnology at the University of Mainz. Before that, she taught at the University of Göttingen, the University of Regensburg and obtained a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Manchester and a Graduate Degree in European Ethnology from the University of Belgrade.

11 Kosova or Kosovë are the toponyms in Albanian, Kosovo is the one used in Serbian and frequently also in English. The choice to use Kosova in this article speaks not merely to the preference of using the native variant of the authors, but it is also the recognition of the importance naming has to representation and the support of particular narratives and histories. It is part of the attempt to decolonize knowledge about the place in question. See: https://www.sapiens.org/archaeology/kosova-or-kosovo/, accessed on 15.11.2023.

12 Hobbes, Michael (2017): Together Alone. The Epidemic of Gay Loneliness. https://highline.huffingtonpost.com/articles/en/gay-loneliness/, accessed on 2.8.2022.

13 The word *storgi*, meaning ›tenderness‹ in Greek, is here divided by a hyphen (*st-orgi*) to underline the word *orgi* within it, meaning ›rage‹ in Greek. *St-orgi* with a hyphen consists of a linguistic neologism, an agonistic term which had no prior existence to the demonstrations following Kostopoulos's murder. Rallying cries and placards at queer demonstrations employed the word *st-orgi* with a hyphen, particularly the phrase ›We are full of *st-orgi*‹, to underline the co-existence of rage and tenderness. The word *st-orgi* with a hyphen is not meant to divide tenderness from rage, but to depict the paradoxical co-existence of tenderness within rage and of rage within tenderness (Marinoudi 2020, 144).

Bibliography

Althusser, Louis (1971): Lenin and philosophy and other essays. London.
Anzaldúa, Gloria (1987): Borderlands/La Frontera. The New Mestiza. San Francisco.
Athanasiou, Athena (2017): Agonistic mourning. Political dissidence and the Women in Black. Edinburgh.

Athanasiou, Athena, et al. (Eds.) (2020): Queer politics/ Public memory. Kouir politiki/ Dimosia mnimi. Athens.
Bakić-Hayden, Milica (1995): Nesting Orientalisms. The Case of Former Yugoslavia. In: Slavic Review 54/4, 917 – 931.
Bilić, Bojan. (Eds.) (2016): LGBT Activism and Europeanisation in the Post-Yugoslav Space. On the Rainbow Way to Europe. London.
Bilić, Bojan/Sanja Kajinić (Eds.) (2016): Intersectionality and LGBT Activist Politics. Multiple Others in Croatia and Serbia. London.
Bilić, Bojan/Marija Radoman (2019): Lesbian Activism in the (Post-)Yugoslav Space. Sisterhood and Unity. London.
Bilić, Bojan, et al. (Eds.) (2022): Transgender in the Post-Yugoslav Space. Lives, Activisms, Culture. Bristol.
Binnie, Jon (2004): The globalization of sexuality. London.
Blagojević, Marina (2009). Knowledge production at the semiperiphery. A gender perspective. Belgrade.
Boellstorff, Tom (2005): The gay archipelago. Sexuality and the nation in Indonesia. Princeton.
Bonfiglioli, Chiara (2008): »Belgrade, 1978. Remembering the Conference ›Drugarica Zena. Zensko Pitanje — Novi Pristup?‹/ ›Comrade Woman.The Women's Question: A New Approach?‹ Thirty Years After.« Utrecht University (MA dissertation). https://studenttheses.uu.nl/handle/20.500.12932/1800.
Bourdieu, Pierre/Gisèle Sapiro (Eds.) (2010): Sociology is a Martial Art. Political Writings by Pierre Bourdieu. New York City.
Braidotti, Rosi (2006a): Affirmation versus Vulnerability. On Contemporary Ethical Debates. In: Symposium. Canadian Journal of Continental Philosophy 10/1, 235 – 254.
Braidotti, Rosi (2006b): Transpositions. On nomadic ethics. Cambridge.
Braidotti, Rosi (2008): Affirmation, Pain and Empowerment. In: Asian Journal of Women's Studies 14/3, 7 – 36.
Buden, Boris (1996). Barikade. Zagreb.
Butler, Judith (1990): Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory, and Psychoanalytic Discourse. In: Linda J. Nicholson (eds.): Feminism/Postmodernism. New York, 324 – 341.
Butler, Judith [1996] (2011): Bodies that matter. On the discursive limits of sex. London.
Butler, Judith (2004): Precarious life. The powers of mourning and violence. London.
Butler, Judith (2005): Giving an Account of Oneself. New York.
Butler, Judith (2009): Frames of war. When is life grievable? London/New York.
Butler, Judith/Athena Athanasiou (2013): Dispossession. The performative in the political. Cambridge.
Butler, Judith, et al. (Eds.) (2016): Vulnerability in Resistance. Durham.
Cavarero, Adriana [2000] (1997): Tu che mi guardi, tu che mi racconti, Milan: Giagiacomo Feltrinelli. Translated as Relating Narratives: Storytelling and Selfhood, Paul A. Kottman (trans), Warwick Studies in European Philosophy, London: Routledge.
Clarke, John, et al. (2015): Making Policy Move. Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage. Bristol.
Crenshaw, Kimberle (1991): Mapping the Margins. Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. In: Stanford Law Review 43/6, 1241 – 1299.
Deleuze, Gilles/Félix Guattari [1980] (1987): A Thousand Plateaus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Minneapolis/London.
Dutta, Aniruddha/Raina Roy (2014): Decolonizing transgender in India. Some reflections. In: TSQ 1/3, 320 – 337.
Farnsworth, Nicole (Eds.) (2009): History is Herstory Too. The History of Women in Civil Society in Kosovo, 1980 – 2004. Prishtine.
Foucault, Michel (1982): The Subject and Power. In: Critical Inquiry 8/4, 777 – 795.
Fraser, Nancy (2000): Rethinking Recognition. In: New Left Review 3, 107 – 120.
Graan, Andrew (2022): What was the project? Thoughts on genre and the project form. In: Journal of Cultural Economy 15/6, 735 – 752.
Graham, Mark (2016). Anthropologists are talking about queer anthropology. In: Ethnos 81/2, 364 – 377.
Gusia, Linda, et al. (Eds.) (2016): Feminist Conversations. History, memory and Difference. Prishtine.
Herzfeld, Michael (2002): The Absent Presence. Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism. In: South Atlantic Quarterly 101/4, 899 – 926.
Hodžić, Saida (2014): »Feminist Bastards: Toward a Posthumanist Critique of NGOization.« In Victoria Bernal and Inderpal Grewal (eds.) *Theorizing NGOs. States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism*, 221 – 247. Duke University Press.

Itzigsohn, José/Karida Brown (2020): The Sociology of W. E. B. Du Bois. Racialized Modernity and the Global Line. New York.
Krasniqi, Elife (2021): Same Goal, Different Paths, Different Class. Women's Feminist Political Engagements in Kosovo from the Mid-1970s until the Mid-1990s. In: Comparative Southeast European Studies 69/2 — 3, 313 — 334.
Leap, William L./Tom Boellstorff (Eds.) (2004): Speaking in queer tongues. Globalization and gay language. Champaign.
Liu, Roseann/Savannah Shange (2018): Toward Thick Solidarity. Theorizing Empathy in Social Justice Movements. In: Radical History Review 131, 189 — 198.
Lóránd, Zsófia (2018): *The Feminist Challenge to the Socialist State in Yugoslavia.* Cham: Springer International Publishing.
Luci, Nita/Linda Gusia (2018): Inside-Out and Outside-In on Dealing with Past in Kosova. Actors, Voices and Practices. In: Gëzim Visoka, et al. (eds.): Unravelling Liberal Interventionism. London, 132 — 147.
Marinoudi, S. (2020): The gender which kills and freedom/ To fylo pou skotonei kai i eleutheria. In: Athena Athanasiou, et al. (eds.): Queer politics/ Public memory, Kouir politiki/ Dimosia mnimi, Athens.
Massumi, Brian (1995): The Autonomy of Affect. In: Cultural Critique 31, 83 — 109.

Mizielinska, Joanna/Kulpa Robert (Eds.) (2011): De-centring Western Sexualities. Central and Eastern European Perspectives. Farnham.
Mock, Janet (2014): Redefining Realness. My Path to Womanhood, Identity, Love & So Much More. New York.
Morgensen, Scott Lauria (2011): Spaces between us. Queer settler colonialism and indigenous decolonization. Minneapolis.
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (2003): Under Western Eyes Revisited. Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles. In: Signs 28/2, 499 — 535.
Morris, Rosalind C. (Eds.) (2010): Can the subaltern speak? Reflections on the history of an idea. New York.
Mujica Chao, Itziar/Linda Gusia (2022): Unfinished Activism. Genealogies of Women's Movement in the Re-Imagining of Feminsit Peace and Resistance. In: Sarah Smith, et al. (eds.): Feminist Conversations on Peace. Bristol.
Nancy, Jean-Luc (1991): The Inoperative Community. Minneapolis.
Puar, Jasbir (2007): Terrorist assemblages. Homonationalism in queer times. Durham.
Rahul, Rao (2020): Out of time. The queer politics of postcoloniality. New York.
Stavrevska, Elena B., et al. (2022): ›Peace‹ Across Spaces. Discussing Feminist (and) Decolonial Visions of Peace. In: Sarah Smith, et al. (eds.): Feminist Conversations on Peace. Bristol.
Stoler, Ann Laura (1995): Race and the education of desire. Foucault›s history of sexuality and the colonial order of things. Durham/London.
Stubbs, Paul (2015): Performing Reform in South East Europe: Consultancy, Translation and Flexible Agency. In: Clarke, John, Dave Bainton, Noémi Lendvai and Paul Stubbs: *Making Policy Move. Towards a Politics of Translation and Assemblage.* Bristol: Policy Press, 65 — 94.
Spinoza, Benedictus de [1677] (2001): Ethics. London.
Spinoza, Benedictus de (1994): A Spinoza reader. The ethics and other works. Princeton/Chichester.
Todorova, Maria (2009): Imagining the Balkans. New York.
Ulićević, Jovan/Čarna Brković (2020): Montenegro Is the Place of Revolutionary Trans Struggles. A Conversation between a Trans Activist and an Anthropologist. In: Kuckuck. Notizen Zur Alltagskultur 1/20. https://www.kuckucknotizen.at/kuckuck/index.php/1-20-handeln/196-1-20-handeln-leseprobe, accessed on 01.11.2023.
Ulićević, Jovan/Čarna Brković (2022): Resilience of Trans Existence through Solidarity. (Non)Pathologising Narratives of Transgender Lives in Montenegro. In: Bojan Bilić, et al. (eds.): Transgender in the Post-Yugoslav Space. Lives, Activisms, Culture. Bristol, 40 — 58.
Weiss, L. Meredith/J. Michael Bosia (2013): Global Homophobia. States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression. Urbana et al.
Zaharijević, Adriana (2012): Neko je rekao feminizam? kako je feminizam uticao na žene XXI veka. Sarajevo. [Somebody Said Feminism? How Feminism Affected the Women of 21st Century]